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CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

PAGE

Opening of the Session of Parliament. Prince Regent's Speech. Debates on the Address. Supplies for the Year. Ways and Means for Great Britain and Ireland. Vote of Credit, - - - 3

CHAP. II.

Bank of England. Renewal of Restrictions on Cash-payments. Proceedings as to the Profits of the Bank on its Transactions with Government. Bill for putting an end to the exclusive Privilege of the South-Sea Company. Bill to make Freehold Estates liable for simple Contract Debts. Bill to Amend the Laws respecting Insolvent Debtors. Abolition of Gaol Fees. Bill for Abolition of the Pillory. Act for extending Jury Trial in Civil Causes to Scotland, - - 23

CHAP III.

Proceedings in Parliament on the Bill for Restricting the Importation of Corn, - 34

CHAP. IV.

Observations on the Policy of the Corn-Bill, - - - - 57

CHAP. V.

Domestic Affairs. Imposture of Joanna Southcote. Fanaticism of her Disciples. Her Death and Interment. Extension of the Order of the Bath. Classes into which it is divided. Remarks on the Measure, and its Tendency. Trial of Sir John Murray. Riots on Account of the Corn Bill. Members of the House of Commons attacked and insulted. Houses attacked and Property destroyed. Continuation of the Riots on the 7th. Persons Shot in Burlington Street. Petition of the Electors of Westminster against the Corn Bill. Conduct of Sir Francis Burdett in moving it, and Debate which ensued, in the House of Commons. Acquittal of

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PAGE

the Soldiers indicted for Murder in defence of Mr Robinson's House. Liberal Feelings of the Populace towards them. Anecdote of a Private Soldier of the Guards, 72

CHAP. VI.

Internal State of France. Defects of the Administration. Count de Blacas. State of Parties. Royalists, comprehending the Nobles, and Clergy, and Vendeans. Tumult at the Funeral of Mademoiselle du Raucour. Sepulchral Honours paid to Louis XVI. and his Queen. Jealous Fears of the Possessors of National Domains. Republicans. Buonapartists. Discontents of the Army. Constitutionalists. Purchasers of National Domains. Resemblance between the State of France and of England after the Restoration, - - - 87

CHAP. VII.

Report on the State of France. The Finances. The War Establishment. The Navy. Moral State of the Country. Debate on the Liberty of the Press. Faure's Motion for a previous Censorship. Opposed by Marshal Macdonald. Adopted in a modified State. Reflections on these Restrictions. Petition of Ferru, and other Booksellers, to the Chamber of Deputies. Characters of some of the Censors. Conduct of Incendiary Authors and Publishers to evade the Law. Affairs of the Maire of Darnac, and the ancient Seigneur. Marshal Macdonald's Plan for granting Indemnities to the Emigrants, and paying the Pensions of the veteran Soldiers, 107

CHAP. VIII.

Leaders of the Jacobins. Carnot—His History—His Memorial against the Bourbons. Fouché—His Share in the Massacres of the Revolution—His Conduct on the King's Restoration. Intrigues and Misrepresentations of the Disaffected under these Leaders. Warlike Preparations in France. National Dislike to the English. Duke of Wellington's Residence in Paris. Policy of Talleyrand at the Congress. He endeavours to direct the Resentment of the Allies against Bernadotte—Against Murat. Arrest of Lord Oxford, and Seizure of his Papers. Affair of General Excelmans. His Petition to the Chamber of Deputies—That of General Grissoles. Excelmans is tried by a Court Martial, and acquitted. Insubordination of the Army. Life of Napoleon at Elba. His Conversations with his Visitors. His Character begins to be more favourably considered. Arts of his Emissaries to fix the public Mind of France upon him. His Correspondence with Murat—With France. Females engaged in the Plot. Organization of the Conspiracy. Imperfect State of the Parisian Police. Correspondence with Elba maintained through the Royal Post-Office. Every thing is prepared for the bursting forth of the Conspiracy, 125

CHAP. IX.

Buonaparte embarks at Elba—And lands in France—And marches to Gap. Suspicions of Treachery in the War Department. Labedoyère joins Buonaparte with his Regiment. Revolt of the Troops at Grenoble. Measures of the Royal Party. Soult is displaced from the Ministry. The Treason of Lefebvre Desnouettes and Lallemand is discovered, and prevented. Defection of the Troops under Macdonald. Decrees of Lyons. Buonaparte's progress to Auxerre. His Interview with the Vicar-General. Ney is appointed to command against Buonaparte. He deserts and joins him. The King visits the Chamber of Deputies. Their Enthusiasm in the Royal Cause. A Camp formed at Melun—But its Fidelity is doubted. The King leaves Paris—Is expelled from Lisle—And compelled to retreat to Ghent. Disasters of his Followers. Defection of the Army at Melun. State of Affairs at Paris. Buonaparte enters the Capital and completes the Revolution. Fickleness of the People and their Leaders, - - - 141

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CHAP. X.

PAGE

The Cities and Provinces of France declare for Buonaparte. Failure of the Duke of Bourbon's Enterprize in La Vendee. Duchess of Angouleme driven from Bourdeaux. Duke of Angouleme compelled to surrender in the South. Buonaparte proposes Peace to the Allies. Declaration of the Congress at Vienna. Treaty of Alliance between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain. Message of the Prince Regent to the House of Commons, and Debate which followed thereupon. Motion respecting Buonaparte's Escape from Elba—And Debate which ensued. Mr Whitbread's Motion against War with France, and the Debate. Debate on the Treaty of Alliance. Mr Whitbread's Amendment. - - 159

CHAP. XI.

Situation of Murat. Debate concerning him in the House of Commons. Disaffection in the Milanese Territory. Riots in the Theatre. Murat puts his Army in motion—His dubious Policy—He occupies Rome, and commences offensive Operations against the Austrians—His Proclamation from Rimini—He attacks the Lower Po, and is defeated at Occhiebello—Commences his Retreat—Solicits an Armistice, and is refused. Battle of Tolentino. Murat's Defeat and disastrous Retreat—He is intercepted at Saint Germano by General Nugent—His Rear-guard destroyed. Flies alone to Naples—And from thence to France. General Insurrection in Naples and Calabria. The Queen surrenders to the British. The Austrians occupy Naples. Surrender of the Neapolitan Army. Restoration of King Ferdinand. Murat in danger of being killed by the Royalists—Flies to Corsica—Refuses a Retreat offered to him in Austria—His Proclamation to the Neapolitans—Lands near Pizzo—But is defeated and made Prisoner—And tried and executed by a Neapolitan Court-Martial, - - - - - - - - 185

CHAP. XII.

Buonaparte attempts to conciliate Foreign Powers. His Decrees for educating Youth, and abolishing the Slave Trade. A Plot to carry off the Empress and her Child is detected at Vienna. Versatility of the French Men of Letters. Disputes between Buonaparte and his Ministers. Proclamation of Louis XVIII. Activity of the Royalists of Paris. Buonaparte pays Court to the Federates. Their Procession and Review. Preparations for War. Commissioners sent into the Departments. Disinclination to the War, and Disaffection, prevail generally. Fouché's Report on these Particulars. Buonaparte leaves the Tuilleries, and goes to the Palace of Elysée-Bourbon. He Publishes the Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire. Objected to as not originating with the Nation—And as being only an Appendix to the Imperial Code of Constitutions. It is generally disliked—But subjected to the Votes of the French People. Illusory Nature of the Sanction thus obtained. Buonaparte's Brothers arrive at Paris. Ceremony of the Champ de Mai. Acceptance of the Constitution. Delivery of the Eagles to the Troops. Meeting of the Legislative Chambers. Character of the Chamber of Peers—Of Representatives. The Chamber of Representatives disputes with Napoleon on Points of Form. Speech of Buonaparte to the Chambers. Address of the Peers. Address of the Representatives. Buonaparte's Reply to that Address, - 200

CHAP. XIII.

Insurrection of La Vendee. Motion of Seguevel. Death of La Roche-Jaquelein, and Capitulation of the Royalists. Preparations of the Allies. The Position of their Armies. Forces of Wellington—Of Blucher. Preparations of Buonaparte. His Plan of Attack. He fortifies the Frontier on the Austrian Line. Calls his best

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Generals around him. Concentrates his Army at Avesnes. His Address to them. Commences the Campaign. Takes Charleroi, and compels Ziethen to retire. Battle of Ligny under Fleurus. Dreadful Conflict. Prussians finally defeated. Imminent danger of Blucher. He effects his retreat unmolested. Ney attacks the Advanced-Guard of Wellington at Quatre Bras. The British Army comes up. Severe Action. The French take the Wood—But are dislodged by the Guards—And finally compelled to retire. Loss on either Side. The Duke of Wellington retreats. Is pursued by the French. Skirmish at Genappes. The British arrive on the Field of Waterloo, and bivouac for the Night, - - PAGE 219

CHAP. XIV.

Disposition of the British Army. The French come on the Ground. Their Dispositions. The Action commences. Attack on Hougoumont—And on the British Right. The Mode of receiving it. It is finally unsuccessful. Attack on the British Centre and Left. Death of Picton. Cavalry Engagement. Bulow's Corps begins to enter into Action. Reiterated Attacks of the French. Personal Conduct of the Duke of Wellington. Great Loss of the British Troops. Attack by the Imperial Guards. It is totally defeated. The British Attack in Line. The Prussians come up in Force. The French are totally routed. Flight of Buonaparte. Movements of the Prussians. Affair at Wavre. Pursuit of the French by Blucher. Loss of the Armies engaged, - - - - - - - 234

CHAP. XV.

The Army. Grant to the Duke of Wellington. Motion respecting Corporal Punishments in the Army. Thanks to the Duke of Wellington and the Army for the Victory of Waterloo. National Monument in Honour of that Victory. Monuments to Generals Ponsonby and Picton. Honours and Privileges conferred on the Troops. Waterloo Subscription. Vote of Thanks to the Duke of York, - - 249

CHAP. XVI.

Buonaparte's Return to Paris. His Motives for this Measure. Rise of the Funds at Paris. Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies. Motion of La Fayette. They command the Attendance of the Ministers. Debates in the Secret Committee. The Chamber intimate their Desire that Buonaparte should abdicate. Reflections on their Right to require this Sacrifice. Conduct of Napoleon, and his indecision. He holds a Council. Ferment in the Chamber of Deputies. The Emperor's Abdication is presented to them. Their Address on the Occasion. Ney's Speech in the House of Peers. Furious Debate on acknowledging Napoleon II. Labedoyere's violent Harangue. Debate on the same Subject in the other Chamber. Napoleon II. is indirectly acknowledged. Buonaparte's farewell Proclamation to the Army. He is removed to Malmaison. His situation there. Placed under the Superintendance of General Beker, and removed to Rochefort. Proclamation of Louis XVIII. Reflections on the Principle of Legitimacy, as applied to Monarchical Right, - - - - - - - - - - 256

CHAP. XVII.

Military Movements. Flight of the French to their own Frontiers. Retreat of Grouchy's Division. Battle at Namur. Grouchy escapes to Laon. Advance of the Allies. Capture of Avesnes by the Prussians—Their Severity to the French. Moderation of the British—Who take Cambray and Peronne. French Commissioners come to treat of Peace. Armistice refused. Conference at Haguenau. Fouché secretly embraces the Interest of the Bourbons. Advance of the Allied

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PAGE

Armies. Wrede crosses the Rhine at Manheim, and takes Chalons. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg enters France from Philipsberg—Defeats General Rapp, and invests Strasbourg. The Arch-Duke Ferdinand defeats Lecourbe, and advances on Langres. General Frimont drives the French from the Valley of the Arve. Bubna takes the Tete-de-Pont at Arly. The Grand Army, under the Sovereigns, enters France without opposition Situation of the French Provisional Government—They have no Influence either with the Army or the People—Yet retain their Animosity to the Bourbons. Malleville's Address in Favour of the Bourbons Reflections on the Course he recommended. Gareau denounces Malleville. Fortifications of Paris. The Army's Declaration against the Bourbons. Propositions of Bory St Vincent in the Chamber of Representatives. The Allied Armies come before Paris. Declaration of the French Army. Measures of Fouché and the moderate Party. Operations of the Armies. Skirmish at Versailles. Paris Surrenders. The Conditions of Capitulation, - - - - - 276

CHAP. XVIII.

Disturbances in the Capital. The Army evacuates Paris. Entrance of the Allied Troops. Conduct of the Provisional Government. Dissolution of the Chambers. Entrance of the King. Difficulties of his Situation. He appoints a Ministry. Fouché named Minister of Police. He recommends Lenity. Ordinances of the 24th of July. They are not strictly executed. Disturbances in Paris and the Provinces. Submission of various Corps of the Army. Catastrophe of General Ramel. Submission and Murder of Marshal Brune. Macdonald endeavours to re-organize the Army of the Loire. Their disorderly State. They are disbanded. Disturbances in the South—And at Nismes. General de la Garde attacked and wounded. New Commotions in Paris. Trials and Executions of Labedoyere and the Two Pouchets. The King assembles the Chamber of Representatives, - - 297

CHAP. XIX.

The Royalists attack the Ministry,—and prevail. The Chamber of Deputies is assembled—Its Character. Talleyrand and Fouché resign—Their alleged Reasons. A new Ministry is appointed. Arrest of Ney. The Court-Martial declares itself incompetent to try him. He is tried by the Chamber of Peers, and found Guilty of High Treason. Attempts to save him. His Execution. Severities inflicted on France by the Allied Armies. Dispersion of the National Museum. Treaty of Peace—Its Conditions. Speech of the King on opening the Sittings of the Chamber of Deputies, - - - - - - 316

CHAP. XX.

Bonaparte's arrival at Rochefort. His Indecision. He Surrenders to the British, and goes on board the Bellerophon. Arrival at Torbay. Arguments respecting the Mode of treating him. It is resolved to send him to St Helena. He protests against the Measure, and threatens Suicide, but is safely embarked and landed on the Island. Disturbances among the North Country Seamen. East Indies. Nepaul War. Unsuccessful attempt to storm Kalunga, and Death of General Gillespie. Kalunga evacuated. Operations of General Ochterlony. Spirited Resistance of Amar Sing. His Advice to the Rajah of Nepaul. Taking of Almerah. Defeat of Amar Sing, and his Surrender of the disputed Provinces. Disagreements with the Chiefs. Conquest of Candy. Reflections, - - - 238

CHAP. XXI.

America. Unsuccessful Attack on New-Orleans. Capture of Fort Mobile. Capture of the President Frigate. Ratification of the Treaty of Peace. Discussion in Par-

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PAGE

liament on the Address of Thanks to the Prince Regent for this Treaty. Commercial Treaty entered into. Reflections, - - - - - 353

CHAP. XXII.

West Indies. Martinico occupied by the British Forces. Guadaloupe reduced by Sir James Leith. Continued Hostilities in South America. Lamentable State of Affairs in Spain. Insurrection of Porlier—He is arrested and executed. Constitution of the Netherlands. Remonstrance of the Belgian Clergy. Marriage of the Prince of Orange. Poland united with Russia. Germany. Disputes betwixt the King and States of Wirtemburgh. Territorial Acquisitions of Prussia. Her new Constitution, German Confederation and Diet, - - - 361

CHRONICLE, containing brief Accounts of the various Public Occurrences of the Year, - - - - - - - - i—lxxxii
APPENDIX I.—Gazettes, - - - - lxxxiii
——— II.—State Papers, British, - - - clxv
——— Ditto, Foreign, - - - cl
Public Acts of the Year, - - - - - ccxviii
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS of Great Britain and Ireland, - - ccxxxi
List of Patents, - - - - - ccxlvii

POETRY.

The Vision of Belshazzar, an Ode, - - - ccli
The Voice of the People, from the German of Schiller, - - cc.v
Dirge of a Highland Chief, executed after the Rebellion, - - cclvi
The Search after Happiness, or the Quest of Sultaun Solimaun, - cclviii

---

The London General Bill of Mortality, - - - cclxvii
Lists of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, - - - cclxviii
List of Promotions, - - - - cclxxxiv
New Publications, - - - - *i
Index, - - - - *xli

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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LIST OF THE PRINCE REGENT'S MINISTERS,

As it stood at the opening of the Session, Nov. 8, 1814.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister.)
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Mulgrave	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. C. Bragge Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. W. W. Pole	Master of the Mint.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. George Rose	Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl of Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. F. J. Robinson	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Lord Charles Somerset	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Postmasters-General.
Earl of Sandwich	
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot	Secretaries of the Treasury.
S. R. Lushington	
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir William Garrow	Attorney-General.
Mr Serjeant Shepherd	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY IN IRELAND.

Viscount Whitworth	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robert Peel	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Vesey Fitzgerald	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE,

1815.

CHAP. I.

Opening of the Session of Parliament.—Prince Regent's Speech.—Debates on the Address.—Supplies for the Year.—Ways and Means for Great Britain and Ireland.—Vote of Credit.

THE session of parliament opened on 8th November, 1814. The principal topics adverted to in the speech of the Prince Regent were, the negociations then in dependence with America, and his desire to bring the war with that country to a conclusion on just and honourable terms;—the different naval and military operations in America;—the congress at Vienna, the opening of which, it was stated, had been retarded from unavoidable causes, to a later period than had been expected;—the flourishing state of the commerce and revenue of the united kingdom, and the supplies necessary to meet the expenditure of the ensuing year. His royal highness regretted the necessity of this large expenditure, but stated, that "the circumstances under which the long and arduous contest in Europe had been carried on and conducted, had unavoidably led to large arrears, for which the House of Commons would see the necessity of providing; and that the war still subsisting with America, rendered the continuance of great exertions indispensable." The Prince Regent concluded by remarking, that the peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the internal situation of all the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly subsisted between them; and he recommended that parliament should proceed with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might be necessary for the purpose of extending our trade, and securing our advantages.

In the House of Lords, the address was moved by the Earl of Abington, and seconded by Lord Delawar.—The latter nobleman, in a speech of consider-

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able eloquence, after congratulating the House on the happy events which had taken place in Europe, lamented that "they had not yet to rejoice in the restoration of peace to the civilized world. It was to America that the misfortune must be attributed, that the Temple of Janus was not yet closed. —The exalted example of the several powers of Europe was lost upon America, which appeared to form a focus for the seeds of discord, from which Europe was so happily relieved. Hence the prolongation of that war, notoriously originating in the unprovoked aggression of America; which aggression, too, took place at a period when this country was contending for the liberty of nations—for that liberty of which America had so long been the boasted champion. To embarrass our operations in that great contest, to prevent the success of our endeavours to restore the independence of Europe, and to avail herself of the opportunity to assert her own unjust pretensions, was obviously the object of America. Hence the fatal policy of linking herself with the fallen foe of European tranquillity: hence the perfidy of her attack upon our Canadian possessions. But there she met the fate she deserved; for her invading army was speedily compelled to return, defeated and disgraced, within her own frontiers, while the British standard was triumphantly hoisted in her capital; and the distinguished chief who led that triumph was gloriously prosecuting his career, when, alas! the cypress was entwined with the laurel, by his gallant death in the arms of victory. But, notwithstanding this very serious and afflicting loss, and notwithstanding the other disasters stated to have occurred to our arms, still knowing that we had the flower of the British army in America, he entertained no doubt whatever as to the ultimate result. A great part of that army had not, unfortunately, reached America in due time to take a part in the campaign; but when the season of action should arrive, when these troops, covered with laurels and inspired with the glory they had acquired on the continent of Europe, should approach the enemy under the direction of those gallant and skilful officers who had so often led them to victory, who could possibly indulge a doubt as to the event? To those who had raised the military fame of England to an unprecedented height in Europe, he would confidently trust for the attainment of our objects in America."—The noble lord, after adverting to the congress at Vienna, from which he anticipated the happiest results, concluded by recommending the serious consideration of our commercial system and internal resources, as, "after the various changes which had taken place in our relations, there must be some evils to remedy, and new arrangements to be made, in order to benefit our condition, to ensure our advancement, to amplify and adorn the arts of peace."

Lord Darnley expressed his regret that he could not assent to the address proposed. He remarked, that "when he looked around at the many existing evils of the war, when he saw a large British army in the Netherlands, and heard of so much discord among the continental powers, he could not flatter himself with the sanguine prospect which the noble lord (Delawar) seemed to entertain."—He commented with severity on the conduct of the naval administration, and the war with America; and as to the congress at Vienna, he feared, that "the time for accomplishing the greatest good was gone by, after the treaty of Paris."—His animadversions on the naval administration were answered by Lord Melville.—His lordship said, that "when it was known, as was the fact, that upwards of 200 of the enemy's vessels

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of war, and armed vessels, had, since the commencement of the war, been captured, it must at once be evident that our navy had not been inactive. The noble earl, he trusted, would bear this fact in his mind when he brought the subject under consideration. As to the statement of the noble lord, that wherever we had a naval contest with the Americans with an equal force, it had uniformly been to our disadvantage; he could assure the noble earl, that although accidents might sometimes happen, it was entirely a mistake; and he would ask the noble lord, whether it was any proof of the inefficiency or inactivity of the British navy, that, since the commencement of the war with America, it had captured 38 of the enemy's vessels of war, from the largest to the least size, and 199 private armed vessels of all descriptions. Did the noble earl mean to urge that the commercial marine of the enemy had not been sufficiently attended to? If so, he could tell him, that of the enemy's commercial vessels, it was ascertained that 900 had been captured since the commencement of the war, and brought into the ports of the united kingdom. With respect to this number the accounts were certain, though some of them not official; but it was also known from other statements, which might be relied upon, that the whole number of commercial vessels captured from the enemy amounted to 1,900. It was also a fact, that 20,000 American seamen were now lodged in British prisons. He asked, then, whether the noble earl, with these facts before him, could justly charge the admiralty with inactivity or inefficiency. Did the noble earl mean to charge the admiralty with not sufficiently protecting the commerce of our merchants? He was aware that much had been said upon this subject; but he was also aware, that whatever might be said, the admiralty were fully acquitted of all blame. It must inevitably be the case when the whole force of an enemy was devoted to privateers, that our entire fleet, wherever stationed, could not prevent the capture of some of our merchant vessels. Their lordships were aware, that a situation of affairs similar to this occurred in the war at the accession of his present majesty. He did not refer to this period with any view of arguing, that if there was misconduct on the part of the admiralty then, it would justify misconduct on the part of the admiralty now; all he meant to urge was, that similar causes would produce similar effects. The year 1759 their lordships need not be ashamed to compare with the most brilliant period of the late war, for successes of importance obtained over the enemy, the navy of France was annihilated, and their whole force devoted to privateering. The consequence was, that the next year a number of our commercial vessels were captured. This was a period, their lordships were well aware, that would bear no comparison with regard to extent of commerce with the present; and yet he had found upon enquiry, that the captures at the present were little more numerous than those at the former period. But let the whole number be enquired into, that were said to make up the loss from the peace of Paris down to the last month. No regular returns had, it was true, been yet received; but the number and nature of those losses might be pretty fairly ascertained from Lloyd's List, and other sources; they were said to amount to 172. Noble lords knew that the ships going to foreign parts alone, were liable to be forced to sail with convoy; the coasting trade had none. Yet of the ships which left the British ports, many were running ships, which went off without waiting for protection, and ran all hazards.

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Their loss had, of course, nothing to do with the care or negligence of the navy. Of the 172 missing, it was ascertained that no less than 94 were running ships: of the rest there sailed and separated, whether from stress of weather or wilfully, no less than 38; and it was known perfectly, that no convoy returned without perpetual complaints on the part of the officers, of ships breaking away from their protection. During this time, the whole number of the coasting vessels captured, whilst under the protection of the admiralty, amounted to eleven."

Lord Grenville opposed the address. —He began by alluding to the war with America, in which he admitted that America was the aggressor; "as when, by the repeal of the orders in council, the causes of war were in fact removed, America, in then making war, became the aggressor."—His lordship further admitted, that her making the grounds of war also questions which struck directly at our maritime rights, rendered it, on our part, the war of the whole country in support of our rights; but he contended, that all this was no reason why the war should not be terminated amicably by negociation. "The questions," said his lordship, "which were the original grounds of the war, have passed away. If the war is continued for another object, information on that point ought to be laid before parliament, in order that parliament may be enabled to judge of its expediency, or whether it is fitting that further efforts on the part of the people ought to be called for, for its prolongation." His lordship then expressed his admiration of the gallant enterprise against the city of Washington, and his regret for the fall of its brave leader. But he commented with severity on the destruction of the buildings at Washington, which were not used for military purposes.—"I had concluded," said his lordship, "that the moment when peace was signed in Europe would have been the term of the war between America and this country. I cannot divine what grounds can subsist for the continuance of the contest between the two nations. But if, from the continuance of the unjust spirit in which the American government began the war, that war has not yet ceased, I implore your lordships not to neglect or abandon to chance these two violations of two distinct principles, on which the wars of modern times have been conducted—the first, that private or non-military buildings shall be respected; the second, that the efforts of the government and the commanders should be employed to lessen instead of increasing the calamities of war; and that their exertions should be directed, not against unoffending individuals, who have no share in the hostilities, but against the governments which are the causes. In this situation, ignorant as I am of the grounds on which the war with America rests, I shall make no remarks on the great expenditure which its continuance renders necessary; but I must observe, that in this, as in the former contest with America, the difficulties of such a contest have been considerably under-rated; and that they are not yet sufficiently apprehended I have reason to believe, from the triumphant language made use of in this country; such language I have always deplored."

His Lordship then remarked on the delays in the opening of the congress at Vienna, which, he said, were most detrimental to the interests of this country. He expressed his surprise at the warlike appearance which every thing still presented, and at the circumstance of the country still keeping up an army of 40,000 men on the continent. Finally, adverting to the internal state of the country he express-

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ed it as his opinion, that an address of unqualified exultation was utterly unsuited to our situation. "Ere now," said his lordship, "we expected to have received the price of our great exertions by a reduction from the weight of those burthens which press so heavily on us. On the subject, however, of these our internal affairs, the only intimation of any change is contained in a paragraph at the end of the speech—an intimation so ambiguous, that though I have attended with peculiar diligence to the speech, to the address, and to the remarks of my noble friend who seconded it, I cannot comprehend to what it refers. Some of my noble friends near me conceive it relates to the corn laws, others of my noble friends that it refers to the bullion question. If it refers to this last question, I applaud the resolution to enter into that most important subject, the state of the circulation. This, my lords, is the consuming canker that preys on the vitals of the state. The depreciation of our currency, which by gradual augmentation year after year, has reached its present state, is, I will venture to affirm, a greater cause of the depression under which the people of this country labour, than all the taxes which are paid by them. In the present state of our circulation is to be found the origin of all those difficulties which some persons have improvidently attempted to remove by imposing duties on the import of the necessaries of life. These attempts for two years together parliament has most prudently checked. I hope it will ever discourage them. I, for one, will ever raise my voice against them. I will never consent to remedy the artificial difficulties which have been created by the neglect of parliament, by imposing a tax on the subsistence of the labouring classes of this community. I will never consent to pass laws which not only are utterly impolitic and unjust to the community, but which strike at the very root of the interests which they affect to protect. For, far from assisting the farmer or supporting the landholder, I believe that if all the catalogue of proposed measures were searched, there is not one which more certainly would bring ruin on both these classes, than the imposing great duties on the importation of grain. That the agriculture of this country labours under great difficulties, I do not deny; it is unfortunately too perfectly shown by the reports on your table. But the true cause of this depression is in the state of the circulation of the country—the true remedy is, that, unterrified by the magnitude of the subject, and not on that account indefinitely postponing it, we should proceed to the discussion, meeting with firmness the difficulties which must attend it. If, therefore, to this subject the passage in the speech applies, I cannot but applaud it. Being on the ground, I must state, that though I cannot concur in the address, I do not wish to be understood to object to the general complimentary part, still less to the grief expressed at the melancholy indisposition of his majesty. Though I have objections, and irreconcileable objections to the address, I shall not propose any amendment, since my observations principally apply to the general, profuse, and warlike character of the speech."

The Earl of Liverpool stated, that, as the Prince Regent had told the House from the throne, the negociations with America were still pending, he thought, till they had produced some result, it would be obviously improper to enter into a discussion of the subject. Notwithstanding the character of the aggression on the part of the United States, his royal highness had no wish to require more than was due in justice to the country, and to his own honour. His lordship defend-

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ed the manner in which the war in America had been carried on; and, with regard to the proceedings at Washington, he stated, that they were a proper and necessary retaliation for several ferocious outrages committed by the Americans. His lordship justified the continuance of a large army on the continent after the conclusion of the war, by the unprecedented circumstances under which the late contest had terminated. In speaking of the internal state of the country, his lordship said, that as to the state of the circulation of the country, his opinions were now as different from those of the noble baron as they had been on former occasions. He had always thought that the pressure on our circulation had arisen from the peculiar circumstances of the late war, and the events of the last six months had verified his opinions to an extent which even his friends had not expected. Even under the circumstances of the great existing expenditure of the American war, and the continuance on foot of a large army, the course of exchange had rapidly returned to its old state. On this subject he should say nothing more; there would be many other opportunities, and it was difficult to say any thing on it without saying more than the present occasion would admit of."

The motion was then put and carried; and the address was afterwards voted.

In the House of Commons, the address was moved by Lord Bridport, and seconded by Mr Graham, who went over the same ground with the mover and seconder of the address in the House of Lords.

Mr Whitbread opposed the address at great length. He took occasion to object in strong language to the mission of Mr Canning to Lisbon; and, in speaking on this subject, he chose to indulge in a strain of ridicule which was scarcely worthy either of his own character or talents, and on the success of which he would not have had much reason to congratulate himself, had the subject of it been present. It was really beneath Mr Whitbread to make such remarks as this:—"It was probable that the Prince Regent of Portugal would not return from the Brazils for many months, perhaps years. The right honourable gentleman might employ himself in revising his early productions in the Anti-jacobin, or in producing a poem, which should rival the celebrated work of Camoens; or in compiling the memoirs of his day, after the fashion of Bubb Doddington!" Mr Whitbread attacked the conduct of the administration in the conduct of the war with America, and the destruction of the buildings at Washington, on the same grounds which had been taken by Lord Grenville in the other House. On the subject of the congress at Vienna, he expressed his indignation at the conduct of the allies, in permitting the annexation of the territories of some of the smaller states to those of their more powerful neighbours. "When he heard it asserted," he said, "that Saxony, in the most unfeeling and insulting manner, was to be divided—that a great portion of it was to be incorporated with Prussia—that such a power was no longer to be suffered to remain in Germany or in Europe—he contemplated it as a grievious injury, not to the sovereign, for that was a secondary consideration, but to the people of a country emphatically called the garden of Germany, not only in a physical, but in a moral sense; for it did not alone afford sustenance for the support of life—it was also the garden of the human mind. It was there that freedom of religion might be seen in its most attractive colours: There the subjects were catholics, and the sovereign a protest-

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ant: There the offices of state were open to men of every persuasion, and the affairs of government were found not to be impeded by the adoption of this liberal principle. Saxony, on this point, shewed a bright example to states of greater magnitude; and it was melancholy to reflect, that they had not wisdom enough to pursue it. What, he would ask, had the Elector, or, according to the modern fashion, the King of Saxony done? And here it should be recollected, that others who had, like him, been made kings, had not given up their titles; but he, because he was the last who adhered to Buonaparte, was marked out for vengeance. Prussia and Austria had both marched with Buonaparte; they had assisted him in accomplishing his views, and did not quit him until his reverses took place. When they found he could not play a successful game, they left him. Bavaria and Wirtemburg remained true to him a little longer than the states he had just mentioned, and they still continued kingdoms. He doubted, however, whether the allies respected them the more for the part they had taken. They must all remember the speech of Philip, who declared, 'That he loved the treason, but hated the traitor.' Saxony, however, did not abandon Buonaparte till the last moment. Now, whatever opinions might be entertained of the course originally adopted by the elector, it was impossible not to feel a little for a man, who, in the latter part of the contest, could not help himself: It was not in his power to withdraw as Austria and Prussia had done; for Buonaparte was not only in possession of his capital, but of his person. Yet it was on that ground, and that ground only, that the rights of the Saxon people were not to be attended to. He only spoke as he was informed; and he would boldly declare in the British parliament, the only place, perhaps, in the world, if the coalesced powers continued their hostility to the promulgation of unfettered opinion, where public truths would ere long be spoken, that, if Saxony were treated in the manner he had described, and as was generally rumoured, it would be as unprincipled a partition as any the world ever saw; as much so, indeed, as the partition of Poland. And again, let it be fully understood, that there were many persons who ardently wished for the restoration and freedom of Poland, not only as necessary to the preservation of the peace of Europe, but as a debt due to that much oppressed people. Neither should it be forgotten that there was one monarch, whose interest it was more than that of any other potentate, to keep Poland in a state of dependence; but that monarch had expressed himself willing that Poland should be restored; that it should be again erected into a kingdom, provided the other powers desisted from their schemes of aggrandizement in other quarters. They had often been told of monarchs who attempted to be magnanimous at the expence of others; now they heard of the Emperor of Russia, who was ready to agree to the restoration of Poland, if Austria gave up her claims upon Italy, and Prussia abandoned her designs in Germany!"

Mr Whitbread concluded his speech by an eloquent invective against the government of Ferdinand VII., and a picture of the sufferings of the unhappy persons who had fallen under his displeasure from their exertions in the cause of Spanish liberty. Before he sat down, he wished to know distinctly "whether any pecuniary assistance, unknown to parliament, had been given to Ferdinand VII. to support him in those despotic efforts which he was hourly making. No person could travel over Spain, after the glorious struggle she had made, and not feel

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indignant at beholding the renewal of religious bigotry and civil fury. Who could contemplate the restoration of the Inquisition, and the oppression exercised over the most patriotic characters, without the smallest expostulation from any neighbouring power, and not feel apprehensive that the result of the present congress would not be exactly that which they had hoped?"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave a very satisfactory answer to the last question of Mr Whitbread, by stating, that no assistance had been given to the Spanish government beyond the subsidy which had been stipulated to be paid to it for the Spanish troops furnished in the late contest. On the subject of the internal state of the country, he said, "that as the flourishing state of our revenue was mentioned both in the speech and in the address, it would no doubt be expected that he should give some statement to justify that assertion. He would do it by giving a comparative view of the produce of the revenue in the two last years. In the quarter ending on the 10th of October, 1813, it had amounted to 18,531,218*l.* In the same quarter of the present year, to 19,036,985*l.* The revenue of the whole year ending in October 1813, was 60,876,652*l.*; that of the present year, ending in October last, 63,461,864*l.* which proved an increase in the last year of two millions and about 600,000*l.* The receipts at the customs in 1813 were 10,157,221*l.*; in 1814, 10,213,174*l.* The excise in 1813 had produced 22,560,159*l.*; and in 1814, 24,154,549*l.* He would not trouble the House with other details of this nature on the present occasion, but would proceed to show the progress of our trade since the year 1812. The returns for the present year were not completely made out for every part of the country; he would, therefore, only notice those of the port of London, which were the most perfect. The value of the exports from that port to Europe, for three quarters of a year, were—in 1812, 11,446,000*l.*; in 1813, 18,916,000*l.*; and in 1814, 26,828,000*l.* So that the year 1814 almost doubled the amount of exports in 1812. It might be said, why, since the revenue was so flourishing, should money be wanted? It was natural to suppose that the want of money was one of the reasons that had occasioned the early meeting of parliament, and that want sprung from the arrears of 1813 and 1814, which remained to be paid. The necessity of providing for the liquidation of these had occurred at an earlier period than was expected. It chiefly proceeded from this, that circumstances had arisen which had led ministers to apply nearly the whole vote of credit intended for the army, to the service of the navy. This had been found necessary principally because the amount of wages due to seamen, who had been prisoners and were now returned, had far exceeded the calculation that had been made. On that account, as well as the expence of our forces in the Netherlands, the army arrears were considerable."

Mr C. Grant, jun. observed, "that he had always heard it was unconstitutional to attempt to introduce a foreign force into this country, without a previous communication to parliament; but this was the first time that he had ever heard it was unconstitutional to maintain a British force abroad without reference to parliament. He was sorry the address which had been moved did not unite all the feelings of the House, and lamented that there was any probability of an exception to the practice of latter years, that of carrying up an address with unanimity to the throne. He delivered it as his opinion, that the

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war, on the part of America, was unprovoked by any conduct of ours; at the same time, he was as anxious as any gentleman in that House, to see the war brought to an honourable conclusion by ministers. He confessed he saw no grounds for the gloom which some honourable members felt. He would not, however, enter into counter predictions, though he avowed himself to be one of those who did not despair of his country, but believed it to be possessed of sufficient strength and sufficient power to wage this war to a successful issue."

After some further observations from different members, the address was carried.

On the 14th November, in a committee of supply, Sir George Warrender moved, "That 70,000 men be employed for the sea service for the year 1815, including 15,000 marines." And this resolution being agreed to, Sir George moved, "that the sum of 1,615,250*l.* be granted for the wages of those men." On this motion a long debate ensued. Mr Ponsonby, after expressing his surprise at the early meeting of parliament, which he considered as an indication of financial embarrassment on the part of the ministry, called for such an explanation of the real financial state of the country as would warrant him, and every other member, in concurring in the votes proposed to them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, "That although in a few days he should have spontaneously explained the financial measures which he had in view, yet that he had no objection whatever to make the statement at the present moment. In the first place, then, it was not his intention to propose any loan, any funding of exchequer bills, or any measure of a similar nature. All that he should move for would be the grants usual at the early part of the session—the ordinary votes —the annual taxes—and a grant of exchequer bills, to renew the exchequer bills which it would be necessary to pay off. He should also propose, that of two sums of exchequer bills, amounting together to fifteen millions and a half, which were annually renewed from year to year, twelve millions and a half should be provided for; thus considerably diminishing the unfunded debt. Lastly, he should propose the renewal of the vote of several years past, providing for outstanding exchequer bills."

Mr Tierney entered minutely into the state of the revenue and public expenditure, and maintained, that ministers had put a falsehood into the mouth of the Prince Regent, when they made him say, that the revenue was in a flourishing condition.—He stated, "that he had drawn out a paper which he held in his hand, the substance of which he would now state to the House. In this statement he had assumed that peace would be completely established by the 1st of January next, and that all the expenses of the war might be wound up for twenty millions. If, on the 1st of January next, they could consider peace as permanently established, this was the way affairs would stand. Taking the accounts of the revenue as the same with those of the 1st January last year, which he had reason to believe would not be far from the truth; for notwithstanding what the right honourable gentleman had been pleased to say of the flourishing state of the finances, and of the great expected increase, when the accounts were made up to the 1st of January next, the excess above the preceding year would not probably be more than 300,000*l.*, or 400,000*l.*; taking, then, the amount to be the same as at the 1st of January last, the produce of the consolidated fund would be 38 millions, after making the necessary deductions. To

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that, add the amount of the share of the lottery, the revenue of the Post-office, &c. and the whole of the income of the permanent and annual taxes would be found 41,591,000*l.* and not one farthing more. That was all the income of the country. Now, the charges against this income were, 1st, the interest of the national debt, amounting to 35,630,000*l.*; and 495,000*l.*, the interest of the debt of the Emperor of Austria; making in all 36 millions odds. Then there was the interest and sinking fund on 30 millions of outstanding exchequer-bills, which he would suppose to be funded at 75, a much more favourable supposition, he had no doubt, than the result would justify. This sum funded in the 3 per cents. with the corresponding sinking fund, would give 1,600,000*l.* There were also the extraordinary expenses up to the 1st of January, taken at twenty millions, which he also supposed to be funded at 75, making an additional interest of a million. A considerable addition to the pension list would also take place in consequence of the peace. Taking it at 1,745,000*l.* this made the whole of the charges 40,384,000*l.* But then, in addition to this, there was 600,000*l.* for Ireland, and when this was taken into account, it would leave a surplus of revenue to meet the expenses of the country, of only 568,000*l.* for Great Britain. No man in the House could shew him that one farthing more was derivable from the permanent revenue of the country; but it would be necessary to take Ireland also into account in a view of our situation. It was necessary to look all our difficulties in the face, and here the prospect was most lamentable indeed. The revenue of that country amounted to 5,056,000*l.*, or in English money 4,607,000*l.* Add to this the lottery, and the whole was in English money 4,787,000*l.* Against this there was a charge of 5,289,000*l.* There was, therefore, a deficiency here of 502,000*l.* On the whole, then, the affairs of the united kingdom would stand in this way. The income of the whole of the empire amounted to 46,377,000*l.* and not one farthing more. The amount of the charges against this sum was 46,312,000*l.*, leaving a balance of only 65,000*l.* to meet the expenses of the country, and not one farthing more. If peace could be established by the 1st of January next, not one moment ought to be lost before the House considered how they were to meet the expenses of a peace establishment. As there was only 65,000*l.* of clear revenue, where was the rest to come from? He was sure he had laid sufficient grounds before the House to induce them to go into this enquiry, except they meant to prove to the country that it was their intention to go on from day to day without meeting the difficulties of the nation in the way which they ought to do. He had been casting about in his mind where the right honourable gentleman was to find resources. He had last year laid his hand on the sinking fund, and by that means saved taxes to a considerable extent, and, as he thought, had done much mischief. That right hon. gentleman had vauntingly said, last year, that the country was possessed of a bank of one hundred millions of disposable stock, and he had asked if there ever was any other nation of which the government at the end of an expensive war could put its hand into a fund of similar amount? Now, the right hon. gentleman had put his hand into this bank, and he wished to learn from him what would be in it now, if peace were established to-morrow morning? Why, not much more than 30 millions. We had, therefore, before finishing the war, got rid of all this sum but 30 millions. If the right honourable gentleman took this sum, then to the 65,000*l.*

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he would have an additional million yearly; and if to this he added 300,000*l.* for the excess of this year's revenue above that of the preceding, all that he could have in this way was merely a million and a half. He wondered that the right honourable gentleman, when casting up in his mind how stocks happened to be so low, never came to think of the sinking fund. At this moment the sinking fund was worse by 4,400,000*l.* than if the right hon. gentleman had never been heard of; for what with the sums he had taken from, and those he had turned from it, instead of 15 millions, there was now only a sinking fund of somewhat above eleven millions. What was the proportion between the sinking fund and the unredeemed debt of the country? If the right honourable gentleman had let it alone, the proportion would have been as 40 to 100. The proportion was now very different. What were, then, the resources of the right hon. gentleman? He might say he looked to contemporary different war taxes. But of the war taxes, besides the property tax, which were not permanent, there was only about six millions and a half; and this was all which the right honourable gentleman could derive from this source, even supposing all the war taxes to be retained. But the right honourable gentleman well knew that many of the war taxes could not be counted on in a time of peace; and if he could find four millions available in such a period, it would be the very utmost. There would thus remain to the right honourable gentleman five millions and a half. Did he think this sum fully equal to all the wants of a peace establishment?

"Now this was the state of things, if the country left off war by the period he had fixed on. If the war went on then, things would be much worse, and considerable additions must be made to the black side of the account. Where was the rest, then, to come from? Would the right hon. gentleman have it by loans? That would not do, however. Perhaps what was lurking in his mind as an available resource, was the property tax. But the property tax must expire in six months after the ratification of the treaty of peace; and nothing was, therefore, to be looked to from it."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to Mr Tierney, said, "that what was meant by saying, that the finances of the country were in a good situation, was, that the revenue was increasing, which he had proved to the house beyond all means of contradiction. The House would find that the revenue had been increasing from year to year, and from quarter to quarter. On the 10th October, 1813, it was 60,876,652*l.*, and on the 10th October last past it was upwards of 63,461,864*l.* As far as the accounts were before the House, this was indisputable; and it was in the power of gentlemen at once to satisfy themselves. The right honourable gentleman had entered into a long detail of accounts, in order to show that the consolidated fund and annual taxes would not much exceed the permanent charges of the country. Undoubtedly that fact was true. He expected the permanent revenue to increase; but the fact was, that it could not much exceed the charges. But, let the House consider the present situation of the country, with reference to its situation on any former occasion of a similar nature. At the conclusion of the American war, the consolidated fund scarcely extended to the interest of the national debt. What gloomy predictions had on that occasion been made! And in how few years, under Mr Pitt's administration, did the country regain a flourishing situation! This afforded a

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hope, that the finances of the country would now also soon be relieved from difficulties. With respect to the period referred to, the taxes corresponding with the consolidated fund were then the sole resources of the nation. But at present we had more than twenty-four millions of war taxes. Supposing, therefore, we added something to our burthens, we had this twenty-four millions, from which a diminution would still be effected.

"The right honourable gentleman had stated, that but for him the sinking fund would have been between 15 and 16 millions. But, would the right honourable gentleman lay his hand to his heart, and say, if he thought that the country would have been more flourishing than it was at present, if the sinking fund had been untouched, and from six to seven millions of new taxes imposed on the country? If they should have occasion to call for new taxes, the best preparation for them, was the having forborne to impose any new ones so long. By merely imposing at the return of peace those taxes from which the country had been spared during the last year of the war, the right honourable gentleman's problem might at once be solved. The right honourable gentleman had rather triumphantly asked, what had become of the fund which was to be reserved for the time of peace? That fund had certainly been reduced by the necessities of the country; but there would at Christmas next be sixty millions still remaining, instead of between thirty and forty millions, as had been stated by the right honourable gentleman. Now he apprehended, that if at the close of any former war the most prosperous, any Chancellor of the Exchequer had been enabled to inform parliament that he had 60 millions of stock applicable to the public services, this would have been considered as a most singular circumstance. He was aware that the situation of the country was such as to require a full investigation; but this could not be done till the establishment of peace, as till then the permanent expenses of the country could not be known. He, for one, would not shrink from any such investigation."

After some further discussion, the resolution was agreed to.

The sum of 2,286,375*l.* was next voted for victualling the navy, 1,956,500*l.* for the wear and tear of ships, and 318,500*l.* for ordnance for the sea-service.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, "That 1,650,000*l.* be granted to his majesty to discharge the remainder of the bills of credit, or other securities, issued by virtue of the act of the 54th of his majesty, intituled, 'An Act for giving Effect to certain Engagements of his Majesty with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia for furnishing a Part of the pecuniary Succour for assisting his Majesty's said Allies in supporting the Expenses of the War with France,' together with the interest due thereon."—This motion was agreed to. The right honourable gentleman next moved, "That the sum of 12,500,000*l.* be granted for the discharge of outstanding exchequer bills, created under the 54th of his majesty."—Mr Ponsonby enquired, what was the gross amount, at present, of outstanding exchequer bills?—The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the amount would be laid on the table in a few days; he believed it to be about 59,000,000*l.*—Mr Ponsonby observed, that 54,000,000*l.* was the greatest amount of outstanding exchequer bills he ever before recollected. It would be well, however, when the account was laid before them, if the amount was not found to exceed the right honourable gentleman's calculation.—The motion was then agreed to; as also another, granting the sum

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of 15,000,000*l.* and 10,000,000*l.* for the discharge of the outstanding exchequer bills issued for the service of the year 1814, charged on the aids of that year outstanding and undischarged.

On 18th November, in a committee of supply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the following resolution: "That it is the opinion of the committee, that a sum, not exceeding eight millions, be granted to his majesty, towards making good the amount of bills of exchange, drawn upon the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury for the extraordinary expenses of the army, and which have been paid out of money paid to the paymaster of the forces, between the 24th December, 1813, and 1st November, 1814."—Mr Tierney remarked, that it was extraordinary that the committee should be called on to vote to pay a sum of eight millions, without explanation, particularly as nine millions had been voted for the same purpose *last* year, of the expenditure of which no account had been given.—This remark produced a statement from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, full of very valuable and satisfactory information, relative to the military and foreign expenditure of the country.—He stated, "that when the great amount of our military expenses was considered, nothing could justify that expenditure but the result. He was perfectly aware, that unless he he were able to shew (as shew he could with perfect ease) that if parliament had not entrusted to his majesty's ministers the mighty means which had been confided to them, the Duke of Wellington would, at this moment, have been defending the frontiers of Portugal, and our allies have been pursuing a hopeless war, or have made a separate and inglorious peace, on the Vistula or the Oder, he should not be justified in proposing the vote of that evening. But, satisfied as he was that the events which had taken place could be proved to be the results of the liberality of the British parliament, with as much certainty as any thing could be proved that depended on the contingency of human affairs, he had no difficulty or hesitation on the subject. The accounts that had been laid on the table would show that, a sum nearly amounting to 19,000,000*l.* had been drawn this year by bills on the treasury for army extraordinaries. He would state the places from which they had proceeded, the amount from each place, and subsequently their objects, Guernsey and Jersey, 24,000*l.*; Heligoland, 46,000*l.*; Germany and the north of France, 1,411,000*l.*; Spain, Portugal, and the south of France, 8,612,000*l.*; Gibraltar and the Mediterranean, 4,259,000*l.* The two latter sums, amounting to little less than 13,000,000*l.* were the immediate consequence of the war in the peninsula. The West Indies, 889,000*l.*; North America, 3,112,000*l.*; South America, 233,000*l.* There were several other smaller sums, making a total of 18,900,000*l.* It would appear by the papers that our expenditure in the peninsula alone, including the sums drawn from other quarters, but applied to the same service during the year, amounted to at least 15,000,000*l.* To all those who recollected the situation of things two years ago, nothing could be more obvious than that there was at that time a great crisis in the affairs of Europe. At the moment of the explosion of the war between France and Russia, it was clear, that whoever was the conqueror would remain master of the destinies of the world. Had the French emperor succeeded in his design of subjugating Russia, England would have been the only nation in the world who could have withstood his arms; if, indeed, she could have stood alone amidst

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the general ruin. This appeared to those who at the time were entrusted with the conduct of British policy, a crisis in which all minor considerations must yield to the necessity of a most vigorous exertion. Nothing short of an expenditure, which might almost be called unlimited, and which was not calculated upon any former experience, was in fact adequate to the occasion. In 1812, soon after the deplorable catastrophe, which had placed him in his present office, by depriving the country of the services of one of the most virtuous and amiable of men, the Duke of Wellington wrote to his majesty's government, informing them that he found, whatever military force he possessed, he could not extend his operations without a much greater supply of money. Unprovided with this, he must remain chained to the posts which he then occupied, and to a defensive system, as he could not advance to a distance from the supplies he received by sea; but he thought that if he could be furnished with about 100,000*l.* a month, he might be able to do much. His majesty's ministers undertook to afford him this supply under any inconvenience, and at whatever hazard. During the first year, they furnished him with money at about the rate of 150,000*l.* a month. In the last year this supply was considerably increased; and during the spring of the present year it was sometimes carried as high as 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* a month. Of the money thus remitted from this country to the Duke of Wellington about 3,300,000*l.* was in specie, besides 410,000*l.* in specie imported from South America, (a part of which, however, had since been sent to Canada) so that a sum of not much less than 4,000,000*l.* had been furnished in specie for the use of the British army. To all this was to be added large sums drawn by bills on the treasury, which made the whole amount that which he had already stated. The fact was, that even with every aid that could be afforded him, it required all the profound skill and admirable combination of our great commander to effect a movement of the British army through a country so exhausted as that in which it was to operate, and to furnish it with an adequate supply in its march. Having said so much of the exertions made by us in Spain and the south of France, he would proceed, in compliance with the hint of the hon. gentleman, to explain those engagements with our allies, to which, in some degree, was attributable the glorious success of the campaign in the North. Many of these engagements had already received the sanction of parliament, as would appear by the papers on the table. By the treaty of Chaumont, the British government agreed to advance to Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the sum of 5,000,000*l.* for the year 1814, if the war should last the whole year; if not, then a proportionate payment of two months was to be allowed to Austria and Prussia after the signature of peace, and of four months to Russia, to assist the troops of those nations to return to their respective countries. The whole of the money which we had thus stipulated to pay, had been discharged, with the exception of a sum for the Russian fleet, respecting which some difficulty had arisen, that had been referred to the adjustment of his noble friend at Vienna.—[Mr Tierney enquired the amount of that sum.] —The sum remaining in doubt was not very considerable, about 100,000*l.* more or less. To Austria and Prussia we had paid 970,000*l.* each, their proportion for seven months of the third of the 5,000,000*l.*; to Russia 1,250,000*l.*; to Sweden 500,000*l.* for five months subsidy for the war; and 300,000*l.* being three months allowance for the return of the Swedish

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troops to Sweden; 10,000 Danes had also been subsidized, according to the treaty on the table of the house, and 150,000*l.* had been paid to Denmark in consequence. By a treaty, long since laid on the table of the house, it was stipulated that 400,000*l.* should be received annually by his Sicilian majesty to the end of the war. The proportion had been paid. He had recently explained the nature of our pecuniary engagements with Portugal and Spain. For some years we had made Portugal a formal allowance of 2,000,000*l.* annually, partly paid in money, and partly furnished in supplies. Of that sum we had paid Portugal the proper proportion for the service of her troops in the present year, and four months allowance for their return. With Spain, we had no such regular agreement, but we had advanced 1,000,000*l.* a-year to the aid of the Spanish armies, of which we had paid Spain her proportion, together with the allowance for the return of her troops. We had also afforded considerable assistance to the Spanish government, in advances of supplies, which it had been agreed to consider as a loan, for which that government was still indebted to us. The only remaining article was a subsidiary corps of 15,000 Hanoverians, placed originally under the command of the crown prince of Sweden, and now garrisoning the towns of the Netherlands. We had only, however, paid half the expence of the troops since the month of July, and even that would eventually be repaid. The right hon. gentleman here recapitulated the various sums, and stated that the total was somewhat less than 7,300,000*l.*—Towards the defraying these subsidiary payments, parliament had first granted the sum of 4,200,000*l.* and afterwards granted three millions more, by way of vote of credit, falling only one hundred thousand pounds short of the payments."

The resolution was agreed to.

On the 21st November the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee of supply, to take into consideration the estimates for the army service;—when Lord Palmerston moved, "that 284,386 men (exclusive of the men belonging to the regiments employed in the territorial possessions of the East India Company, and the foreign corps in British pay), commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be maintained for the service of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of December 1814, to the 24th of June 1815, both inclusive, being 182 days."

This resolution was agreed to, with several others, for making provision for different articles of the military expenditure.

On the 28th November the report of the committee of supply was brought up, and the whole of the resolutions which it contained were agreed to by the House.

On the 2d June, 1815, the House again went into a committee of supply, for the consideration of the army estimates; when Lord Palmerston made a minute and very distinct statement of the alterations on the different branches of military expenditure in 1815, as compared with those of 1814.—"On a general view," his lordship said, "including the augmentation since the change in our relations with France, there was a diminution in the estimates compared with those of last year, without including the militia, which could not with propriety be taken into the comparison, but merely the land forces and foreign corps, of 47,000 men, and 2,652,000*l.* charges." The noble lord concluded with moving his first resolution: viz. "That a number of land forces, not

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exceeding 199,767 men (exclusive of the men belonging to the regiments employed in the territorial possessions of the East India Company, the foreign corps in British pay, and the embodied militia), commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, be maintained for the service of the united kingdom, from the 25th of December 1814, to the 24th of December 1815."—This resolution was agreed to; and several sums were then voted for the different heads of army expenditure, forming in all a total of 7,917,387*l.*—The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, that a sum not exceeding nine millions be farther granted for defraying the extraordinary expences of the army for the year 1815, which was agreed to.—On the 9th June the ordnance estimates were laid before the committee of supply by Mr Ward, who stated, that the total amount, for the service of Great Britain, for the year, would be 3,459,600*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*; and that for Ireland 375,820*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*, making a grand total for the service of the united kingdom, of 3,835,421*l.* 8*d.*—This sum was greater than our peace establishment by nearly 1,500,000*l.*; and less than our last war establishment by 784,000*l.*—He therefore moved for the above sum; and after a long discussion, arising out of minute objections to different articles of the estimates, the motion was agreed to.

On the 14th June, the House resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, for the consideration of the Budget.—Before stating the proceedings which took place on this occasion, it is necessary to mention, that in the month of February preceding, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed certain new taxes, consisting of additional excise duties, and of assessed taxes, in order to raise the supplies which had been granted. In proposing these taxes, it was stated by ministers that the property-tax would expire on the 5th April following, and that it was not meant to be renewed. The return, however, of Buonaparte from Elba, his resumption of the government of France, and the new war into which this country was consequently plunged, rendered it necessary to make provision for a much larger expenditure than had been contemplated. Accordingly, ministers determined to abandon the new assessed taxes which had been agreed to, and to propose a renewal of the property-tax for a year longer, to the 5th April, 1816. A bill to this effect was accordingly brought in, and passed by the House of Commons upon the 5th of May. The majority on this occasion was very great, being 160 to 29, a proof, notwithstanding the clamorous petitions which were presented against it, that it was generally considered as the most proper and effectual measure which could have been fallen upon, in the circumstances of the times, for meeting the sudden demands which had come upon the nation. While the property-tax bill was in progress, a motion was made by Mr Bankes for extending this tax to Ireland, but it was negatived. On the present occasion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a particular statement of the supplies for the year, in which he included some articles of comparatively inconsiderable amount, which had not yet been voted, gave the following recapitulation of the supplies for 1815:—

SUPPLIES.

Navy	14,897,255	
Transports	3,746,945	
		18,644,200
Army		39,150,736
Ordnance		4,431,643
Foreign Payments, including Bills of Credit		9,000,000
Vote of Credit		6,000,000
Ditto for Ireland		200,000
Army Prize Money		942,347
Miscellaneous		3,000,000
Carry over,		£81,368,926

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Brought over,	£81,368,926
To these were to be added those items to be borne by England, which come under the head of SEPARATE CHARGES.	
These were as follows:	
Interest on Exchequer Bills . .	2,000,000
Sinking Fund on ditto	270,000
Debentures and Loyalty Loan .	90,000
Vote of Credit Bills 1814, and Reduction of Exchequer Bills .	6,000,000
	£89,728,926
Deduct Irish Proportion of Joint Charge. 9,572,814	
Ditto Civil List and Consolidated Fund 188,000	
	9,760,814
And there remained to be borne by England	£79,968,112

The vote of credit intended to be proposed this year, and included in the above statement, was to the amount of six millions, and would be made good in the usual way, by a vote of exchequer bills to the same extent. Anxious, however, that there should not be too great a pressure on these securities, he should propose a reduction of three millions from those voted last year, besides the repayment of five millions issued on the last vote of credit: by these means the sum paid off would be equal to that which it might be necessary to issue in the course of the year.—He then proceeded to state the ways and means, for meeting the supplies which had been voted. He took the annual duties at 3,000,000*l.*; the surplus of the consolidated fund he also took at 3,000,000*l.*—He took the war taxes at 22,000,000*l.*; the lottery at 250,000*l.*; old naval stores at 508,000*l.*: the vote of credit, he had stated at 6,000,000*l.*; the exchequer bills funded, and the loan in the five per cents. would give 18,185,000*l.*: the second loan 27,000,000*l.* The amount of these sums fell a little short of the supplies; but upon the whole he expected that the ways and means which he had enumerated would prove sufficient. After a clear statement of the terms on which the loans had been contracted, which were obviously prudent, and advantageous; and an explanation of the grounds on which he took the surplus of the consolidated fund at three millions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to state the amount of the charges on the country by the loans, and the way in which it was proposed to meet them. The total amount of the capital created by the exchequer bills funded, and the loan in the five per cents. amounted to 21,208,000*l.* 5 per cent. stock; the interest of this to 1,060,000*l.*; the sinking fund to 331,000*l.*, with the usual charge for management. The loan obtained that day created a capital of 49,680,000*l.*, the interest of which would be 1,517,000*l.*; the sinking fund would amount to 758,700*l.*, to which would be added the charge for management. The total amount of the capital created in the present year by funding, was 70,888,000*l.* The interest on this was 2,577,000*l.*; the sinking fund 1,090,000*l.*; the total annual charge to the country 3,689,000*l.* The rate per cent. at which the whole of the sum raised in the present year had been obtained was, to the subscribers (including the sinking fund), 5*l.* 14*s.* 2½*d.* The total charge to the country was, every thing included, 8*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.* He shewed, by a comparison of the expences of this loan with those of former years, that, notwithstanding the immense addition to our debt, the increased expence of these loans was very trifling. This, he said, might be considered to result from an astonishing increase of public credit since the period to which he had referred, or to the improved situation of the country. And which ever way it was viewed, the effect was equally gratifying. To provide for the annual charge of 3,689,000*l.*, the

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House had already supplied by taxes of customs and excise on tobacco, and on excise licences, about 600,000*l.*, and there were now under the consideration of the House additions to the stamps and postage to the amount of about 1,200,000*l.* more, making in the whole a provision by new taxes of about 1,800,000*l.* Thus it would be seen about half the necessary supplies were provided by taxes now agreed to, or in progress through the House. For the remainder, he proposed to take a sum of from 1,800,000*l.* to 1,900,000*l.* out of the sums in the hands of the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, as he was authorised to do by the act of 1813. The sum in their hands was at present about 70,000,000*l.*, and he proposed to cancel so much of that as would suffice to meet the remainder of the charge created by the loan. After a variety of general observations on the state of the country and its foreign relations, he concluded by moving the first resolution necessary for carrying the foregoing views into effect.

Mr Tierney paid the Chancellor of the Exchequer some well merited compliments on the clearness and fairness of his statements with regard to the existing ways and means, on which, upon the whole, he said, that he agreed with him. With regard to the supplies, however, he stated his apprehension, that these, instead of remaining at their present amount, immense as it was, would go on continually increasing.—"Let the committee," he said, "look at the progress of our expenditure, creeping up as it had been for the last six or seven years. In 1808, it had been 45 millions; in 1809, 50 millions; in 1810, 48 millions; in 1811, 52 millions; in 1812, 55 millions; in 1813, 57 millions; in 1814, 63 millions; and now, in 1815, 72 millions. Willing as he was to admit that the right honourable gentleman fulfilled the duties of his high office with exemplary attention, he must contend, that he was mistaken when he conceived it possible to carry on the war without an increasing, instead of a diminishing expenditure. It was in the nature of such an expenditure to be rapidly increasing. Circumstances were perpetually starting up to produce this effect. This was a frightful prospect for the country." He then adverted to the deviation from the system of Mr Pitt, of raising so much of the supplies within the year as should materially reduce the amount of the loan; and of affording, by the operation of the sinking fund, the means of obtaining the loan on better terms than the country could otherwise have enjoyed. But by comparing the amount of the loan, and the amount of the taxation during the last eight years, he shewed that, while, previous to 1812, the taxes each year amounted to a great deal more than the loan, since that period the reverse had been the case; so much so, that in the present year the loan exceeded the taxes by 17 millions and a half. As to the sinking fund, it, by the present financial system, instead of increasing, was daily becoming less. He contended that, in place of proceeding in this manner, it would be better for the country to look its expenditure in the face, and either to reduce its amount, or to meet it at once by taxation. He concluded by an attack upon the policy of the government, in having entered into the present war with France.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied to the different observations of Mr Tierney. In answer to that gentleman's censure of the financial arrangements, he referred to the measures of Mr Pitt at different periods, and particularly in 1805, to shew, that that statesman did not, in great and extraordinary emergencies, attempt to raise the whole of the expenses by taxation, but by an increase

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on the amount of the loans; and he justified his own proceedings by the authority of that great man's precedent. He likewise entered into a variety of calculations, showing the effect of the system introduced in 1813, respecting the sinking fund, and proving that the progress of the redemption of the national debt would be perfectly satisfactory, notwithstanding the relief afforded to the public burthens.

The different resolutions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were then put, and agreed to.

On 16th June, the Irish budget was laid before the House, by Mr Vesey Fitzgerald, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. The substance of his statement was as follows: The supplies consisted of the estimated quota of contribution of the year 1815, stated at 10,574,215*l*., and of the interest and sinking fund on the debt, 6,098,149*l*., making the total supplies 16,672,364*l*. The ways and means were,—

Surplus of the consolidated fund	L.688,807
The produce of the revenue he should estimate at - -	6,100,000
The profits on lotteries, one half of what had been computed for Great Britain - -	125,000
Re-payment of sums advanced by Ireland for naval and military services - - -	100,000
2-17ths of old naval stores, 15-17ths having been taken credit for by England - -	90,305
Loan raised in England for the service of Ireland, 9,000,000l. British - - - - -	9,750,000
Making a total ways and means of	16,854,112

He stated the whole of the above in Irish currency, and the committee would observe that there was an excess of ways and means above the supply of 171,000*l*. The charge for the loan he stated at 727,350*l*.; to cover this charge, he stated certain proposed additions to the taxes, the amount of which he estimated at 760,000*l*. British money. The resolutions moved by him were all agreed to.

The last financial measure before the House of Commons this session was the vote of credit, which it has been seen the Chancellor of the Exchequer meant to propose as part of the ways and means for the year. On 28th June, he moved, "That a sum not exceeding six millions be granted to his majesty in Great Britain, and 28,000*l*. for Ireland, to enable his majesty to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require, and that such sum of six millions be raised by exchequer bills in Great Britain, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament."

Mr Whitbread said, "he should not oppose the motion, conceiving, that, under the present circumstances, it was material that the crown should be provided with powers capable of meeting any exigency that might arise during the recess. He hoped, that before the re-assembling of parliament, the blessings of peace would be restored to the country. Whatever difference of opinion might exist with respect to the original justice of the war (and no change whatever had taken place in his opinions on that subject,) there could be but one sentiment on the splendour of our recent successes; which, however, he trusted would not induce his majesty's government to go in pursuit of objects utterly foreign to our true policy. It was impossible to foresee what events might speedily occur. If the noble duke, who, with his glorious army, had achieved a triumph so memorable, should reach the metropolis of France, he trusted that his protecting arm would avert the horrors which might otherwise be produced by that event. A vigorous effort had been made by his majesty's government to crush the resistance of

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the enemy. He congratulated them on their efforts having produced a result far exceeding the most sanguine expectations. He hoped that they would not now make a turn, and engage in the pursuit of objects, which, in his opinion, would be calculated to protract the existing warfare. There was one part of Europe in which he trusted no part of his vote of credit would be applied—he alluded to Spain. A great suspicion existed among those Spaniards who had escaped from the yoke which it was attempted to impose in that country on all that was liberal and enlightened, that ministers had assisted the government of Spain in their nefarious designs. He hoped and believed that this suspicion was unfounded, for he could conceive no appropriation of the public money so highly reprehensible." The resolution was then cordially agreed to.

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CHAP. II.

Bank of England—Renewal of Restrictions on Cash-payments.—Proceedings as to the Profits of the Bank on its Transactions with Government.—Bill for putting an end to the exclusive Privilege of the South-Sea Company.—Bill to make Freehold Estates liable for simple Contract Debts.—Bill to Amend the Laws respecting Insolvent Debtors.—Abolition of Gaol Fees.—Bill for Abolition of the Pillory.—Act for extending Jury Trial in Civil Causes to Scotland.

THE affairs of the Bank of England, and the relations between government and that great establishment, gave rise to several important proceedings in parliament this session. The restrictions on payments in cash were to expire on the 5th of April; and it became necessary to consider whether or not these restrictions were to be renewed. On the 2d of March Lord Archibald Hamilton, in the House of Commons, moved for a committee to enquire into the affairs of the Bank of England, and into the effects produced on the currency and commercial relations of the kingdom by the different restriction acts. His lordship took a view of the great increase in the issues of paper since the restrictions commenced; and argued that, in consequence of these issues, not only did the proprietors of the bank derive exorbitant profits at the expence of the public, but the value of our currency was excessively depreciated; and, among other evils attending this depreciation, he contended, that it was in part, at least, a cause of the late high prices of corn.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that as the noble lord's arguments were founded on the supposition, that the bank restrictions would be continued to an indefinite period, he thought it hardly necessary to enter into a refutation of them, as it was expected that the restrictions would cease on the 5th of July 1816. He entered, however, into an examination of those arguments, in the course of which he maintained, that no measure could be more calculated to defeat the resumption of cash-payments than the very enquiries which were wished to be made; for, if once the information which these enquiries would give were published, it would place the bank at the mercy of every speculator in bullion in the country; and he concluded by stating the grounds on which he conceived it more than probable that cash-payments would be resumed in July, 1816.—"If," he said, "the peace with America had been ratified at the same time with that at Paris—if the foreign expences had been concluded—if the arrears which were due

* For some observations on the Bullion Question, and its relation to the question as to the price of corn, see p. 60 of this volume.

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to foreign states had been paid—if the keeping up a large standing army on the continent had not been necessary—and if we had not had to transport a large army across the Atlantic, the short period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the peace, he was satisfied, would have so completely restored the affairs of the country to their original situation, that the bank would, without delay, have been able to resume their cash-payments. Any gentleman who compared the progressive improvement of the rate of exchange since 1814, would at once be able to discover the truth of this proposition. In January, 1814, the exchange with Hamburgh was at 28; before October it was 32. In January, 1814, the price of gold in doubloons, was 5*l.* 10*s.* per oz.; before the end of the year it had fallen to 4*l.* 9*s.* per oz. The price of silver in the same period had fallen from 6*s.* 11*d.* per oz. to 5*s.* 6*d.* With these favourable prospects, he thought he should not be presuming too much in anticipating such a favourable change by July, 1816, as would ensure a return to the old currency of the country. He held an account in his hand which would shew the enormous expenditure of specie which within the last few years had been made on the continent by this country. In 1811, the foreign payments were 15,182,000*l.*; in 1812, 18,533,000*l.*; in 1813, 22,931,000*l.*; and in 1814, 31,284,000*l.* In the face of such an expenditure he thought it was not extraordinary that restrictions should be placed on the cash-payments of the bank; but now that they might be considered as in a great measure stopped, if no new cause should occur to render their continuance necessary, it was but natural to suppose that these sums would revert to their old channel; and if this should be the case, there was no doubt that, by the period he had fixed, the bank would resume its payments in specie."

Mr Horner, in arguing for the motion, was led to state his opinion as to the effect of the bank restrictions on the currency of the country. He said, that "the great principle on which he had always rested the question was, that so long as the standard currency of a country remained unvaried, however that standard might be expressed, no change in its real value could affect its relative value to other commodities. Whenever depreciation had once begun, then it was possible for commercial or other circumstances to affect the value of gold; but he had never supposed that when gold was at 5*l.* 11*s.*, or, as it had once been, at 5*l.* 14*s.*, that this rise was solely attributable to an excess of paper circulation, or that the apparent depreciation was the true measure of the excess in the issues of the bank. What he conceived to be the true solution of the difficulty was, that a depreciation having taken place from excess, an opening had been made for the operation of other causes, which were now in a great measure removed. These causes were the occupation of commercial countries by immense armies, the consequent distress and discredit, together with the greatly augmented remittances made from one part of Europe to another. The effect produced by the change of circumstances was to bring back the price of gold to between 4*l.* 9*s.* and 4*l.* 11*s.*; precisely what it was in 1810. The exchanges now, though really in our favour, were nominally against us 8 or 9 per cent.; and here he begged to ask, could this appearance be explained, but in a depreciation in the value of our domestic currency? The extraordinary circumstance adverted to, of the price of gold falling in the course of last year to 4*l.* 4*s.* he ascribed to the then situation

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of the armies in the North, by which great quantities of bullion were driven in the direction of this country. It happened, too, at the same time, that many of the country banks failed, a circumstance which necessarily operated to induce the Bank to diminish their issues. This was a measure that raised the real value of their paper in the same proportion. He believed, also, that there had been a rise in the real price of gold,—he meant as measured by other commodities in some of the countries of Europe. This he partly attributed to the effects of war destroying the settled habits of commercial credit, and partly to an interruption in the working of the mines produced by the disturbances of South America. He had reason to believe that from Mexico the supplies were much less abundant than usual. His conclusion was, upon the whole review of this question, that our currency was in an artificial and depreciated state; a state, the *evils* of which were too manifest to be denied, and were equally injurious to the public creditor, by diminishing the value of his dividend, and to the private creditor the value of his legal claim. Its effects on public credit, and on our financial situation, would lead him into too wide a field of discussion; but it appeared to him to be incontrovertible, that this evil, excited in consequence of an excessive issue of bank paper, is, that the government were not duly vigilant over those issues, and that the renewal of the restriction should not be granted without a declaration that the parliament and the country expected that immediate measures would be taken by the bank to resume their cash-payments."

The question being put, the motion was negatived by a great majority. Immediately after the division, the House went into a committee, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, that the restrictions on payments of cash by the Bank of England should be continued to the 5th of July, 1816. The motion was carried. On the 7th March the report of the committee was brought up, when a short discussion took place, in the course of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer to some observations on the other side, said, that "he thought it necessary to deny the assertion, that the country had been twelve months at peace. For, in point of fact, considering the state of our relations with America, that a definitive treaty was not yet concluded, and that our foreign expenditure still continued, the country could not even now be said to be in a state of peace. Our foreign expenditure had no doubt diminished, and was still diminishing. Yet its extent must naturally be conceived to operate against the reduction of the exchange; and until the expiration of the winter months, which impeded our commerce, the balance of trade could not be expected to outweigh the influence of our foreign expenditure. The prospect, however, was favourable, the rate of exchange having been reduced no less than 25 per cent. within less than 12 months; but still he was not so sanguine in his hopes as to speak confidently, that the restriction upon the Bank could be conveniently removed at the time specified in the bill." The bill was passed.

The Bank of England derives considerable emolument, in consequence of being employed to transact the business of the public. This emolument proceeds, in the first place, from the large sums of public money deposited in the hands of the bank. For these deposits, which appear generally to amount from eight to ten millions, the bank pays no interest; and the interest of this money, therefore, may be considered as profit made by the bank from transacting the business of the

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public. In the next place, the bank derives an emolument from the management of the national debt. All the transfers of stock are made, and all the dividends to the public creditors are paid by the bank,—on which transactions the bank receives a commission. In consideration of the benefits which the bank receives from its charter, and of the emoluments derived from the management of the public business, they have at different times made advances to the public on more favourable terms than ordinary loans. In 1800, when they obtained a renewal of their charter for 21 years, they advanced to the public three millions for six years without interest; and, at the end of that period, they renewed this loan till 1814, at three per cent., thus giving the public an allowance of two per cent on the interest. In 1800, they also continued the loan then existing, of eleven millions and a half, for twenty-one years, at three per cent. And lastly, in 1808, they made a further advance of three millions, without interest, till the 5th of April, 1816. These advances, however, were considered as a very inadequate remuneration for the advantages which the bank derived from its relations with government; and Mr Grenfell, on the 19th of April, moved for such accounts as might be necessary for ascertaining the amount of the profits made by the bank, and of the compensation made for these profits to the public. These accounts were ordered on the 26th of April. On the 13th of June, Mr Grenfell moved a series of resolutions, stating his views of the amount of the public balances in the hands of the bank; of the profits derived from these balances, and from the commission on the management of the national debt; and of the remuneration made by the bank for these emoluments; the whole tending to shew the inadequacy of the remuneration to the emoluments. On the 26th of June, a series of counter resolutions were moved by Mr Mellish; and it was agreed, that the discussion on both these sets of resolutions should take place at the same time. Nothing further took place this session, which rose soon afterwards; but the result of this enquiry will be found among the proceedings of the following session.

On the 13th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward a proposition for putting an end to the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the South-Sea Company. He took a view of the establishment of this company, and stated, that it possessed the exclusive privilege of trading to America, from the river Oroonoko, round Cape Horn to the north-west coast of that continent. This exclusive privilege had for many years been of no advantage to that company; but South America having become at last open to us, it might become a great obstacle to our commerce. He therefore had to state the terms on which the company were willing to sell it to the country. The company had lent all its capital to the government, for which they received 3*l.* per cent.; and they also obtained a further dividend of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their capital, by acting as agents for government in the payment of the dividends of such part of the public debt as existed in 1721. By the act of 1813, which would cancel all the national debt which existed before the establishment of the sinking fund, they would lose that $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. They therefore consented to abandon their exclusive privilege of trade, on condition that the government would guarantee this $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, or about 18,000*l.* a year to them. For this income it was his intention to propose the creation of a fund, by a duty on tonnage of ships trading to South America,

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and on the export of goods thither, to the amount of 2*l.* per cent. The fund necessary would be 400,000*l.*; when that sum was accumulated, the duty would be repealed. A duty of 4*l.* per cent. on goods shipped to South America would expire on the 16th of March, so that a renewal of only half that duty would be necessary. He concluded by moving the resolutions necessary for carrying the above object into effect. A long and irrelevant discussion ensued on the contest for the emancipation of South America from Spain, after which a conversation arose upon the proposition of a tax of 2 per cent. upon all goods exported from Great Britain or Ireland to South America, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Finlay, and Mr Alderman Atkins took part. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the produce of this tax was to be applied in aid of a fund to indemnify the South-Sea Company, and that it was to cease when that indemnity was discharged. The two latter objected to it, as inconsistent with our commercial policy, by imposing a tax upon our exported manufactures. The several resolutions were then agreed to, and an act of parliament, in pursuance of them, was soon afterwards passed.

In the course of this session, several attempts were made for improving the jurisprudence of Britain, with different degrees of success. Sir Samuel Romilly again brought forward, on the 14th of February, his bill for making the freehold estates of persons dying in debt liable for these debts, which in the preceding session had been passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. On this occasion he made several valuable observations: He said, that "a law like that now in force in England was not to be found in any other country. That law was not in fact extended to the whole of his majesty's dominions. It was not acted upon in our West Indian colonies and other of our foreign dominions. Some of the objections which had been urged to his bill, he was certain were quite unfounded, and had been advanced by persons who had not taken the trouble to give the subject that consideration which it deserved. After answering some of the arguments of those who had opposed the former bill, he described that which he wished to effect to be this; to give simple contract creditors the same remedy which is open to specialty creditors. He did not mean to place them on the same footing, but merely to allow the simple contract creditors to come in, after the specialty creditors had been paid. This, he contended, would throw no obstacle in the way of selling estates; and the objections that this measure would give greater facilities for young men of fortune to obtain credit, he answered, by shewing that it was not probable a young man of fortune would be more readily trusted by an older man, because he might recover from his estate on his death; and by asserting that the evil to which he wished to direct the attention of parliament, could never be effectually remedied but in a court of equity. He thought it right to state on this occasion, that it was his opinion that much more than would be done by this measure ought to be done, to give the creditor the benefit of the debtor's property. It was not probable that he should pursue the subject further, but he hoped it would be taken up by others more fortunately circumstanced than he had been, and with better success. Much alteration in the law appeared to him to be wanting. He did not hesitate to say, that the law of England, on the subject in question, had gone on an erroneous principle. It had been distinguished by extraordinary rigour against the

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person, and by great relaxation with respect to his property. It punished inability to pay a debt as a crime, but did not take those measures which might be taken to prevent the offence. It imprisoned the debtor for not applying his property to meet the demands of his creditors, but did not apply that property for him, to the payment of his debts in cases where this could be done." Leave was given to bring in the bill, which was presented and read a first time; but no further progress was made in it during the present session.

On the 11th of April, Mr Serjeant Best moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws respecting insolvent debtors. The severity of the former laws of England relative to imprisonment for debt, had been much mitigated by the acts for the relief of insolvent debtors passed in 1813 and 1814; one of the leading provisions of which was, that an insolvent debtor, on making a full disclosure of his property, was entitled to be liberated at the end of three months. This enactment, highly satisfactory as it was to the public at large, yet appeared to the learned serjeant to be attended with the evil of injuring credit;—as, by giving the same facility to the dishonest as to the honest debtor, to obtain his liberty at the expiration of three months' imprisonment, it rendered it impossible for tradesmen any longer to know whom to trust. The object of the bill now brought in was, in the first place to extend the provisions of the act of Geo. II., (by which it was enacted, that persons imprisoned for debt should be obliged to give up their property for the benefit of their creditors, under the penalty of transportation,) from debts under 100*l.* to debts of any amount; and secondly, to distinguish, in giving relief to insolvent debtors, whether they belonged to the class of unfortunate or fraudulent. His mode of making this very nice and difficult distinction, was the following: He said, that "the only way of separating the honest from the dishonest debtor, would be to introduce some sort of scale, by which the claim to the advantages of the act might be regulated. Such a scale he had prepared for the consideration of the House. He had to propose, that if the debtor was found in a condition to pay 15*s.* in the pound, he should be entitled to his discharge at the expiration of three months. If he should from the improvident management of his affairs, be only in a condition to pay 10*s.* in the pound, then he thought his imprisonment should extend to a longer period, namely, to twelve months. Again, if the debtor, by expending that which he must know belonged to others, was unable to pay 10*s.* in the pound, such a man, he thought, ought to be imprisoned two years, twelve months of which should be passed within the walls of a prison, and not as at present, in what were called the rules. And lastly, if a man was entirely insolvent, and without the hope of paying any portion of his debts, he considered it was but proper that he should be kept within the walls of a prison for two years. It would naturally occur, that there were many cases in which a prisoner might be in no condition, from misfortunes not originating in his own vices, to pay any thing in liquidation of his debts. To such an individual he by no means wished the scale which he had stated to apply; it should, therefore, be open in all cases for the debtor to prove by his own oath, supported by other satisfactory evidence, whether his distresses were attributable to imprudence or misfortune, and if he was able to establish the latter, then he should extremely lament his detention in custody beyond the time that was necessary to prove the fact."

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After some pointed observations by Mr Horner on the objectionable parts of this bill, and particularly on the incongruity of ascertaining the degree of a man's guilt by the number of shillings which he was able to pay his creditors in the pound, leave was given to bring in the bill. Afterwards, however, Mr Best withdrew the bill, intimating his intention of bringing forward the measure in the next session in an amended form.

On the 16th February, a bill was presented by Mr Bennet for the abolition of the gaol and other fees connected with the gaols of Great Britain. This benevolent and salutary law was passed without opposition. The only objection made to it was, that it excepted the King's Bench, Fleet, and Marshalsea prisons. But the reason of this exception was, that these were not prisons belonging to a particular town or county, but generally pertaining to the country at large, being the prisons attached to the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Admiralty. The abolition of the fees of the gaols belonging to the different counties and towns transferred the additional burden thus created for their maintenance on those counties or towns; but in case of the abolition of the fees in the gaols in question, some provision would require to be made by government in their place. This, however, hardly appears a sufficient reason for leaving the numerous prisoners in these three goals in a state of hardship, from which it was judged so essentially necessary to relieve the unhappy inmates of all the other goals in the kingdom.

On the 6th April, Mr M. A. Taylor obtained leave to bring in a bill to abolish the punishment of the pillory. This bill passed the House of Commons. On the 5th July, in the House of Lords, a discussion took place on the motion for having the bill committed. The Earl of Lauderdale said, "that the punishment of the pillory had been condemned by almost all those who had studied and written upon the philosophy of criminal law, almost by all the politicians who had attended to its nature and effects, and even by some of the judges who had to apply it. No principle in criminal law was better established than this, that the punishment ought to be commensurate to the offence. In this respect the punishment of the pillory was extremely objectionable. In one of the older statutes, it was put in the alternative, that a man should pay a fine of 20*s.* or be put in the pillory, so that the same punishment was to be inflicted on one who could not pay 20*s.* as on one who had attempted to commit an unnatural and abominable crime. Such a state of the law was a disgrace to the age and country in which it existed. Another remarkable feature in this punishment was, its gross inequality and uncertainty. The punishment was not that which was consonant to the nature of the offence, or to the intention of the court which awarded it, but depended on the humour of the mob. The case of Dr Shebbeare was a remarkable one. He had been sentenced to the pillory; but though this was intended as a disgrace, it turned out a sort of triumph. He was put upon, but not in the pillory; the sheriff held an umbrella over his head to shelter him from the rain or the sun; and a servant stood by to attend upon and hand him refreshment, while he was at the same time applauded by the spectators: so that the punishment, instead of being disgraceful to him, was an insult upon the law. Another case applicable to the point was that of Daniel Isaac Eaton. He had been put in the pillory for a very serious offence, that of endeavouring to throw contempt and ridicule on the fundamental principles of the Christian reli-

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gion; and as an example to the prisoners, he presumed, he was pilloried opposite to Newgate gaol: but the crowd, probably from some mistake as to the nature of his offence, applauded him. In this case, too, the punishment was far more lenient than the judges intended. In other cases it was more severe; for instance, when the punishment of the pillory was inflicted for offences which had a tendency to exasperate the feelings of the populace, such as the attempting to commit an unnatural and horrible crime. Neither the law nor the judge intended that this crime, abominable as it was, should be punished with death, and yet such was frequently the result. The death, too, which such criminals sometimes met with was more severe than the punishment of death when inflicted in the ordinary way. He himself had witnessed an instance of this in 1780. A person was pilloried in Southwark for an unnatural crime, and the criminal was so treated by the mob that he actually died the moment he was taken from the machine. Judge Eyre, in a case where one had by perjury attempted to swear away another person's life, had refrained from inflicting the punishment of the pillory, on the very ground that the punishment might in reality be different from what the court intended."

Lord Ellenborough, in answer to these observations, contended, that the bill was defective, in as much as it had substituted no other punishment in the room of that which was proposed to be abolished. With respect to the inequality and uncertainty of this punishment, his lordship said, that this objection might be, in some degree, applied to all other punishments, unless the officers of the law intrusted with the execution did their duty. In the case of Dr Shebbeare, the sheriff had not done his duty, and was afterwards punished by fine and imprisonment. As to the danger of the punishment exceeding the measure of the law, the learned lord remarked, that by the law the officers were to take care that it did not exceed its just measure; —that the criminal was to be punished by disgrace and exposure, "*salvis tamen membris et vita.*" But Lord Ellenborough could hardly fail to be convinced, had he considered the many instances of horrible outrage committed by the mob on unfortunate persons under this punishment, that it is impossible to prevent the occurrence of these shocking scenes.—The Lord Chancellor was of opinion, that it would be unwise to abolish the punishment of the pillory in some cases; in cases, for instance, of perjury and fraud. He suggested, that the best mode of proceeding would be, to desire the judges in another session to prepare a bill on this subject, pointing out the cases, where, according to their experience, the punishment of the pillory was proper, and the cases to which, though at present applicable, it was not suited.—The bill was then ordered to be committed that day two months; or, in other words, was thrown out.

The natural predilection which men of eminence in the law entertain for its institutions, and the wholesome jealousy with which they regard innovations on established practice, or ancient principle, accounts for the stand made by the high law authorities on this and similar occasions. But if punishments in a free country can only be inflicted by the sentence of a court of justice, that must be an imperfect one, which may be to the criminal a scene either of triumph, or of the most horrid torture, at the pleasure of the mob. And if it is the object of the law that the punishment of the guilty should operate beneficially upon the feelings of the spectators, what shall we say of that mode, which, instead of impressing awe on the rabble by its solemnity,

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invites them to brutalize themselves, by taking up the task of the executioner, and pelting, stoning, and sometimes murdering a wretch, who has neither the means of flight nor resistance!

The act of parliament extending the trial by jury in civil causes to Scotland, was passed during the present session; a measure which may be considered as by far the most important, and, it is hardly to be doubted, the most beneficial alteration on the jurisprudence of Scotland which has taken place for a long course of years. In the discussion on this bill, in the committee of the House of Commons, the following very judicious remarks were made by Sir Samuel Romilly. He said, that "he did not rise to oppose the progress of this bill. He thought, on the contrary, that it was a bill which would confer the most important benefits on Scotland. He could by no means consider it as a mere experiment, but as an immediate remedy for a great practical evil. From his own experience in appeal causes from Scotland, he knew that the greater part of them turned upon mere matters of fact. The mode of trying these questions now in Scotland was enormously expensive as well as dilatory. A case which in England might be disposed of by a jury five or six weeks after the action was brought, was often pending in Scotland for seven or eight years. There was another great advantage, in the trial by jury, that the countenance, the deportment, and tone of voice of the witness, was a sort of living commentary on the value of his testimony. This was an advantage that trials taken upon written depositions could not have. He certainly valued highly the conscientious scruples of those petitioners, who supposed, that after taking the juror's oath, they could not give up their opinion to their fellow jurors, so as to agree upon a verdict. In this country, however, where the trial by jury had existed for many centuries, a man would be supposed to have a very perverted understanding, if he could imagine that, after having advanced all the arguments he could in support of his impressions, he would be perjured in finally acquiescing with the opinions of the majority, and finding a verdict accordingly. He must also observe, that he thought this bill might be a precedent for important amelioration in a part of the English law. In our ecclesiastical courts, the proceedings (which also went on written depositions,) were enormously expensive and dilatory. He hoped that when the attention of the House was called to the advantages of trial by jury in Scotland, they would also see the propriety of a similar mode of trial in many of the cases before our ecclesiastical courts."—The bill was carried through parliament with the utmost cordiality and unanimity, and any difference of opinion that took place related to subordinate matters of detail. The law, as it now stands, differs from the English law as to jury-trial in several particulars. The Jury Court is not a separate and independent tribunal, but a subsidiary court to the Court of Session, before which all causes must be brought, as formerly. It is only particular questions of fact which are remitted for trial to the Jury Court; and even these questions the judges of the Court of Session have it in their discretion to remit or not to the Jury Court, as they shall think proper. When a question of fact has thus been tried before the Jury Court, the verdict is returned to the Court of Session, who, in the further progress of the cause, proceed upon the fact thus established, in the same manner as if it had been conclusively established by evidence before themselves. Thus the Jury Court is precisely a substitute,

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and an excellent one, for the old method of taking proofs *by commission*. Another peculiarity in the new Scotch system is, that, if a jury cannot bring themselves to a state of unanimity in twelve hours, they are dismissed, and a new trial is granted. These modifications of the law of jury trial, as it has been established in England, have been wisely adopted in its first introduction into a country, on whose forms of judicial procedure it has made so great and sudden a change. But, as the inhabitants of Scotland become better acquainted with it, and more thoroughly convinced of its many inestimable advantages, it will, in all probability, be gradually more extended in its application, and more completely assimilated to the practice of England.

The provision for dismissing a jury, if they cannot agree unanimously in their verdict in twelve hours, was introduced, in consideration of the scruples of a great number of individuals in Scotland, who apprehend, that it must be often impossible for a jury to give a unanimous verdict without some of the members violating their oath: And this provision has been happily imagined, as it obtains all the advantages of the system of unanimous juries, while it secures to the most conscientious juryman the certainty of not being compelled to concur in a verdict contrary to his own opinion, and, at the same time, avoids the inconveniencies of juries making up their verdicts from a mere majority of votes. An opinion has gone abroad, that, as in the case of unanimous juries, the verdict must be agreed on, in many instances, from an understanding that the minority must yield to the majority, this unanimity is merely fictitious; and that, therefore, it would be better to have it declared at once that the verdict shall be determined by the voice of the majority. But though this may, at first sight, seem to be the case, yet, on a nearer consideration of the matter, the practical effects of the two systems will appear very different. The difference consists in the tendency of the one system, much more than the other, to produce a patient, anxious, and candid investigation of the case before the jury. Where the law expressly declares, that the voice of the majority shall be held to be the verdict of the jury, it may too often be the case that this voice may be collected in a careless and hasty manner. The majority may be swayed by the plausible opinions of one or two individuals who may take a prominent part in the discussion; while others, who may be far from satisfied with the arguments they hear, may content themselves with simply expressing their dissent, holding themselves not responsible for a verdict given by a majority of which they formed no part. It is well known, that many men may form just and sound opinions, and yet have such a disinclination and inaptitude to argue in support of these opinions, that, in ordinary cases, and without some paramount inducement, they will sooner submit to see them overruled than enter into any controversy in vindication of them. Now, it is precisely the legal obligation on juries to give a unanimous verdict which furnishes this paramount inducement on every man who is strongly impressed with the soundness of his own opinion, to communicate this impression to the others. When the verdict must by law be unanimous, every juryman, by his oath, becomes responsible for it to his conscience. But what is the extent of this responsibility? and what is the extent of the obligation thus imposed on him by his oath? Can he expect that eleven other men must inevitably form the same opinion with himself, an expectation which, by the laws of human nature, is plainly chime-

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rical? Or is he obliged to insist, that the whole body of his brethren shall remain in confinement, till the greater number of them are starved into a concurrence in his opinion? If the first of these suppositions is obviously impossible, the second is as obviously unjust; for the individual in question would hardly have so much reason to be at peace with his conscience, after having compelled a number of others by a contest of physical strength to adopt his opinion, which he himself must admit to have been *presumptively* wrong, as if he had yielded to the united conviction of the greater number, and concurred in an opinion which must have been *presumptively* right. Still, however, every individual of the jury *is* responsible for the verdict; but the responsibility must in reason be limited to this, that every individual shall exert his faculties to the uttermost; first, in an unremitting attention to the proceedings of the trial, and next, in a most patient and careful examination and discussion of the evidence, in order that he may have it in his power, in the case of the general conviction not being in unison with his own, to say to his own conscience, that he has used every means in his power, not only to investigate the case, but to place his views in the clearest light before his brethren. This is plainly all that he could do; and it is hardly to be conceived how any conscience should be so scrupulous as to feel it insufficient. If it it be answered to all this, that a juryman is bound by his oath to deliver his verdict according to his own opinion alone, the reply is, that this is not the case. The meaning of the oath must be taken as interpreted by the law of the land; and that this is not the interpretation of the oath, must be inferred from the very circumstance of the law requiring the verdict to be unanimous. The law cannot demand an impossibility; and therefore, in requiring juries to concur in an unanimous verdict, it requires merely, that each juryman shall make every possible exertion to form a sound opinion himself, and to produce it in others; and that he shall, after having done so, concur in the opinion of the greater number, though it should not be the same with his own.

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CHAP. III.

Proceedings in Parliament on the Bill for Restricting the Importation of Corn.

THE subject which received the greatest share of the attention of parliament this year, was the state of the corn laws. The unexampled distress of the agricultural interest, the ruinous effects of which were now felt by every class of the community, rendered it a matter of paramount importance to endeavour to find some remedy for an evil of such fearful magnitude. It will be recollected, that, in the preceding year, a bill was brought into parliament for protecting the agriculturists by additional restrictions on the importation of corn; but that this bill was not passed. Committees, however, were appointed by both Houses, for the purpose of enquiring into the cause of the agricultural distress, and the means of relieving it. These committees entered into long and laborious investigations, in the course of which they examined a great number of individuals, who, from their situation or pursuits, were supposed to be most qualified to afford useful information; and after these enquiries had been completed, and the reports of both committees had been laid before their respective Houses, Mr Robinson, on 17th February, 1815, brought forward, in a committee of the whole House of Commons, the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that any sort of foreign corn, meal, or flour, which may by law be imported into the united kingdom, shall at all times be allowed to be brought to the united kingdom and to be warehoused there, without payment of any duty whatever.

2. "That such corn, meal, and flour, so warehoused, may at all times be taken out of the warehouse, and be exported without payment of any duty whatever.

3. "That such corn, meal, or flour, so warehoused, may be taken out of the warehouse, and be entered for home consumption in the united kingdom, without payment of any duty whatever, whenever foreign corn, meal, or flour, of the same sort, shall by law be admissible into the united kingdom for home consumption.

4. "That such foreign corn, meal, or flour, shall be permitted to be imported into the united kingdom, for home consumption, without payment of any duty, whenever the average prices of the several sorts of British corn, made up and published in the manner now by law required, shall be at or above the prices hereafter specified, viz.

	Per Qr.
Wheat	80s.
Rye, Pease, and Beans	53s.
Barley, Beer, or Bigg	40s.
Oats	26s.

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But that, whenever the average prices of British corn shall respectively be below the prices above stated, no foreign corn, or meal, or flour, made from any of the respective sorts of foreign corn above enumerated, shall be allowed to be imported or taken out of warehouse for home consumption, nor shall any foreign flour be at any time importable into Ireland.

5. "That the average prices of the several sorts of British corn, by which the importation of foreign corn, meal, or flour, into the united kingdom is to be regulated and governed, shall continue to be made up and published in the manner now required by law; but that, if it shall hereafter at any time appear that the average prices of British corn, in the six weeks immediately succeeding the 15th February, 15th May, 15th August, and 15th November in each year, shall have fallen below the prices at which foreign corn, meal, or flour, are by law allowed to be imported for home consumption, no such foreign corn, meal, or flour, shall be allowed to be imported into the united kingdom for home consumption, from any place between the rivers Eyder and Garonne, both inclusive, until a new average shall be made up and published in the London Gazette, for regulating the importation into the united kingdom for the succeeding quarter.

6. "That such corn, meal, or flour, being the produce of any British colony or plantation in North America, as may now by law be imported into the united kingdom, may hereafter be imported for home consumption, without payment of any duty, whenever the average prices of British corn, made up and published as by law required, shall be at or above the prices hereafter specified, viz.

	Per Qr.
Wheat	67*s.*
Rye, Pease, and Beans	44*s.*
Barley, Beer, or Bigg	33*s.*
Oats	22*s.*

But that, whenever the prices of British corn respectively shall be below the prices above specified, corn, or meal, or flour, made from any of the respective sorts of corn above enumerated, the produce of any British colony or plantation in North America, shall no longer be allowed to be imported into the united kingdom for home consumption.

7. "That such corn, meal, or flour, the produce of any British colony or plantation in North America, as may now by law be imported into the united kingdom, shall at all times be permitted to be brought there and warehoused, without payment of any duty whatever.

9. "That such corn, meal, or flour, so warehoused, may be taken out of warehouse, and entered for home consumption in the united kingdom, whenever corn, meal, or flour, of the like description, imported direct from any such colony or plantation, shall be admissible for home consumption, but not otherwise."

These resolutions were discussed at great length in the committee on the 17th, 22d, and 23d February, when they were agreed to. On the 27th a long debate took place on the question, whether the report of the committee should be brought up, which was carried in the affirmative. On 28th February the resolutions of the committee were agreed to by the House, and leave given to bring in a bill upon these resolutions. On 1st March the bill was accordingly presented by Mr Robinson, and read a first time; and every stage of its progress, till it was passed on the 10th of March, was accompanied by long and animated debates. On the 13th March the bill was brought into the House of Lords, and read a first time. At the same time a motion was made by Earl Grey for a further enquiry into the state of the corn laws, which, after a long discussion, was negatived by a

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large majority. The bill, in all its stages, was discussed as fully as it had been in the Lower House, and on 20th March it was passed. Besides the debates on the bill, a great deal of incidental discussion took place in consequence of a number of petitions which were presented against it

We shall endeavour to give as correct a view as possible of the arguments used by the opposite parties in the debates on this important question, endeavouring to throw them, as far as it can be done, into the form of a connected discussion.

It was contended, in the first place, by the supporters of the bill, that this measure was necessary in consequence of the general system adopted, not only in this, but in every other commercial country, of protecting and encouraging the different branches of industry by legislative provisions of different kinds. It was, no doubt, recognised as a general principle in political economy, that the legislature ought not to interfere in matters of commerce, but that the course of trade ought to be left to itself. This general principle, however, could not be acted upon by one nation, unless all the other nations, or at least the most considerable ones, were also to adopt it. In such a state of the world, each nation might purchase whatever commodities it required from those quarters where they could be produced and brought home at the cheapest rate and of the best quality. But the period, unfortunately, was not arrived when the world should be so enlightened as to act generally upon any such principle. Each nation endeavours to protect and encourage its own commerce and manufactures, at the expence of other nations, by duties on the importation of the produce of other countries, or by absolute prohibition of such importation: And, while such is the system adopted by the world in general, no single nation can act on a different one without disadvantage. Accordingly, a great body of legislative provisions have been made in this country for the protection of our trade and manufactures. These had, in the course of time, been extended into such a complicated system, that the legislature had often found it necessary to protect particular branches of industry, in order to prevent them from falling a sacrifice to other descriptions of industry, even in this country, which, in consequence of some previous provisions, would have been otherwise more favoured. In consequence of all this, our manufactures had been encouraged by such high protecting duties, amounting frequently to prohibitions, that foreign manufactures were completely excluded from competition in our market: For example (as stated by Mr J. P. Grant,) woollen cloths imported paid 100*l.* per cent.; cotton goods 85*l.* 10*s.* per cent.; glass 114*l.* per cent.; brass and copper goods 59*l.* per cent.; earthen ware 79*l.* per cent.; dressed leather 142*l.* per cent.; gold and silver goods 80*l.*; gilt ware 100*l.* &c. It was admitted, that this system of legislative enactments may have been carried too far; but it has been so long acted upon that the state of the country has adapted itself to it. There is no idea of doing it away; and indeed it would be impossible. In such circumstances, it follows, that not to protect any one branch of agricultural industry, while all other branches are protected, is positively to discourage it; and surely, of all branches, this is the last that ought to be discouraged. This argument, as to the expediency of reciprocal protection, was not confined to the case of commerce and agriculture, as viewed in connection with each other; for it was also to be considered, that one branch of agricultural produce was already protected. The importation,

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of foreign cattle was prohibited; but if protection was to be given to any description of agricultural produce, it should chiefly be given to grain. It was farther remarked, that Adam Smith himself admitted that there were cases in which it would be advisable to lay burdens on the competition of foreigners. One of these was, when such a measure was necessary for the defence of the country, and he instanced the navigation act. Another case was, when a tax was imposed on the production of the commodity at home. Agricultural produce might be said to be in this situation; for it was the same thing whether a tax was imposed on the production of a commodity, or whether it was excluded from benefits enjoyed by other branches of industry. It was observed by Mr Morritt, that "the farmers were loaded with the support of the ecclesiastical establishment,—the support of the poor, which had been of late years much increasing,—and of the roads, which were of so much benefit to the commerce of the interior. How should it be said then, that there was a freedom of trade, if the agriculturists were subjected to so many burdens without countervailing advantages?"

In the *second* place, it was argued, that if an adequate protection was not offered to the growers of corn, a great part of the land in this country now in tillage must be thrown out of cultivation, and that we should be obliged to draw a considerable proportion of our supply of grain from abroad; the consequences of which would be, not only that the prices would be higher than if we had been able to provide for our own consumption, but that we should be placed in the alarming situation of depending for our subsistence on the pleasure of foreign, and probably hostile nations.

The manner in which a refusal to grant a protection to the agriculturist would operate in throwing a portion of the land out of cultivation, was explained by Mr Robinson, who observed, that "the great increase of agriculture which had taken place during the last twenty years, had inevitably been accompanied by an increase of charge to the consumer. It was well known, that those parts of the country which were so fruitful as not to require a great deal of cultivation, when compared with the population, could only produce sustenance to a limited extent; and in proportion as that population increased, and the number of manufacturing establishments became extended, in the same proportion did the call for agricultural produce increase. But the supply to this increased demand could only come from that species of land which could not be cultivated without very considerable expense; and the produce, therefore, of this kind of land, if cultivated at all, must necessarily be sold at a dear rate."—Mr Robinson went on to shew, that if, in consequence of a supply of foreign corn, the market was so depressed as not to afford the cultivator of those inferior lands such a price as would remunerate him, they must, of course, be allowed to go out of cultivation.—The fact on which this reasoning mainly depended, that domestic corn could not contend in our markets with foreign corn seemed to be nearly agreed on by all parties. Indeed it appeared to be proved by the reports and the evidence, that without some alteration in the existing laws, we must be undersold by foreigners in our own markets. The growers of foreign corn were not so heavily loaded with taxes as ours, and consequently could afford to sell it cheaper. Mr Huskisson stated, that large imports from France had arrived on the southern coast of England, where the markets were so overstocked that the English farmer could not get a bidding

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for his corn at any price; that he had seen the invoices of those cargoes, and that after all the charges of conveyance were added, the corn so exported could be sold for 50*s*. per quarter.

In such a state of things as this, with a diminished cultivation at home, and an increased importation from abroad, it was argued, that the price of corn would, in the end, become higher than if we had kept ourselves independent of foreign supply, and, indeed, that the country would generally be in a state of want and scarcity. "For a time," said Mr Robinson, "there might be abundance, but in the long run we should be reduced to great want and distress. Suppose that, relying on the importations of foreign corn, and paying for it, for a considerable length of time, at a lower rate, as we might do,—suppose the consequence of this to be, that our own produce was diminished. Suppose that, in this situation of things, a scarcity occurred abroad and at home; in that case we could not get corn, and thus we should have to contend with a double deficiency." But there were many other causes besides scarcity which might impede or prevent our supply from foreign nations. The nations now able to supply us, might, in the course of time, be prevented from doing so by their own increasing wealth and population. They might be prevented by the policy, or impolicy of their governments. It was said by Mr Western, that, in France, the importation would cease by law when corn became 49*s*. per quarter; and he asked, what security had this country for a constant supply from France? He added, that, in 1764, the French issued a decree respecting the trade in grain, to the effect that all corn exported should be conveyed in French ships, navigated by French seamen; and he asked, what should prevent other countries from following a similar practice, if they found we depended on them for food for our population? Another cause of the precariousness of our foreign supply arose from the chance of our going to war with the nations from whom it was derived. "For the long continuance of peace with France," Lord Binning said, "he placed the firmest confidence in the wise and virtuous prince who had succeeded our bitter enemy, and in the moderation of the government of this country. But should we be driven into a war with France, her hostility would be tremendous when she found herself at once our enemy and our granary. He hoped, indeed, that even wars might be conducted on more liberal principles than hitherto, but still he could not think of risking the entire subsistence of the nation on such a hope, nor be content to rely on the precarious generosity of an enemy for that which was most necessary to our own subsistence. Famine, as applied to fortresses, was one of the most common, as well as one of the most dreadful means of conducting hostility; and what was recognized as a legal mode of warfare on a small scale, might easily be extended to the blockading of whole lines of sea-coast, and the famishing whole nations."

On this subject some striking observations were made by Mr Grattan. He remarked, that "much had been said of the commercial relationship of the country, by those who seem to have forgotten that her political relationship was much more important. The existence of the nation depended on grain; those who supplied us had our lives in their hands—they were the masters of our very being; our resources, our finances, our trade, must depend on the will of others; and would it be wise to put the trident itself into the hands of those who would be our enemies the moment it ceased to be their interest to be our

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friends? Instead of continuing a physically independent, we should become a physically dependent people. Suppose we were morally certain that we could obtain a supply of grain from abroad, did it follow as certainly that we could obtain that supply at a cheap rate? Might it not at some future period be the policy of the country from whom it was derived, to lay a heavy duty on corn? And might not England, that had ruined her own agriculture, be compelled to pay an exorbitant tax for the very subsistence of her inhabitants? The market at home was always certain, the market abroad uncertain. By looking only to the home market, we should encourage all branches of trade, as well the merchant as the agriculturist; by looking to the foreign market, we should effectually throw our own land out of cultivation. With the assistance of Ireland, the empire was independent of the world. By discouraging the farmer, we not only made the whole world independent of us, but we actually degraded ourselves into supplicants and petitioners to those who had been our bitterest enemies. Let us employ and foster our own means, and we should have more corn than any amount to which even the imagination could extend. Give to Ireland the encouragement to which she was entitled, and the question would not be, whether we wanted corn, but how we should dispose of our abundance: then, indeed, would arise another care for the government, for the grower might be smothered in his own plenty. How many thousand acres were there in Great Britain yet uncultivated? How many thousand more in Ireland, that might, by due encouragement, be converted into the best land for the production of wheat? And would the House consent to cast away food placed in our own power, for the miserable and mistaken policy of procuring grain cheaply in one year, and of entailing dependence and famine upon the country ever afterwards?"

Another consequence of the agriculture of the country being allowed to fall back, and of the inferior lands being thrown out of cultivation, was stated to be, the accumulation of distress on that large proportion of the agricultural and labouring community, who had been employed in cultivating those lands. It was observed by Mr Lockhart, "that those inferior lands produced a great deal of sustenance to the country; and it was asked, where, if those soils were to be taken out of cultivation, were provisions to be procured for those who were now fed by them, who were employed in tilling them, and who, if they were given up, would be thrown out of employment? It was clear that they must be fed from the products of that land which was sufficiently rich to grow corn without a very expensive system of agriculture. Would not this raise the price of corn produced on those fine soils? And would not the poor rates, which the bad soils had hitherto helped to defray, be thrown entirely on those of a different description?" "In Great Britain," said Mr Brand, "half the population was engaged in pursuits of agriculture, and what would be their situation were things to remain unaltered? What was their state at the present moment? The labourers were unable to procure employment from the farmer, and they were consequently thrown upon the poors'-rates. By the refusal of the farmer to give employment to the labourer, he was thrown upon the overseer, who again sent him back to the farmer; and an immense number of those unfortunate individuals were now actually converted into what are called *roundsmen*, being handed round from farmer to farmer, who was to endeavour to find them some employment, that they might not become complete burdens upon the

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parish. By these means, perhaps, they earned half their usual rate of wages, and how was the other half to be supplied but from the poors'-rates?" The consequence of the agricultural population being thus thrown out of employment would be, that they would endeavour to find subsistence by crowding into the towns, and endeavouring to find subsistence by manufacturing employments. But, even supposing that there would be a demand for labour of this kind, (which was not probable) how was it possible to transform all at once a country labourer to a skilful mechanic? And was it not evident that such a violent change in the habits and mode of living of so large a body of the people must be attended with much misery? The evil effects of this change in the state of the population would not be merely temporary; "If the people now employed in agriculture," said Mr Bankes, "could be withdrawn from the country, and cooped up in towns, to follow manufactures, we should no longer have that brave and hardy peasantry which was the boast of this country,

Gens patiens operum, studiisque asperrima belli.

Instead of having a peaceable, easily governed society, the population of the country would be placed in such a state, that the peace of the community would depend upon their being constantly kept in employment. How seldom was any combination or ferment heard of in the country from the stoppage of agricultural labour? But how frequently and how recently had the peace of the country been disturbed from manufacturers being out of employment?"

The consequences to Ireland of the adoption or rejection of the bill, were particularly adverted to. Sir John Newport made a statement of the extent to which Ireland, as an agricultural country, had been affected by the Intercourse Act which had been passed in 1806, and in what proportion Britain had been benefited by her intercourse with Ireland since that period. "During the three years, 1804, 5, 6, which preceded the passing of the Intercourse Act, Ireland exported to England 975,000 quarters. In the three subsequent years, 1808, 9, 10, the exportation reached under the Intercourse Act 1,800,000 quarters; and in the three last years it had amounted to 2,170,000 quarters. In answer to this, he presumed it would be said, that Ireland was sufficiently benefited by this exportation, but was she benefited alone? No,—precisely in the same proportion of the increase in the demand for corn upon Ireland from Great Britain, had been the increase in the demand for woollens upon Great Britain from Ireland. The export of woollens from Great Britain to Ireland in the years which he had already mentioned, when speaking of the increasing exportation of corn from Ireland to Great Britain, had increased from 2,100,000 yards to 2,300,000 yards; and from 2,300,000 to 3,700,000 yards." It was further stated by Sir Frederick Flood, that Ireland had sent to Britain in 11 years corn to the value of 11 millions; and in 1812 alone, to the value of three millions. "The population of Ireland," Mr Robinson said, "would probably be found greater than was supposed, and it was decidedly agricultural. They possessed no capital to invest in manufactures. That country grew more than it could consume. Even if the inhabitants consumed the same species of food which was made use of in England, still he believed the country produced more than enough for their support. The Irish did not, however, consume the produce of their soil: They reared it up for sale, and if we did not purchase it what would become of them? What were they to

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do if they were driven from the home market by an unrestricted importation of grain from abroad? Whither was their produce to go? It could evidently find no room in other countries, for the French corn might be sent to any other market as well as ours; and it was not necessary for him to dwell on the consequences which must naturally result to Ireland, when thus circumstanced." Observations of a similar tendency were made by several other members, particularly Mr Ponsonby, who, after enlarging on the mutual benefits to both countries, derived from the intercourse act, which, he said, had done more for the general benefit of the empire than any public law had effected since the navigation act; and after pointing out the great and permanent supply of food which this country had received by that auspicious measure, asked "if any one who heard him would prefer that such a channel of intercourse should take its source in the Baltic, in preference to the nearer and more immediate opening which was presented by the sister kingdom? He was sure no one would;—fully believing that the time when the mischievous mode of disregarding Ireland was practised, had at length gone by."

As to the amount of the price at which importation should be prohibited, it was thought that this price ought to be made somewhat higher than the price which the farmer must obtain, in order to enable him to cultivate his land: And it was not thought, that the price of corn in the market would necessarily rise to the price thus to be fixed as the importation price. It appeared from the evidence, that 80s. per quarter for wheat was the price which ought to be fixed upon, in conformity with these views.

Such were the principles on which the bill was supported. Its opponents, in the first place, contended, that it was completely at variance with the general and received principles of political economy. It was contended, that the argument used by the advocates of the bill, that, in adopting measures for the permanent protection of agriculture, it was necessary to look to the actual situation of the policy of the country, and to recollect, that legislative measures had already been adopted for the protection of commerce and manufactures, was entirely fallacious. Lord Grenville said, that "the consideration, whether the duties which had been imposed some centuries ago on the importation of foreign manufactures, were founded on a wise or unwise view of the subject, had nothing to do with the present question, which rested entirely on its own merits. The only consideration at present was, what effect the proposed measure would have on the interests of the community? If the measures which had formerly been adopted for the protection of trade and manufactures were right, let them be continued; if wrong, let them be abrogated;—not suddenly, but with that caution with which all policy, however erroneous, so engrafted into our usage by time, should be changed: But let it be consecrated as a principle of legislation, that in no case should the grounds for advising the legislature to afford any particular protection, rest on the protection which may have been afforded in any other quarter. In fact, he could not well conceive how it could be argued, that measures admitted to have been wrong with respect to manufactures, should be right with respect to agriculture. If there were two great branches of national interest, the one subject to the operation of a system comparatively termed wise, the other subject to the operation of a system allowed to be mischievous, what necessity, he would ask, existed for making these systems uniform? If such a necessity did exist (which he abso-

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lutely denied), ought not the legislature to endeavour to produce that uniformity, by taking such steps as would bring back to the line of right the system that was acknowledged to be unwise, rather than to distort from the line of right the system which was acknowledged to be wise?" "Let it be considered," continued his lordship, "that our national interests do not form themselves into two great branches. A great majority of the people, as on the one hand they cannot be benefited by any prohibition for the protection of the manufacturer; so, on the other, they cannot be benefited by any prohibition for the protection of the agriculturist, unless, indeed, that prohibition have the effect of lowering the price of corn, which is a subject of separate and subsequent consideration. This great majority, however, uninterested as they are on the subject, are already subjected to great restraint, in consequence of the prohibitions that have been adopted for the protection of the manufacturer; and if the bill before your lordships should pass into a law, they would be subject to further, and much greater restraint, in consequence of the prohibitions that would be adopted for the protection of the agriculturist. It would be an extraordinary mode of doing justice thus to declare, that because a large, the largest part of the community, were already oppressed by favours shewn to one particular class, they should be still farther oppressed by favours shewn to another class." His lordship, however, went on to contend, that, in fact, the restrictive laws for the protection of our commerce and manufactures, were, in point of operation, almost null,—not entirely so, because, as he maintained, the abrogation of some of them would much benefit the British manufacturers, the greatest part of whom were so far from wishing for the protection of the legislature against foreign competition, that they were able to undersell their competitors in foreign markets.

Similar views, on this subject, were taken by Mr Philips and Mr Horner. Mr Philips argued, "that where the granting of exclusive privileges, or protections, had occasioned the establishment of manufactures which would not have been erected without them, these privileges had operated to the public injury. They had misdirected capital to trades, in which so far from being able to rival other countries, we were, and must always remain, naturally inferior to them. They had compelled us to buy fabrics of worse quality, and at a higher price, from our own manufacturers, which we might have had of better quality, and at a lower price, from foreigners, who, in return, would have received from us, with a material increase of our commercial wealth, those fabrics in which we have the means of surpassing them. Instead of thinking, therefore, that our commerce had flourished in consequence of these exclusive protections, he thought it more correct to say, that it had flourished in spite of them. Where they had operated they had done mischief; but luckily for the country, they had in general been inoperative." Mr Horner, after maintaining that this question must be judged of according to the principles of political economy, as received and sanctioned by our best writers on that science, contended, that the proposition, that, because the manufacturers enjoyed some protecting duties, the agriculturists were entitled to a similar protection, was merely a kind of *argumentum ad hominem*, and quite untenable on any principle. He observed, that "it was not asserted on the other side, that the agriculturists suffered by the protecting duties granted to the manufacturers; and in what instance,

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he asked, could the British agriculturists be conceived to suffer? From what country could they obtain any article of manufacture necessary for their consumption at a cheaper rate than they could purchase it at home, supposing trade perfectly free, and that protecting duties, as to manufactures, were totally done away? Could coarse woollen cloths, for instance, be purchased cheaper any where than in England? Or could any other article be had on better terms elsewhere? The only article, indeed, which could be supposed cheaper elsewhere, was linen, which was the manufacture of Ireland. For himself, however, he had no difficulty in declaring, that all the protecting duties (as they were called) at present in existence in this country, were but so many clogs and impediments to our commercial prosperity; and that whatever might be the gain, which must be partial and comparatively insignificant, derived probably to the most insignificant in trade, the effect of the whole system must be, that the produce of our national wealth was considerably diminished."

The opponents of the bill next contended, on several grounds, that it was more expedient to adhere to the system of procuring a regular supply of corn by means of importation, than to endeavour to make this country depend for its subsistence entirely on its internal resources. Although they admitted, that, in the progress of agriculture, the produce of our soil was greatly increased, and was probably capable of being increased still further, yet they denied, that this country could be made to furnish a permanent supply, equal to the consumption of its increasing population. It was contended, that, as our agriculture cannot be farther increased, without bringing into cultivation poor and barren lands, which cannot be cultivated but with great expense, the consequence of this must be, that the price of corn would be unnecessarily raised much above the rate at which it might be procured by importation. Mr Baring observed, that "if land would not produce corn without greater sums being expended on it than the corn was worth, it might be made to furnish a supply which would make us purchase our bread at eighteen-pence the loaf, when, if we exerted our industry on that same land to raise that which was congenial to its soil, by exchanging its produce against that of the corn lands of other countries, we might get our loaf for a shilling. The whole mass of the country ought not to be compelled to pay a high price for bread, that the experiment of cultivating barren lands might be tried. In nothing were the dispensations of Providence more admirable than in the care displayed, that the different soils of different countries should yield productions which might be advantageously exchanged for each other. It was much better, then, that we should employ ourselves in raising that which we might so dispose of, instead of labouring to produce that which other lands were destined to supply."—"If," said Mr Baring on another occasion, "Malta and Norway had in this manner taken it into their heads to make themselves independent of foreign countries for a supply of food, they might long have scratched their barren rocks and barren hills, before they could have produced one-tenth of the subsistence which they procure in exchange for their fisheries, and the other branches of industry which nature had placed within their reach. Undoubtedly they might, in this way, have forced some land into cultivation, which would otherwise have been neglected. In Malta the people even go so far as to bring soil from Egypt and lay it on their rocks. There is no limit to the perseverance of human in-

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dustry: but, on the principle of forcing a supply from your own soil for your own population, your population never can exceed your own produce; and the consequence, therefore, would be, that you must cut down your population to suit your corn, instead of regulating the supply of corn by the population. This is not lengthening the bed to the man, but shortening the man to the bed." Farther evils were anticipated from the operation of any attempt to make the country independent on foreign supply. Lord Grenville remarked, that "by preventing importation, it was calculated that the farmers would be induced to grow enough of corn for the consumption of the country; but in order to do so in an average of seasons, they must grow too much in a plentiful season; and how were they to dispose of the surplus? That surplus could not, in fact, find a market in any other country, and therefore must remain in the hands of our farmer. Thus the object of the bill was likely to be defeated, and the farmers become more distressed than they probably were at present. They would be rendered unable to sell cheaper, while they would be also rendered unable to export, through the operation of this measure, for forcing an encreased price of corn."—Another evil to be anticipated from this line of policy was deduced from the principle as to population first established by Mr Malthus, and now received by all writers on the subject,—that the population of a country does not increase in the same ratio with the increase in the means of subsistence, but increases in a much greater proportion. On this principle, it was contended by Lord Grenville, that "a country whose population was progressively enlarging itself, must, at some given period, be in a state that it could no longer supply food for its increasing population; consequently, if it were either wise or politic to realize the visions of some theorists, to rest only on ourselves for the supply of all our wants, to cut off all foreign commerce, and neither to buy nor sell, could such a sytem be adopted in all other commodities, still it could not be done with respect to corn, without the greatest danger, because every country must, at some time or other, depend upon foreign countries for a proportion of its food, or suffer the most aggravated miseries; and these aggravated miseries, he feared, would be the certain effect of the proposed measure."

As to the apprehended danger of this country becoming dependent on those foreign nations from which we derived our supplies of corn, this danger was considered by the opponents of the bill as altogether visionary and chimerical. The great apprehension was, that we should sink into a state of dependence upon France. But Lord Grenville stated, that our import from France was insignificant, not exceeding 145,000 quarters, while our national consumption was from 13 to 15 millions of quarters. He therefore inferred, that the idea of such dependence was quite nugatory. "We had, indeed," he observed, "usually a much larger supply from Poland and Holland; but was it therefore to be inferred, that we were dependent upon either of these countries? They were entirely ignorant of the principles of commerce who could entertain such a notion, for it might be as well said, that those countries were dependent on us. But every commercial transaction was an exchange of equivalents, in which both parties were equally interested. It could not be pretended that we were dependent upon Russia, because this country afforded the principal market for her produce. On the contrary, Russia was, by that circumstance, so dependent on us, that

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this dependence notoriously occasioned that effort on the part of Russia which had led to the deliverance of Europe. The fact was, that the interest which the Russian landholders felt in their commercial intercourse with this country, was the great cause of the restoration of the pacific relations of Russia; and why should not the landed interest of France feel equally well disposed towards this country, if our market were opened to their produce, through a free trade in corn? Such a circumstance must, indeed, serve to excite a strong interest in France in the maintenance of peace with this country. But could it be supposed, that, because France could thus feel an interest in selling her produce to us, we should therefore become dependent on her? The idea was absurd; quite as absurd, indeed, as the wild maxim prevailing among some politicians on the continent, that we were dependent on those nations to whom we sold our manufactures; the buyers, in such cases, being just as dependent as the sellers. Yet from this absurd maxim it was often assumed, that this, the most independent nation in the world, was dependent on its customers, who were its customers only to supply their own wants. But if it were maintained that we were dependent, because we brought commodities from other countries, then we must contrive to supply all our wants at home, in order to guard against the imaginary danger of dependence. This supply was, however, impossible. Some of our most essential articles must be had from other countries,—naval stores for instance. But, the apprehension of dependence upon other nations, because we purchased from them, was quite a new notion. We must, in fact, buy, or we could not sell; we must import, or we could not export. The old maxim, that the balance of exports over imports constituted the wealth of a country, was quite fallacious; that wealth being, in fact, created by the profit arising out of the exchange of those articles which one country could produce cheaper than another; and which exchange must, of course, be mutually beneficial. But if this country endeavoured to supply herself both with corn and manufactures, she must possess a double capital, enough to supply the loom and the plough, or one or the other must be neglected. Now, the question was, whether it would be wise on our part to abandon or to hazard the loom, which was found so productive of national wealth, on the speculation of becoming a great agricultural country. The country had been hitherto found incompetent to grow sufficient corn for for its consumption; and the question was, whether, by pursuing our prosperous system of manufacture, we should not be able, through the disposal of that manufacture abroad, to procure corn considerably cheaper than we could procure it at home."

Mr Horner also treated the apprehension of danger from our dependance on a foreign supply as altogether visionary.—"It had been," he answered, "most tenaciously maintained by the advocates for this apprehension, that it would be impossible for the whole navy of England to import any very large proportion, much less an adequate supply of corn for our subsistence. This, however, these gentlemen seemed to feel an admission hostile to their own proposition; and therefore, in order to take off the weight of such admission, they asserted, that even a small quantity of imported corn would have a material effect upon the market price. This, however, he could not admit. A comparatively small quantity of imported corn might affect the market price upon a particular day, or for a few days; but the price must ultimately

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and permanently depend upon the proportion of the supply to the demand, and the proportion of supply from abroad was in no degree likely to be considerable. But supposing the supply to be even considerable, the apprehensions expressed on this subject were still, in his mind, exaggerated and fallacious; nor was it even probable that we should have to depend upon a foreign supply to such an extent as to endanger the interests of our own agriculture. A great deal of this apprehension had been propagated, which was negatived by the papers on the table, especially with regard to the supply derived from what was called our natural enemy. He would readily admit, that if it could be rendered apparent, that, in any event, we should have to depend upon France for food, a protecting duty, as it was termed, should be immediately granted to avert such a calamity; and to this grant he would accede, not from any commercial jealousy, which he would always deprecate, but from political jealousy, to which it would, in such a case, be our duty to attend. What was the fact? Was France a corn-exporting country? Did it not appear from papers on the table that our great import of corn had been, not from France, but from Holland, and from Belgium, the sovereign of which was of our own creation? Thus we derived a supply of corn, not from a natural enemy, as France was denominated, but from our own probably permanent ally. But France could never be regarded as a great exporting country of corn. If she were, it would be a proof of her impoverishment—for no rich country was ever a great exporter of corn. No: the poor country was always the exporter of that article to the rich, for which she received manufactures in return. France had in fact become, for the last year, an exporter of corn, in consequence of an extremely redundant harvest, and from the same cause she was an exporter in the year 1810. But France could never be expected to rival this country in agriculture; for, from every information that had reached us, her system of agriculture was exceedingly inferior to our own, while her grain was also materially inferior in quality. How then could it be apprehended, that we should have to depend upon that nation for supply in any event, especially when we had to look not only to Holland as a medium for furnishing the produce of the banks of the Rhine, but to Flanders, to the Baltic, to Poland, and to America? With a peace, indeed, so consolidated as the gentlemen on the other side promised, he thought all apprehension on this score quite visionary. But even calculating upon the renewal of war, and the re-appearance of some extravagant tyrant, who, with a combination of all the powers of Europe, would speculate upon our total exclusion from continental commerce, he should still think such an apprehension groundless; for it was notorious from experience, that even when the experiment of this exclusion was made, namely, from 1810 to 1812, a larger importation had taken place into this country, especially from France, than was ever known within the same compass at any former period. The apprehension, then, of depriving this country of foreign supply, must, under any circumstances, be regarded as totally chimerical."

Independently of these considerations, it was contended that it was impossible, under either system of policy, to prevent a part of the inferior lands of this country from going out of cultivation; and that, therefore, if this circumstance is to be followed by the consequences apprehended from it, these consequences must take place at any rate. This argument was stated by Earl Grey and Mr Horner, who

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maintained, that no protection could be offered to the English grower against the cultivators of Ireland, who could produce corn at a cheaper rate than in England, and who would be consequently able to undersell the English growers in their own markets; and that, therefore, the cultivators of inferior lands in England would not only have to contend with the cultivator of the richer soils in this country, but with the growers of Ireland, both of whom would be able to undersell them; the consequence of which would be, that these inferior lands could no longer be cultivated.

But, it was further said, it has been found from experience that it is not by a system of importation that our agriculture is injured. Mr Baring observed, that "the great cause of the increase of importation of late years, was the increase in the population of the country, the increase of our manufactures, and our different establishments. From these circumstances we had become a great importing country, notwithstanding which, the prices had always continued high. This made quite against the argument, that, when importation of foreign corn was suffered, prices would be low. For the last twenty years we had continually imported corn, and the excess was greater than at any time before on record. We had never before imported one-half of what we had imported during the last twenty years. One would think, on the principles of the proposers of the measure, that this excess would have had the effect of discouraging our agriculture. Now, what was the fact? There never was such an improvement in our agriculture as had taken place during the last fifteen or twenty years. This not only disproved the argument that importation was injurious to our agriculture, but it shewed also that the increased importation had arisen from an increased population, and not from any detriment to our own agriculture." Similar observations were made by Mr Calcraft, who added, that "it was found that the great importation which had taken place did not at all interfere with the profits of the farmer. The farmer need not, in ordinary years, look with any degree of alarm at any importation; and from what he knew of the feeling of the farmers on this subject, he did not believe that they did look with alarm at it. The late meeting in Kent had not been generally attended by the farmers. The farmers throughout the country were, he believed, waiting with patience to see what the House would do for them, without troubling them with any solicitations."

It was, in the next place, maintained by the opponents of the measure, that it could not have the effect contemplated by its supporters, of rendering prices eventually steadier and lower than they would otherwise be. Mr Philips said, that "it seemed somewhat inconsistent to tell the House, that the effectual way to lower the price was to acquiesce in a measure expressly intended to raise it. But how (he asked) is this moderation and uniformity of price to be produced?—by contracting the market of supply. Thus, while, in all other instances, moderation and uniformity of price are found to be in proportion to the extent of the market of supply, in the instance of corn, they are to be in proportion to the limitation of it; and, in a commodity peculiarly liable to be affected by the variation of the seasons, moderation and uniformity of price, and abundance, are to be attained by preventing importations from foreign countries correcting the effect of the varieties of climate, and a scanty harvest in our own. To him it appeared that no measure could be better calculated to produce directly opposite

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consequences." It was maintained, that if the importation price was fixed at 80*s*., the price of corn in the market would never be lower than this; and Mr Baring supported this proposition by a reference to the history of the corn laws. "On looking back," he said, "it would be found, that an alteration on the importation price had always produced a corresponding and instantaneous change on the price in the market. Whenever they raised the protection to the grower, it was found that this rise was invariably followed by an increase of price to the consumer. For the five years preceding 1764, when an alteration took place, the price of the quarter of wheat was 1*l*. 10*s*. 2*d*., and for the five years from 1764 to 1769, it was 2*l*. 2*s*. 2*d*. The raising of the importation price in 1764, was therefore attended with a great corresponding rise to the consumer. That no rise of price took place for a long period before, was owing to government leaving alone the laws; for no material alteration in them had taken place for about sixty-five years. Prices continued nearly the same from 1764 to 1794, during which period no alteration of the importation price had taken place. In 1794 the importation price was again altered. For the five years before 1794, the price was 2*l*. 7*s*. the quarter; and for the five years from 1794 to 1799, it was 3*l*. 4*s*. Thus it would be found, that a rise of price to the consumer had invariably followed every alteration in the importation price." With regard to the necessity of the measure, to guard against a fluctuation of prices, it was stated by Mr Horner, that "for the last seven years, when our importation of corn was greater than at any former period, the fluctuation was much less than during any period of the same duration since the revolution, and this fact he had ascertained by examining the Eton Tables. Within the last seven years, too, it was notorious that our agriculture had been in the most flourishing state,—much more flourishing, indeed, than when it was most the fashion to grant bounties upon the export, and to impose restrictions upon the import of corn. So much as to the pretence of a steady price, which was looked for as the result of the proposed measure. In his opinion, however, the best security for a steady price, that is, a fair price to the consumer, was not a measure, the witnesses adduced to support which deponed that 80*s*., or even 96*s*. was necessary to enable the farmer to grow corn, while its advocates argued that its tendency would be to reduce the price of that article,—but to leave the dealer in corn subject to this impression, that, if he raised his price to an undue rate, corn would be imported. This impression, he conceived, and common sense would sanction the conception, would be the best means of keeping corn at a fair price, and correcting all excesses."

It was further objected to the proposed law, that, by raising the price of corn, it would raise the price of labour; the consequence of which would be, that our manufacturers would no longer be able to compete with foreigners in the foreign markets. Mr Philips, after pointing out the manner in which the price of provisions acts upon the price of labour, and shewing that it is impossible for a high price of provisions to consist permanently with a low price of labour, proceeded to apply this principle to the case of our manufacturers. After making a calculation, from which it appeared that the excess of the price of labour in this country above that of France was 48 per cent., he wished it to be considered, what must be the effect of such an excessive price of labour employed in our manufactures, when compared with the low price of la-

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low employed in the manufactures of France, and what an advantage it must give to the French manufacturers in their attempts to rival us on the continent. He said, "that we ought not to delude ourselves with the notion, that because our manufactures had hitherto been superior in some respects to those of other countries, that superiority would be easily maintained. Our advantage had been principally in our superior capital and establishments, and in the disciplined industry of our workmen. But capital did not belong exclusively to this country: it might easily be exported wherever it could be more profitably employed. He had not had an opportunity of seeing the cotton manufactures of France, but he had conversed with several gentlemen more capable than himself of judging correctly of them; and among the rest with the honourable member for Glasgow (Mr Kirkman Finlay), who had lately visited that country; and they all concurred in expressing their great surprise at the state of those manufactures, at the extraordinary progress which had been made in them during the war, and at the excellent fabrics which they produced." Mr Horner, after remarking that the necessary requisites to enable us to preserve our superiority in our manufactures were two, capital and skill, said, that "these were not necessarily domiciled in this country, but might, like any of the other goods of fortune, take to themselves wings and fly away; and that it was no unfair or unreasonable thing to conjecture, that, if to the different difficulties under which our manufacturers now laboured, were added the proposed regulations as to the price of corn, these would be speedily followed by a departure from this country of the capital and skill which had hitherto given life to our manufactures, seeing we were about, in the same breath, to multiply the taxes on our manufactures, and to increase the price of corn."

The proposed law was represented, by some of its opponents, as an undue attempt to extend the system of protection to the landed interest, at the expence of the consumers, the people at large. Mr Baring entered into a long statement to shew, that this measure would have the effect of making the people pay an enormous bounty for the support of the landed interest. The substance of what he said on this head is, that, had there been no corn laws, it appeared, from the prices in the neighbouring countries, that the price of corn in this country would only have been 45*s.*; but that, the present importation price being 65*s.*, it made a difference of 20*s.* per quarter, which was paid for the protection of the landed interest; and that this, on the whole amount of corn consumed in Britain, would amount to 18,750,000*l.* paid by the consumers, as a bounty for the support of the landed interest. He went on to shew, in the same way, that, if the importation price were raised to 80*s.* the bounty which would thus be paid by the people would amount to 32,750,000*l.* He further stated, that a result of a similar kind might be made out in another way. The number of acres in an arable state amounted at least to sixty millions. Every person who had read the reports would see, that, if no alteration took place in the corn laws, the rent of land must be diminished at least to the extent of 10*s.* an acre; but the pasture land must also be taken into the estimate. The question was, therefore, whether the country gentlemen should give up 10*s.* an acre all over the kingdom, or whether the consumers were to pay the growers a sum of 40 or 50 millions a-year beyond what they would pay in other circumstances.

Were a reduction of rents over the

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kingdom to take place, it was contended, that it would produce all the advantages sought by the proposed measure. This would the more certainly happen, as not only the expence of cultivation must be diminished, in consequence of the fall in the price of corn, but the tenants could afford a considerable diminution of their profits. That landholders could afford to reduce their rents, was maintained by Mr Baring, on the ground that they enjoyed greater advantages in this country than in any other. "In France," he observed, "might be seen persons of large landed property living on the produce of that property, in the manner of the country gentlemen, and even the nobility, of this island, in former times. But it was only in this country that landed gentlemen could go to great towns, and have great disposable incomes to spend wherever they chose." The effects of the reduction of rent might be inferred from the depositions of some of the witnesses. Mr Brodie, a great Scotch farmer, deposed, that he rented land to the amount of 6000*l.* per annum, and that some years ago he had only paid 2000*l.* or 28*s* per acre. Suppose this gentleman's present rent were reduced by the effects of peace, from 6000*l.* to 4000*l.*, would not this, it was argued by Mr Baring, have a material operation on the price of the corn he grew? "It was estimated," he said, "that, of the price of the crops, the portion that came to the landlord on the best soils, was one third; on average soils, perhaps one fourth; and on the wet cold soils, so much talked of, only about one fifth. No man would pretend that it was fit, by means of an act of parliament, to keep up an adventitious rent for the benefit of the owner of the soil; or that the House should be called upon to do more than to enable the farmer to proceed with the cultivation. The question was, what would so enable him? Of the 80*s.* per quarter, he would calculate, that the landlord obtained 20*s.* as his proportion, and that the remainder went to the tenant for profit, and for the discharge of the expences of tillage. Suppose that, instead of 20*s.* the owner of the land was to receive only 15*s.*, and the profits and expences of the tenant were to be reduced in the same proportion, one fourth, that would leave 60*s.* as the price which ought to be named, after which grain might be imported into this country. In this way, if a farm were now let for 2000*l.* a year, the landlord would only receive 1500*l.* in future, a diminution which he was able to afford.' As to the expences of cultivation, Mr Baring contended, that, "with the exception of taxes, there was not a single article of expence to which a farmer was exposed, that would not be diminished in the same rate with the price of the main article of subsistence." He instanced particularly the article of manure, and observed, that stable dung would of course be increased in quantity; for, if corn were so cheap, more horses would be kept by persons who before were not able to afford them; and therefore manure would not only be greater in quantity, but cheaper in price. With regard to labour, the main expence to which the farmer is exposed, he affirmed, that there was no man who would venture to deny, that the price of labour would be lowered by the fall of corn. As to the profits of the tenants, Mr Baring said, that "all men would acknowledge that the improvements in the situation, habits, and comfort of the tenants, had kept pace with those of the landlords. Formerly, a farmer thought it a high luxury if he was rich enough to enjoy his ale; but now, on entering their houses, you are not only treated with a bottle of Port, but sometimes even with Madeira.

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The sons of these wealthy agriculturists were all fine gentlemen; instead of following the plough, they were following the hounds; and the daughters, instead of milking the cows, were using cosmetics to their hands, that they might look delicate, while strumming on the harpsichord." Mr Baring however admitted, that such a degree of hardship existed as to require some interposition of parliament; and he proposed a temporary remedy, by fixing the importation price at 76*s.* for a short time, and allowing it to fall back by a gradual diminution.

With regard to the amount of what was called the remunerating price, it was contended, that there was not sufficient evidence to ascertain what it ought to be.—It was said, that many of the witnesses who had been examined, had paid no regard to the diminution in the expences of cultivation which must take place in consequence of the fall in the price of corn, but that they had made their calculations invariably upon a high price for labour, and a low price for grain. In consequence of this improper mode of calculating, several persons went much higher than 80*s.* One witness had stated, that he could not produce corn at less than 96*s.*; another had stated 120*s*; a third from 90*s.* to 100*s.*; Mr Arthur Young 87*s.*; Mr Driver 96*s.*; Mr Turnbull 84*s.*; and Mr Brodie and some others from 84*s.* to 90*s.* A great number of these witnesses were much above 80*s.* and why 80*s.* should be pitched upon, it was difficult to conjecture. But, besides that several of these witnesses themselves, when more closely examined, made admissions which were inconsistent with the opinions given by them, a number of other witnesses stated the price which would be sufficient to remunerate the farmer considerably under 80*s.* Some of them had stated from 70*s.* to 75*s.* as sufficient;—and the general conclusion to be drawn from the evidence was, that the farmer could afford to sell his grain at a price a good deal below 80*s.*

In giving an abstract of the reply made by the supporters of the bill to the arguments brought against it, we shall turn, in the first place, to the remarks made by Lord Binning, in answer to what had been said against the improvement of poor lands.—He said, that "if such expressions as had been made use of on the other side were to go forth as the sentiments of the legislature on the subject, it would cut up all improvement by the roots. The light lands would be first thrown out of cultivation into degenerate and inferior pasture. In many districts of the country a want of capital was still strongly felt; so slow was the application of capital to agriculture, even where there had been encouragement. How much slower, then, would be the application of it, if it was pointedly discouraged by the legislature? When an honourable gentleman (Mr Baring) talked about attempting to cultivate sand and rocks, did he recollect what was the state of the county of Norfolk, before the new and scientific system of agriculture had been introduced there? Had he forgotten what was due to the exertions of the late Lord Townshend? Norfolk was now a pattern to other counties which were more favoured in their soil. From the improvements of agriculture, we might now see the progress of cultivation up the sides of hills, which had never before been ploughed. But what was to become of such land as that of Norfolk, if such employment of capital were discouraged? What, also, was to become of the comparatively poor land of Scotland, which of late presented such a grateful prospect? Every man who loved his country must be alarmed at the very idea of any retrograde motion in such a flou-

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rishing system; yet such was the threatened consequence of rejecting the measure under consideration, not only to England and Scotland, but to Ireland also, the adequate encouragement of whose agriculture was so essentially necessary to the prosperity, the tranquillization, and to the civilization of a great people."

The argument of Earl Grey and Mr Horner, that the bill could afford no protection to the English farmer against the Irish cultivators, who could produce corn at a cheaper rate than in England, was adverted to by Lord Liverpool, who admitted, that grain might be raised cheaper in Ireland than in England; but this, he contended, presented no objection to the bill. "The object was, not the protection of the English or the Irish landlord, but the general interests of the empire, the general interests of its agriculture, and the general interests of the great mass of consumers in the whole united kingdom. Even if the consequence must be to lower the rents of the English landlords, and raise those of the Irish landlords, still this formed no argument whatever, in his view of the question, against the bill, which embraced the whole interests of the empire."

In answer to the argument against the bill, that this country could not be made to furnish a permanent supply for its inhabitants, and that, in attempting to do so, land must be brought into cultivation at such an expence as must raise the price of corn much above the rate at which it might be obtained from abroad, the following remarks were made by the Earl of Lauderdale:—He said, that "the supply of grain from foreign countries was very small, in proportion to that from our own soil. The whole quantity of grain consumed in Great Britain was estimated at 40 millions of quarters, of which only 1,200,000 on an average were imported. To produce a cheap supply, would it not be wiser to encourage the producers of the greater quantity than those who supplied the lesser quantity? The price of 80*s.* would be a *maximum*; for, if the price rose above that sum for six weeks, there would be a most abundant importation from the opposite side of the Channel. It was a great mistake to proceed on the supposition that the trade in grain was free, while there were so many taxes which pressed on our agriculturists. If the importation were open, there would be a bounty on foreign growers to import into our markets. Five millions of quarters might in that case be imported. Such a state of things laid our subsistence at the mercy of foreign powers; and they might raise a navy against us by limiting the trade to their own ships. If our manufactures were to be destroyed by high prices, foreign states might, in such a state of things, put an end to them at once by stopping importation. On the other hand, we had experience that encouragement would produce low prices—as, for instance, in the cotton trade, the iron trade, and even in the trade of grain itself, the price of which, under a system of efficient protection, and with a bounty on exportation, had continued to fall for a whole century. It was chimerical to suppose, that the farmers could combine to raise the price of corn, when they could not combine in any one thing. The consequence of a free importation would be, that, in abundant years, the market would be overstocked with foreign corn,—in scarce years, foreign nations, for their own preservation, would be obliged to hold back their supply. The small quantity which we now imported might be very well supplied by our own farmers. Capital was not wanting, nor was the capital required to produce 1,200,000 quarters, in ad-

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dition to the present quantity, great. All that was required was security; for the farmers would not apply their capital without that security being afforded to their occupation, which was given to all other lines in which capital was employed."

On the subject of the effects which it was supposed the proposed loan would have on our manufactures, by raising the price of labour, and thus rendering our manufacturers unable to compete with foreigners; it was contended by the supporters of the bill, in the first place, that it was quite a mistake to suppose, that the market price of corn would be as high as the importation price. In addition to the remarks on this subject by the Earl of Lauderdale, above quoted, we may select the following observations by Lord Liverpool. He contended, that "it had been most fallaciously argued, that the import price of 80*s.* would be the *minimum* price of the market. This was negatived by all experience, it appearing by the returns, that the market price had been uniformly below the import price, except in years of scarcity, and the following year, when the consequences of scarcity were necessarily felt. Instead of being the *minimum*, the import price had been more generally the *maximum* in the market. There was, therefore, no ground for believing, that the import price of 80*s.* would be generally the *minimum* price in the market. Even admitting, however, that the price would be 80*s.*, still the price of the quartern loaf ought not to be more than 1*s.*, a price which could not now be felt by the consumer as an evil."

Mr Western denied that the importation price was the lowest at which corn could be sold in England after the measure in contemplation was carried into effect; and on this subject he referred for proof to the experience of former times. "While 62*s.* was the protecting price, and while a bounty was given on exportation for a considerable period, the average price of wheat had been as low as 30*s.* per quarter. A more recent instance of this might be given from the rapidity with which the price of wheat had declined in 1813; when, in consequence of the expectations entertained of a peace, its value had sunk to little more than half of what it had been. From the papers on the table, this would be seen from the Deptford and Portsmouth contract prices in February and November in that year. The contract price at Deptford for wheat was, in February 100*s.* per quarter. In November it was 65*s.* 2*d.*, and during this period it was to be remarked, more corn was exported from, than imported into Great Britain and Ireland. The Portsmouth contract price was in February 102*s.*, in November, 67*s.* 2*d.*"

Mr Western said, that "if he were to allow, that there was a necessity that grain should be higher in this country than in foreign countries, that necessity arose out of our taxation. But this difference did not need to give that serious alarm to our manufacturers which they seemed to feel. Grain was not higher in proportion in this country to what it was in foreign countries, now, than it was sixty years ago. On this subject he confessed he was not possessed of such ample information as he could have wished. But he would take, with regard to France, the information furnished by M. de Montesquieu, the minister of the interior, who, in his *projet* of a law to regulate the exportation of grain, went back a considerable way in his examination of the prices in France. According to this *projet*, the price of wheat in France, from 1756 to 1788, was 25*s.* 10*d.* per quarter, English money. During the same period of

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30 years, it was 46s. in England. At present, the average price of wheat in France was 45s.; and he would take it in England at 80s. It was obvious, therefore, that the proportion between the prices of the two countries had not increased; and if the difference formerly did not prevent the success of our manufactures, he did not see why it ought to produce that effect now." Mr Western went on to quote some remarks on this subject of M. de Montesquieu, who said, that "the manufacturer, if he pays a little more to his workmen, can lay it on his goods, and he ought therefore to be indifferent to a slight augmentation. The internal consumers being the proprietor who has sold his wheat to advantage, and the workman who has received better wages, they are all enabled to augment their enjoyments, and consume more manufactured goods. If grain were to fall so low as some manufacturers would wish, who would purchase their goods? Certainly neither the proprietor, the farmer, nor the labourer."—"These observations," said Mr Western, "are certainly deserving of the most serious attention."—"My honourable friend, (Mr Philips,)" continued Mr Western, "seems to have contemplated with great composure, the absolute destruction of the agriculture of a great part of the country. According to him, certain poor districts of this country ought to give way to certain rich districts of France and Flanders. I, for one, confess that I do not well understand this policy. Do not, I would ask, these poor districts afford a market to our manufacturers? Does not Ireland, for example, take our manufactures in return for her produce? Is it not safer to rely on such a market, than on one in other countries? Of the one we may be deprived, but of the other we cannot. We ought, therefore, in fairness, to give way something in extent of market, in consideration of the great advantage of security."

On the subject of the injury, which it was alleged that our manufactures would suffer from the high price of labour, which would be a consequence of the high price of corn, Mr Elliot said, that "he was far from denying the influence of the price of corn on that of labour; but it must be admitted, that the degree of this influence might be very much varied by circumstances. In Ireland, for example, it would have very little effect, because corn was not the general subsistence of the country. In countries where subsistence formed the principal part of the expenditure of the labourer, the effect would, of course, be much more considerable. In England, much of the expence of the labourer consisted in articles of luxury, which, however, were become essential to his comfort, and were, therefore, to be reckoned among the necessaries of life. Now, the operation of the price of corn must be chiefly confined to that part of the price of labour which belonged to subsistence. It might, to be sure, affect, in a slight degree, some other articles, but several it could not affect at all, and in these articles consisted the difference between the prices of this and other countries."—He continued to say, that "the real source of the dearness of England was the weight of its taxation; and that the operation of this cause cannot be expected speedily to cease."—Lord Liverpool contended, that "the success of our manufactures did not depend upon cheapness of labour, but upon capital, credit, and fuel. The superior advantages we derived from capital and credit were well known; and our abundance of fuel was an inestimable advantage. The importance of this latter article was clearly shewn by the thriving establishments of manufactories in those counties where coal was plentiful. Our

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great excellence in machinery gave us likewise a decided superiority. Cheapness of labour was, therefore, a secondary consideration, and they had the evidence of the manufacturers themselves at the bar of the House with regard to the Orders in Council, that they considered cheapness of labour as comparatively of little importance. As to the labourers themselves who were employed in manufactures, he had no doubt, that, if they had to chuse between cheapness of bread and a reduction of wages, and bread at its present price with the present wages, they would not hesitate to prefer the latter. With regard to the effect in the rise of the price of grain compared with that of wages, there was no doubt that though wages, particularly of labourers by the day or week, had risen in proportion to the rise in the price of grain, the wages of those who worked by the piece had not risen in the same proportion."—His lordship, however, contended, upon the authority of a report made to the French legislative body by a member of the executive government, that for a long period the price of corn had risen in France in the same proportion as in England.

It was strenuously contended by several of the supporters of the bill, that no advantage would be derived from a reduction of rents, but that, on the contrary, it would produce very serious evils. It was contended, that the consequence of the diminished incomes of the landholders would be a diminished expenditure, and consequently a great diminution in the home market for manufactures and commodities of every kind. Manufacturers and tradesmen, it was said, would find themselves in a much worse situation, with cheap bread, and a want of demand for their goods, than with a high price of bread and a brisk trade. But it was further argued, that any diminution of rent which was at all practicable, would have a very trifling effect on the price of corn. On this subject Mr Western stated, that he had made some calculations. He calculated, that every 10*s.* which were added to the rent or expences of land, made an addition of 3*s.* to a quarter of wheat, and *vice versa*. Taking, then, the whole rental of the country at 30*s.* per acre, (and this, he said, he was satisfied was above the rate at which it ought to be taken,) it would be seen, that the annihilation of the entire rent would only diminish corn 10*s.* per quarter. Even after this reduction of his expence, therefore, by an entire annihilation of his rent, the English farmer could not compete with the foreign grower. If a reduction of 10*s.* per acre were made in the rent of land, this would only diminish the price of the quarter of corn 3*s.* 4*d.*, and this would only make a difference of hardly three-farthings in the loaf. Mr Western, therefore, held the consideration of rent to be a very immaterial part of the subject.—Mr Whitbread (in a very ingenious speech, which contained a statement of his difficulties on the question, without coming to any definite conclusion,) contended, that "the clamour which had been raised against high rents was a most unfounded, and a most unwise clamour, and always excited his indignation. Taking the country through, the rents had not been raised beyond what they ought to be, according to existing circumstances; and it should never be forgotten, that the landed interests were inseparable from our commercial prosperity. The rise of rents had been a fair increase, resulting from the depreciation of money, and the rise of prices. A considerable part of the capital of landlords had been expended on inclosures, on roads, on draining; and an increase of rent had generally

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stimulated the industry of the farmer, so as to make his land more productive than before."

It was further maintained, that, if the reduction of rent, the principal article of the farmer's expence, would be productive of so little effect, still less could be expected from the reduction of other articles of expence. A very heavy article of the farmer's expence consists in the amount of his taxes, not merely direct, but indirect. Of this article of expence no reduction could be expected. It was shewn by Lord Binning, that the taking off the property tax would produce a very inconsiderable effect on the expence of cultivation. He stated the tenant's property tax at 2*s*. 6*d*. per acre at the very highest; and, as the average of a wheat crop was at least three quarters to the acre, it followed, that 10*d*. per quarter was as much as the property tax affected the price of wheat. Besides, he remarked, the removal of the property tax could not be considered as clear gain to the farmer; as other taxes would be imposed in its place. Lord Binning took occasion to remark on the observations which had been made by Mr Baring on the mode of living of farmers and their families. "It appeared to him," he said, "surprising that Mr Baring should have forgotten the growth of the wealth and magnificence of the tradespeople within the same time. They, too, occasionally indulged themselves with wine as well as the farmers; but he was so far from being displeased at this, that he was happy to see the increasing wealth of the mercantile part of the community." Mr Baring's remarks also called forth the animadversions of Mr Huskisson, who contrasted that gentleman's picture of the present mode of living of the farmers, by a picture of the luxury of our merchants, "who have exchanged their snug dwellings in the city for magnificent mansions in the squares at the west end of the town; and who, instead of dining at one o'clock, along with their clerks, as their forefathers did, were now to be seen sitting down to a table profuse in its variety of dishes, at six and seven o'clock." Mr Huskisson very properly added, that "he did not complain that it was so; he honoured the industry, and gloried in the success which occasioned it; and, though the comparison might appear invidious, he was driven into it by the equally invidious comparison made by the hon. gentleman."

On the *last* branch of the question, the amount of the importation price, it was contended that the grounds for fixing on 80*s*. were perfectly sufficient. Mr Western maintained, that "80*s*. a quarter was not a price that ought to give any uneasiness, or that looked like a scarcity price. The average price of wheat during the last twenty years was 83*s*. During the first ten of these years, it was 73*s*. If the price of wheat ten years ago was 73*s*., could 80*s*. now be considered more than a fair price? During the first ten of the last twenty years, what was our taxation? In 1792, the whole of our taxes amounted only to 16 millions. When wheat was at 73*s*., the taxes were 34 millions; and at present our taxes exceeded 60 millions. In taking 80*s*., therefore, he was taking the very lowest rate at which the import price could be fixed." The Earl of Liverpool contended, that "it was erroneous to say, that there was no evidence to justify the price of 80*s*. The fact was, that the evidence on this point varied from 72*s*. to 96*s*. The medium of these prices, according to the weight of the evidence, might perhaps have been calculated at 85*s*., but under the circumstances of a diminution of taxation and of other burdens upon agriculture, the price of 80*s*. had been fixed upon; and that, he maintained, was a fair protecting price."

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CHAP. IV.

Observations on the Policy of the Corn-Bill.

In forming an opinion respecting the policy of the present system of corn laws, we have had much doubt and hesitation; and, though the conclusions at which we have arrived are the result of slow and deliberate reflection, and are, consequently, satisfactory to ourselves, yet we are very far from saying, that they must, therefore, be *just*. We have too much respect for the many acute reasoners whose conclusions have been the reverse of ours, to dogmatise upon the subject; while, at the same time, our confidence is increased by the consideration, that the opinion which we have formed is supported by the authority of some of the ablest of our statesmen and political economists.

In considering this question, the two great problems to be solved, are, the causes of the great progressive rise in the price of corn from about the year 1792 to the year 1813, and the prodigious increase in the agriculture and wealth of the country during that period; and the causes of the depression of prices that took place in 1813, followed by an almost unexampled degree of national distress.

For twenty years previous to the commencement of our present calamities, a number of causes combined, in a remarkable manner, to promote the agricultural improvement of Britain. After the breaking out of the war with France, we were gradually enabled to diminish and confine the commerce of the enemy, and, in the same proportion, to enlarge and extend our own. In proportion as other nations became the allies or vassals of France, we were enabled also to destroy their commerce, and to deprive them of their colonial possessions; and in this manner we, by degrees, acquired a commercial monopoly quite unprecedented. The effect was a rapid increase in our manufactures, and consequently in our wealth; and this increase was necessarily attended by a great addition to our population, and a great extension of our agriculture. It is stated by Mr Colquhoun, that, according to the census taken in 1801, and that in 1811, the increase of the population of Great Britain, in these ten years, was nearly a million and a half of souls. For the subsistence of this increasing population, a great additional supply of corn became necessary; and, in order to procure it, a vast quantity of new land was brought into cultivation, to the extent, it has been estimated, of above two millions of acres. To this must be added the returns of a very large capital employed in improving land, which had been formerly only imperfectly cultivated, but of which the produce was now in many instances more than doubled by the expenditure of money and labour.

This great increase in our national

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wealth, and extension of agriculture, were necessarily accompanied by a progressive rise in the price of corn, and in the rent of land. It is a peculiar quality of the produce of the ground, contrasted with the other products of industry, that its price, besides replacing the capital employed to raise it, with the usual profit of stock, and paying the expence of labour, affords a surplus, or rent, to the proprietor of the ground. This excess in the price of raw produce above the cost of its production, from which it yields a rent, has been noticed by almost all our writers on political economy, none of whom, however, before Mr Malthus, appear to have viewed it in its true light. Most of them, and even Smith himself, in speaking of the high price of produce, which is the cause of rent, treat this as a kind of monopoly price, beneficial to those who receive it, but proportionally injurious to the community, who pay it. But Mr Malthus* has demonstrated, that the rent of land has no resemblance whatever to a monopoly, and that its existence is not only inseparable from the cultivation of the ground, but essential to the wealth and improvement of every country. In the earlier stages of society, the cultivation of land would, at first, like any other kind of industry, yield only wages and profit; for, where good land was in abundance, nobody would pay any rent for it. In such a state of society there is neither tenant nor landlord. The proprietor occupies as much ground as he can cultivate by the aid of his family and his servants, which last are usually slaves or bondsmen. The profit of the capital, and the wages of the labour employed upon it, however, must be high. But as capital accumulated beyond the means of employing it on the most fertile lands, profits would be diminished, and, as population increased, the wages of labour would fall. But the demand for corn would go on increasing. Part of the accumulated capital would be employed on the more expensive cultivation of inferior soils; and, if the cultivation of these soils could afford the usual profit on capital at the time, the cultivation of the more fertile soils would now afford an excess above this rate of profit, the price of the produce being the same, whether raised on the richer or poorer soils. It is this excess which constitutes rent; and its nature is the same, whether it is received by the occupier of the ground, or by another person to whom he has let it. For a time the occupiers of land might themselves receive this excess above the usual rate of profit, or, in other words, might unite the character of landlord and tenant; but it is easy to see, that, in the progress of society, a separation of these characters would take place; and that, when this excess became sufficiently large, the proprietors would be satisfied to subsist upon it without trouble, leaving it to others to make the usual profits of capital by the actual cultivation of the ground.

Such being the nature of rent, it is plain, that it must continue to rise along with the progressive improvement of a country in wealth, population, and agriculture. As wealth and population increase, the demand for subsistence increases in the same proportion; to supply this demand, not only the better soils must be rendered more productive by expensive improvements, but also more land of inferior quality must be brought into cultivation. When these poorer soils are progressively brought into tillage, they at first yield little or no rent, but they are cultivated if they can be made to pay the expences of cultivation; and,

* Essay on the Nature and Progress of Rent.

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when these expences are lessened, in consequence of the fall in the profits of stock, or in the wages of labour, or in consequence of improved modes of agriculture, lands of yet more indifferent quality can be broken up by the plough, and will repay the labour. When the poorest lands will pay the expence of cultivation, the more fertile ones will yield a rent, and the rent will be greater or less according to the quality of the soil.

Thus rents must rise progressively, in every case where the agriculture of a country is extending itself. This may take place even where there is no rise in prices, which will happen where the increase of the demand is counterpoised by the diminution in the expence of production, occasioned by the diminution in the profits of stock, or the greater economy of labour. But when a country is increasing rapidly in its wealth, commerce, manufactures, and population, the increase in the demand for corn will tend much more to raise the price than the other causes will tend to keep it down. In a rapidly advancing country, therefore, the price of corn, as well as the rent of land, will continue in a constant state of advancement.

This principle, then, will go a good way in explaining why the price of corn has risen so much higher in Britain than in France, or any other country. France is a great agricultural country, but not a wealthy one. She has not made nearly such great advances as Britain in manufactures and population; her agriculture, therefore, has advanced much more slowly, and, consequently, the operation of the principle of increase in the rent of land, and the price of corn, has taken place in a comparatively small degree. That it has taken place, however, is evident from the circumstance, that the prices of grain are now permanently higher in France than they were thirty or forty years ago, and that this rise appears to be greater than could be accounted for from the fall in the value of the precious metals during that period.

Although, however, it thus appears, that we could not have risen to our present pre-eminence in national wealth and prosperity—we say *present*, notwithstanding the distress under which we now labour, because we believe this to be merely a cloud on our horizon, which will soon pass away—without the price of corn rising much above the level of prices in the surrounding nations, yet we do not believe that prices would have reached the height they did, without the concurrence of other causes. The accidental occurrence of several bad seasons, particularly those of the years 1799 and 1800; and the great scarcity and consequent high prices which they produced, were the means of forcing a great quantity of additional land into cultivation. The scarcity at that time was increased by the difficulty of obtaining corn by importation; and the effect of the great additional home production proved to be, not to occasion such an overflow in the market, or such a depression of prices, as to throw out of cultivation any of the additional land which had lately been taken in, but merely to render us more independent than formerly of foreign aid, which became more and more difficult to be obtained. Accordingly, our agriculture increased so rapidly, that, notwithstanding the immense increase of population, the supply began to come pretty near the demand. This appears from the circumstance, that, although the crop 1812 was a very deficient one, yet all that we could obtain from abroad to supply the deficiency was 100,000 quarters. Had that crop been an abundant one, it would have supplied the demand; and it may be

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further inferred from this circumstance, that the crop 1813, which was a very abundant one, was sufficient for the whole consumption of the country.

The depressed state of our currency is assigned by many writers, as one great cause of the high price of grain. As this very difficult subject enters essentially into the merits of the question before us, it is necessary to examine it with considerable care. We do not think that the alleged depreciation of our currency has been established by sufficient evidence. There seems, indeed, little reason to doubt, that a considerable diminution has within these last fifty or sixty years taken place over all Europe, in the value of the precious metals, owing to the great increase in the produce of the American mines, and the diminution in the use of those metals, arising from the substitution of paper; but we see no sufficient reason to believe, that our paper currency has ever been in a state of depreciation.

The circumstances on which the opposite opinion is founded are, that since the suspension of cash payments from the Bank of England in 1797, a great increase progressively took place in the issues of paper from the bank; that a difference then began to take place between the market price and mint price of gold, which increased along with the quantity of paper in circulation; that, at the same time, the foreign exchanges became more and more against this country; and that these circumstances were attended with corresponding rises in the price of corn. It was observed that, in 1813, when the Bank of England paper had increased to twenty millions, bullion was sold for *5l.* 10*s.* per ounce, instead of *3l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the mint price; the course of exchange with Hamburgh was above twenty per cent. against this country, and wheat was 111*s.* per quarter. It was observed, that, on the abdication of Buonaparte, the price of bullion sunk to nearly the mint price, the price of exchange became much more favourable, and the price of grain rapidly fell. These circumstances have been stated as affording complete evidence of the depreciation of our paper currency, and of the effect of this depreciation in raising the price of grain.

But we cannot admit, that our paper currency underwent any depreciation, without supposing that this depreciation proceeded either from a want of confidence in the credit of the national bank, or from an excess in the quantity of the circulating medium. The first of these suppositions is plainly absurd; for there was no want of public confidence at the period of the alleged depreciation in the currency. The whole of the enormous money transactions of the country were performed by means of this paper currency, without the smallest hesitation or feeling of insecurity; and the circumstances from which a depreciation in its value was inferred, might have proceeded from a *rise* in the value of bullion, in place of a fall in the value of paper. If bullion, from any cause, became scarce, its price would rise like that of any other commodity. An ounce of it might sell for five or six pounds sterling, and a guinea might be exchanged for 25*s.* or 26*s.* But it must be observed, that it would be only *as bullion* that a guinea would be so exchanged. No person, who meant merely to put the guinea to its proper use, would give more than the standard value for it: and accordingly, guineas were bought up at the high rate of 25*s.* or 26*s.* solely by persons whose object it was to convert them into bullion. There never was an instance of a difference being made in our markets between the prices of commodities in paper, and in specie. This is the great

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mark of distinction between the state of our currency, and some of the depreciated paper currencies on the continent, such as the French assignats, to which it has often been compared; for in France, when the depreciation of the assignats had taken place, it was customary, in the ordinary course of buying and selling, to give a whole handful of them for an article which could be purchased for a few *louis d'ors*. In that case, the paper was certainly depreciated, while the gold remained stationary; but the cases are plainly quite different.—As to the other supposition, the over-abundance of the circulating medium, this is plainly not to be inferred from the single circumstance of the bank paper having been increased from ten to twenty millions; for, in order to establish this inference, it would be necessary to shew, that the increase both of the internal trade and foreign commerce of the country, did not require an increase of the circulating medium, equal to that which actually took place; a proposition of which the proof would, we apprehend, be no easy matter. That our paper currency, during the period of its supposed depreciation, was not more than sufficient to answer the demand of the country, may be concluded from the circumstance, that a considerable quantity of the paper of country banks was in circulation. In the ordinary state of things, the issue of paper is limited by its convertibility into specie. The objection to pay in specie is said, by those who maintain the depreciation of the currency, to have kept down the issues of the bank previous to 1797; and the subsequent over issues, they say, have been occasioned by the removal of this restraint. This, however, does not apply to country banks, because the convertibility of their notes into those of the Bank of England, must have operated as a check upon over-issues on their part. Had, therefore, the country banks made over-issues of notes to any considerable extent, when the channel of circulation was already full, these notes, instead of being absorbed in the circulation, must have returned as fast as they were issued. But this did not happen; and the reason appears to be, that the notes of the country bankers, as well as those of the Bank of England, were necessary for the purposes of the country.

Had the increase in the issues from the Bank of England produced a depreciation in its paper, the difference between the value of paper and of gold should have gradually increased along with the amount of the issues. But this was not the case. In the year 1796, the amount of the circulating paper of the bank was between nine and ten millions, and the price of bullion was 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; in 1797, the amount of the paper was about eight millions and a half, and the price of bullion was 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* From this time to the year 1808, the amount of bank paper gradually increased to above seventeen millions, while the price of gold only rose to 4*l.* per ounce. On the cessation of hostilities in 1814, the price of bullion suddenly fell from 5*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 5*s.*, while the circulation of the Bank of England notes increased from 23 to 27 millions. Here, therefore, there was no correspondence between the cause and its supposed effect.

It was not till the year 1809 that a considerable rise took place in the price of bullion. In that year it rose very suddenly; and in the course of the year 1810, was at 4*l.* 18*s.* From that period it still continued to rise till the return of peace in 1814, at which period it had risen so high as 5*l.* 10*s.*, when it rapidly fell to an inconsiderable height above the standard. On the return of Buonaparte from Elba, the price of bullion rose to its former height, and again fell after the battle of Waterloo. These fluctuations were

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certainly attended by corresponding varieties in the course of exchange, which was most against this country when bullion was at the highest price. But these circumstances may be accounted for without the necessity of supposing a depreciation of our paper currency.

In 1808, when we began to send large armies to Spain, our foreign expenditure was increased beyond all proportion to what it had formerly been; and this expenditure continued to be very great till the end of the war. Large quantities of specie were continually sent abroad, not only to answer our military expences, but to pay subsidies to our northern allies. The country was drained of its bullion, the want of which was supplied by increased issues of paper; and the natural consequence of this was, that a local and temporary rise in the price of bullion took place in this country, arising from its scarcity. This simple view of the matter accounts for the high market price of bullion, and for the circumstance which has been held as the most unequivocal evidence of a depreciated currency, the exchange of a guinea for 25*s.* or 26*s.* And here, it will be observed, that the effect corresponds with the cause assigned to it; for the rapid rise in the price of bullion did not take place till our large exports of specie commenced.

The great differences in the exchanges between Great Britain and the continent, during the period when the price of bullion was so high, have been given as a conclusive proof of the depreciation of our paper currency. It was attempted to explain this difference upon the principle of the balance of trade being against this country;* but those attempts were shewn, by those who argued for the depreciation, to be unsuccessful. If a person in London bought a bill on Hamburgh, he was obliged to pay above 20 per cent. of premium, if he purchased with paper; but if he bought the bill with bullion, he paid a premium of only 6 or 7 per cent. The real difference of exchange, therefore, it was argued, was only 6 or 7 per cent. against this country, and the additional difference was occasioned by the depreciation of our paper.† It thus appears, that the difference of the exchanges did not arise solely from an unfavourable balance of trade; but it does not follow, as the only alternative, that it proceeded from the depreciation of our currency. It was admitted, that when the apparent difference of exchange was above twenty per cent., the real difference of exchange was from five to eight per cent. against Great Britain. This difference, according to the common principles of exchange, arose from this country being obliged to remit specie to Hamburgh, &c. During the period of unfavourable exchange, remittances from London to Hamburgh must have been made by the actual transmission of specie. If, therefore, a person in London, who wished to make a remittance to Hamburgh, had bullion in his possession, with which to do so, he, of course, had only to give it to a money-dealer, whose business it was to send money to Hamburgh, and that money dealer would send the money for him, on being paid the charges of doing so; or, in other words, the person who had to make the remittance would, with the bullion, buy from a banker a bill on his correspondent in Hamburgh, paying a premium; and the Hamburgh banker would pay the bill to the person in whose favour it was drawn, by means of gold sent to him from London. If

* Evidence before the Bullion Committee in 1810.

† Wealth of Nations, (Buchanan's edition,) vol. iv. on Paper Currency. And Edinburgh Review, No. LI. p. 150.

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a person in London, who wished to make a remittance to Hamburgh, was not possessed of the gold necessary for that purpose, it would be requisite for him to purchase the gold from a money-dealer; and as gold, from the causes already mentioned, had become scarce, and consequently dear, the person who bought the bill would have to pay the money-dealer the high market price of the bullion, besides the usual premium for transmitting it. The apparent rate of exchange, then, would be composed, partly of the high price which it was necessary to pay for bullion, and partly of the usual premium for its transmission, which, in ordinary cases, constitutes the whole rate of exchange. But this additional difference in the exchange would plainly arise as naturally from a local and temporary rise in the price of bullion in Great Britain, as from a depreciation in the value of the paper currency.

The preceding argument applies to the case of the course of exchange being *really* against this country, though the actual difference in the exchange was much smaller than the nominal one. But it has been said, that latterly the course of exchange turned actually *in favour* of this country, while the rate of exchange still remained against us; * and this circumstance has been urged as a conclusive proof of the depreciation of our paper currency. But this difficulty will vanish, like the former, on a close examination. When the balance of trade between London and Hamburgh is in favour of London, this balance must be settled by remittances of specie from Hamburgh to London; and therefore, upon the common principles of exchange, remittances from Hamburgh to London ought to be attended with a certain rate of exchange, paid by the remitter; while remittances from London to Hamburgh ought to be attended with a certain premium, received by the remitter. But, in the case under consideration, the reverse happened, and remittances from Hamburgh to London, and from London to Hamburgh, continued to be made, as if the balance of trade were still in favour of Hamburgh. The temporary high price of bullion in Great Britain, however, occasioned by the great demand for that commodity, will be found quite sufficient to account for this anomaly. When a merchant at Hamburgh has occasion to make a remittance to London, he pays a banker or money-broker in Hamburgh the amount of the sum in specie, and receives a bill on the banker's correspondent in London. The bill is sent to London, and the amount of it paid to the holder by the London banker in Bank of England notes. The holder of the bill thus receives the full amount of his remittance in British currency; but let it be observed what becomes of the bullion originally paid by the remitter at Hamburgh. In consequence of the state of the exchange, the Hamburgh banker must send bullion to London to enable his correspondent to meet the draught upon him. If the Hamburgh banker send bullion equal to the full amount of the remittance, his correspondent in London will receive more than enough, as the bullion, when he receives it, will be worth more than the Bank of England notes, with which he must pay the remittance. This state of things will influence the transaction from the beginning. The Hamburgh merchant, on buying his bill from the banker, will obtain it for a quantity of bullion somewhat less than the amount of the remittance; and this quantity will be exactly as much as, when it arrives in England, will be equivalent to the amount of

* See Mr Horner's speech on the question as to the bank restrictions, page 24. of this volume.

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the bill in Bank of England notes. This difference between the quantity of bullion paid at Hamburgh, and the amount of the sum contained in the bill, may be so great as to overbalance the amount of the exchange which, in the ordinary case, must have been paid on the remittance; so that, in place of paying an exchange, the Hamburgh merchant will receive a premium. Next, let the case be taken of a remittance made by a merchant in London to Hamburgh. He buys, with bank of England notes, from a person who has money owing him in Hamburgh, a bill on the debtor in Hamburgh. The bill is sent to Hamburgh, and the amount of it is paid in specie, by the Hamburgh debtor, to the person who presents it. The effect of this transaction is, that a quantity of bullion, which, from the state of trade, must have otherwise been sent from Hamburgh to London, in payment of a debt due to the person who granted the bill, is detained at Hamburgh, and paid there to the person in whose favour the bill was drawn. But the drawer of the bill, who gave it for the amount in Bank of England notes, prevents himself from receiving the amount *in bullion*, which would have been the case had his debtor in Hamburgh paid the debt directly to himself; and, before granting such a bill, therefore, he must receive the difference between the amount of the remittance in gold and in Bank of England notes. This difference is what may constitute a nominal exchange against this country, even when the course of trade is in our favour.

Another circumstance, stated as inconsistent with the idea of a local rise in the price of bullion,—that Bank of England notes were exchanged at different places on the continent for 13*s.* 14*s.* and 15*s.*,—does not appear to be at all inconsistent with this supposition, as the same cause which affected the foreign exchange must have produced this consequence. On this subject it may be remarked, that nothing but specie is employed on the continent in the usual course of circulation. During the first years of peace all other media of exchange were viewed with doubt and jealousy, and notes were accepted only at a discount, for the same reason that an ignorant person would take a diamond in payment with some hesitation, because he is uncertain as to its value.

It is further denied, that such large exportations of specie took place as could have affected the price of bullion or the rate of exchange; and it is said, that equally large exportations took place at former periods without these effects. It is admitted, however, that in 1808 the exportation to Spain and Portugal amounted to near three millions; in 1809, 1810, and 1811, to above half a million each year; and in 1812 and 1813, to between three and four millions. Besides, it is certain, that a great quantity of specie was sent to the north of Europe in 1813 and 1814, in payment of subsidies: And it is necessary, farther, to take into account the exportation of specie occasioned by importations of corn, and other foreign commodities, for which it was necessary to pay in specie. When all these things are considered, it will hardly be doubted, that an exportation of specie took place sufficient to render it both scarce and dear at home.* In support of the assertion, that large exportations took place at former periods, without any effect on the exchanges, reference is made to the exportations of specie in 1790, 1791, and 1792. But, in the first place, these exportations were much smaller in amount than those in 1812,

* See the statement, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the amount of our foreign expenditure in specie, during the period in question, p. 24 of this volume.

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1813, and 1814, when the exchange was most unfavourable; and, in the next place, they were made very gradually, and with the greatest precautions, to prevent their affecting the exchanges.* No such precautions could be taken with regard to the exportations for the immediate wants of our armies. The exportations of specie, however, which took place between 1793 and 1797 were attended with effects precisely similar to those in question. In the course of that period our foreign expenditure amounted, in the expence of maintaining troops abroad, and in subsidies to foreign powers, to thirty-three millions and a half.† Of this sum a considerable part was remitted in specie, and a further exportation took place, in consequence of the demand for foreign corn occasioned by the deficiency of the harvest in 1795. Now, during this period the price of bullion rose from 3*l.* 17*s.*6*d.* to 4*l.* 8*s.*; and the exchange with Hamburgh, which had formerly been in favour of this country, rose to from 4 to 6 per cent. against us. On the cessation of these exportations, the price of bullion fell to its former standard, and the exchanges again became favourable.

It may, therefore, be concluded, that the high price of bullion proceeded solely from a rise in the value of that commodity in Great Britain, occasioned by its scarcity; and that there is no reason to believe that our paper currency was either in a state of discredit or of excess, the only causes which could produce its depreciation. And this conclusion is strongly confirmed by the facts already mentioned, that immediately on the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 the price of bullion fell, and the exchanges became more favourable; that on Buonaparte's return from Elba, and the renewal of the war and its foreign expenditure, the price of bullion again rose, while the exchange turned against us; and that, finally, on the tranquillity of Europe being established, the price of bullion fell almost to its mint price, and the exchanges became at par. All this while, the quantity of Bank of England paper was increasing, instead of diminishing.

The opinion, then, that the high price of corn was partly nominal, and arose from the depreciation of the currency, does not seem to be well founded. The high price of bullion, however, might have had some effect in raising the price of corn, in consequence of our having been obliged to import corn, paid for with bullion when it was scarce and dear in this country. But this is an effect totally different from the nominal rise ascribed to the depreciation of the currency; and it seems an erroneous view of the matter to say,‡ that when the price of corn in our paper currency was 111*s.*, its real price was only 74*s.*

Besides the causes already mentioned, other causes contributed to raise the price of corn. The immense expenditure of government during the war, by increasing the demand for every article of necessary consumption, must have operated as a great stimulus to agriculture. And a similar effect must have been produced by the great accommodations given, not only to agriculturists, but to traders of every kind, by the bankers. These accommodations were, of course, given, in the first instance, in consequence of the great spirit, both of agricultural and commercial enterprize, which had already been excited; but they produced a *reaction*, by stimulating still further the spirit of enterprize which had originally given rise to them.

* Wealth of Nations, (Buchanan's edit.) vol. iv. p. 104.
† Wealth of Nations, (Buchanan's edit.) vol. iv. p. 106.
‡ Edin. Review, No. LI. p. 144.

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In 1814, however, the current of agricultural improvement was suddenly stopped, and soon began to run in an opposite direction with alarming rapidity.—The return of peace, great as its blessings always are to humanity, must certainly be admitted to have, in this instance, been attended with a great diminution in the internal prosperity and happiness of this country: And the great and leading cause of this unhappy effect was the sudden fall in the price of agricultural produce. This depreciation, indeed, took place before hostilities had actually terminated; but it was not till after the battle of Leipsic, in autumn 1813, that the fall became great and rapid; and by that time it was confidently expected, that the contest would very soon be at an end.

The fall in the price of grain arose from the concurrence of several causes. The sudden cessation of the great war-expenditure of government, by diminishing the demand for produce, must have diminished its price. The unrestrained freedom of importation from the continent, which took place on the return of peace, must have had a similar effect. Although the crop 1813 was one of the most abundant ever known, this did not prevent an immense importation from taking place in 1814; for, great and rapid as the fall in the price of corn had been, it never fell so low as 63*s*, the importation price by the then existing laws. An attempt was made to restrain this importation, by a new law, but the bill brought into parliament for this purpose in 1814 having been thrown out, the importation went on still more extensively than before; and this importation, by filling our markets with foreign corn, reduced the prices in a very great degree.

For a short time before the conclusion of the war, Buonaparte, by his continental system, though he had not been able to exclude our manufactures from the foreign markets, yet had succeeded in throwing great difficulties and obstructions in the way of our commerce; the consequence of which was, that our commodities not having the same vent as formerly, had begun to accumulate in the hands of our merchants and manufacturers. Of this irksome situation they were, of course, sufficiently impatient; and when they found the whole markets of Europe suddenly opened to them in 1814, they threw their commodities into these markets with the utmost eagerness. A hasty competition took place, by which, each endeavouring to be first into a market which was not likely to afford a large demand, the course of trade degenerated into a mere struggle for priority,—all being conscious that those who came late into the field would lose the sale. Thus the distresses of the manufacturers, like those of men suffering in a crowd, were greatly aggravated by the desperate and violent exertions which each made for his own safety in the moment of general alarm. The total failure of these speculations, and their consequences, are fresh in the recollection of every body. The commercial distress was extreme and universal: multitudes of manufacturers were thrown out of employment, and the demand for agricultural produce was still further diminished. To add to the accumulation, of evils, the bankers, in consequence of the failure of public confidence, suddenly withdrew their accommodations, to the utter ruin of thousands who had been going on by means of their advances, and to the great inconvenience and loss of almost every individual engaged either in trade or agriculture.

While these causes combined to bring down the prices of grain, the expenses of its production were very little diminished; and it seems to be the case that these expenses could not have been diminished to any consider-

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able extent—certainly not to such an extent as would enable the agriculturist to grow corn at the reduced prices. The opponents of the corn bill maintain an opposite opinion; but, after what has been said, it will require few words to shew that the opinion now stated is correct.

The opponents of the corn bill insisted loudly on a reduction of the rents of land, which, they maintained, would be sufficient to relieve the farmer when joined to a reduction of his own profits, which, they said, he could very well afford. But if the principles, which, according to Mr Malthus, regulate the progress of rent (of which we have already given a view), are correct, they must be decisive of this question. If he has established that the high rents of land are a necessary consequence of the great riches and extensive agriculture of this country, it follows, that rents cannot fall in any considerable degree without a corresponding diminution of our national prosperity; and that such a fall of rents, therefore, is most earnestly to be deprecated. The liberality of many landholders, in allowing their tenants temporary abatements of rent, is certainly most praise-worthy; but it has been demonstrated, that no reduction of rent which the landholders could possibly afford to give, could effectually relieve the tenants; and that, in a considerable proportion of cases, the tenant could not go on to cultivate his ground without a rise of prices, even although his rent were taken off entirely. The expence of cultivation, therefore, could not have been diminished, except in a very trifling degree, by a reduction of rents.

Neither could the expense of cultivation have been lessened by a reduction on the profits of agricultural capital. The farmers have been accused of two things: of having speculated too rashly, and of having lived too expensively. In vindicating them from the first of these charges, we shall take the assistance of Mr Malthus. "We have certainly no right," says he,* "to accuse our farmers of rash speculation for employing so large a capital in agriculture. The peace, it must be allowed, was most unexpected; and if the war had continued, the actual quantity of capital applied to the land might have been as necessary to save the country from extreme want in future, as it obviously was in 1812, when, with the price of corn at above six guineas a quarter, we could only import a little more than 100,000 quarters. If, from the very great extension of cultivation, during the four or five preceding years, we had not obtained a very great increase of average produce, the distresses of that year would have assumed a most serious aspect." To this remark we may add, that if, previous to the bad crop of 1816, our cultivation had been diminished to such an extent as to make us rely to a considerable extent on foreign corn, and if in consequence of the general scarcity over Europe we had been unable to supply the deficiency, the distress of the present year would have been more deplorable than it is. As to the other charge against the farmers, the change of their mode of life, they only did what has been invariably done by every class of men, while the species of industry in which they are engaged is in a flourishing state. It will not be denied that their mental improvement has kept pace with their other comforts, and that if their families have been expensively brought up and educated, the state has had the advantage by having men of enlightened minds, capable both of understanding and arguing upon their

* Grounds of an Opinion on the Policy of restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn, p. 6.

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own interest, substituted for the unhewn and ignorant boors, whom poverty and obstinacy rendered incapable of adopting any change or improvement in their system. In some respects, indeed, the families of the wealthier farmers may be said to supply the order of the middling class of country gentlemen, the loss of which has been so often regretted. Their situation and profession lead them to exercise a salutary and patriarchal influence over the labouring classes; and their families have supplied not only their own, but all other professions, with a race of well-educated candidates for success, who are taught to seek it in their own patient exertions, instead of looking up to family interest or patronage. We do not mean to say that the farmer should ape the gentleman of fortune; but it would be a heavy calamity for the country which should compel this useful and honourable class to retrograde into that of a rude and ignorant peasantry. But, be that as it may, the profits of the farmer were in the same situation with the rent of the landlord, in this respect, that, even were they reduced to the most miserable subsistence, this reduction, in a great variety of cases, would be insufficient to enable the farmer to cultivate his land. In fact, it is perfectly well known, not only that a great proportion of farmers ceased to derive any profit whatever from their capital, but that the capital itself was swallowed up in their vain attempts to go on with the cultivation of their farms.

Another branch of the expense of cultivation, the wages of labour, could not have been reduced so soon, or to such an extent, as to give any material relief to the cultivator. That the price of labour is regulated, to a certain extent, by the price of corn, is certain; but it is as certain, that the effect upon wages, produced by a fall in the price of corn, is slow and gradual. Where the price of corn falls, supposing this event to take place without any great stagnation or distress, such as the present, the price of labour will not fall in proportion to the price of corn, till the other articles necessary for the subsistence and comfort of the labourer have fallen in that proportion. The effect of the rise or fall of grain upon wages is, *at first*, diametrically opposite to that which it ought to produce, and does produce in the long run. Economists reckon too much, as if all the springs and counterpoises of the political machine wrought mechanically and without human volition. The moral effects are left out of view entirely; and because it is reasonable that plenty of subsistence should produce cheap labour, it is held to have that instant effect. But it is not so. At the first burst of plenty, the labourer becomes indifferent about labour (as all men do,) on finding he can for a time subsist without it; and the farmer is obliged to bribe him by a continuance of his high wages, for a time at least, though his own means of affording them are diminished. On the other hand, an increase of the price of grain alarms the labourer with the prospect of want, and he becomes eager to work even at low rates, to avoid it. In the dear years, labour might have been had very cheap indeed. It is also to be considered, that in such seasons villagers and manufacturers are drawn to take spade work, and compete for employment with the ordinary and professional labourer. But these contradictory appearances ultimately give way to the influence of the more powerful causes which regulate the price of labour by that of subsistence. The fall in the price of labour did not take place till the low price of corn had given an unexampled check to cultivation; and it was the sudden stagnation of agricultural employment that produced the fall of wages. This fall,

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therefore, could not have taken place before the distresses of the country commenced, and consequently could not have prevented them.

The last branch of the expense of cultivation which we shall notice, the public burdens on the cultivator, could not at that time have been diminished to any considerable extent. Though our war expenditure had ceased, yet there remained the enormous interest of the national debt, and the expences of our peace establishment, which could not at that time have been reduced so low as to admit of any considerable remission of taxes. Those who are eager at all times to censure the measures of government, of course availed themselves of the opportunity of cavilling at the extent of the establishment that was still kept up, and attempted to persuade the people, that our expenses ought to be as low as if we had been in a state of profound tranquillity of ten years. But the people were, happily, not misled by such representations, but continued to pay the taxes, which they saw were still necessary, with the same admirable equanimity with which they had all along borne them. The nation, however, now has the satisfaction to see that the government is taking every measure to reduce their burdens; and we may hope, that the restoration of permanent tranquillity will render it practicable to diminish very greatly the national expenditure.

As it was impossible, therefore, to reduce the expense of cultivation to such an extent as to enable our agriculturists to raise corn at the reduced prices, it became the alternative, either that they must be enabled by some measure of government to obtain such a price as would remunerate them, or that the agriculture of the country must be ruined, and the nation left to depend for subsistence on foreign supplies. With this view, the corn bill of 1814 was proposed, but not carried; and in 1815, the corn bill which forms the subject of this discussion, was passed.

We shall not repeat any of the arguments which were advanced in the debates of which we have given an outline. The supporters of the bill painted in such powerful colours the general misery that must infallibly take place, not merely among the agricultural, but the manufacturing classes, from a great part of our land being thrown out of cultivation, that it is impossible not to deprecate this as the greatest evil that can befall us. Their views of the advantages of preserving this country independent of foreign nations for the means of subsistence, and of the consequences of an opposite line of policy, appear to be correct and conclusive. Some of the advocates of the bill, however, seem to have fallen into an error in supposing that its effects ever could be to make corn cheap; and this attempt, joined to the obvious intention of the measure, to prevent the ruin of the agricultural interest, by keeping up the price of corn, gave an air of inconsistency to their arguments, of which their opponents did not fail to take advantage. Mr Malthus has demonstrated that prices can never be low so long as we continue rich and prosperous; and that "a nation which very greatly gets the start of its neighbours in riches, without any peculiar natural facilities for growing corn, must necessarily submit to one of these alternatives,—either a very high comparative price of grain, or a very great dependence upon other countries for it." *

It is objected to the corn bill, that

* Grounds of an Opinion on the Policy of restricting the Importation of Foreign Corn, p. 46.

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it has been found, by the experience of two years, to have failed in its object, for it has not relieved the distresses of the farmers; but the salutary effects which it ought to have had have been counteracted by several circumstances. It was, in the first place, too late in being passed. We do not blame the legislature for the caution which they shewed in 1814, when they would not take this measure without further enquiry into its necessity; but we are persuaded, that, had it been adopted at that time, it would have prevented much of the distress that has taken place. When it was proposed in 1814, immense importations of corn were taking place, though the price was so low as 67*s.*; and upon its rejection, the importation went on even more rapidly than before. The consequence was, that an enormous accumulation of foreign corn took place, which would not have happened had the ports been shut by the operation of a law prohibiting importation at prices under 80*s.* Though, therefore, the ports were shut in March 1815, when the corn-bill was passed, this measure was rendered ineffectual; for the markets were so glutted with foreign corn, that prices still continued to fall. In December 1815, the price of wheat was only 55*s.* 9*d.* per quarter. In January 1816, it was still lower, being only 52*s.* 6*d.* In April following, it began to rise, but this was occasioned by the extremely bad appearance of the season, and the prospect of a deficient crop. Prices continued to rise, and the harvest being very bad, the average, in November, was above 80*s.* and the ports were opened. Since that time to the present,* though the price of the best corn has been very high, yet the only gainers by it have been the importers of foreign corn. The distress of our own farmers continues, because their grain, besides being excessively deficient in quantity, is in general of such bad quality, that it will hardly sell at any price. It cannot reasonably be doubted, that, had the importation been stopped in 1814, before it had time to glut our markets, prices would not have fallen nearly so low as they did; that an immense amount of agricultural capital would have been saved, which is now irrecoverably lost, and that much of the distress of the country would have been averted. Nor can it be reasonably doubted, that, had the crop of 1816 been tolerably good and abundant, our farmers would have been much benefitted by the sale of this crop, without any competition from foreign growers; and there is good ground to hope, that we shall soon be aware of the salutary effects of this protection from foreign competition.

Those who make it a system to disturb, as far as they can, the peace of the country, by inflaming the people against the government, have found our national distresses a fruitful theme. They have endeavoured, and do so still, to persuade the nation, that these distresses, which are plainly the result of causes which no human wisdom could have foreseen, nor human power prevented, have been brought upon the country by the folly and wickedness of our ministers. They attribute them, in the first place, to an unnecessary war, carried on for the hopeless purpose of delivering Europe from the sway of Buonaparte; and when they were compelled, by the accomplishment of this object, to admit that it was no longer *hopeless*, they were obliged to hazard the wild assertion that it was not beneficial. They attribute them, in the next place, to the depreciation of our

* The period at which we write—March, 1817.

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currency, occasioned by over-issues, though they have not been able to show that our currency was in a state either of discredit or excess. They attribute them to excessive taxation, though it is not to be doubted that it was by this taxation that we were enabled to accomplish the deliverance of Europe. They attribute them to the injury sustained by our commerce, occasioned by our own bad policy, though this injury proceeded, first from the unprecedented measures of our enemy, and next from the rash and precipitate speculations of our own merchants, when the power of that enemy was at an end,—causes over which our government had certainly no controul. And they describe the measure devised for the relief of these distresses as at best a piece of blind and short-sighted policy, calculated only to aggravate the distresses of the poor, by raising the price of bread, though it cannot for a moment be doubted that it was adopted from the most earnest desire to relieve the hardships of every class of the community. But it is a necessary result of rash and heedless censure, and of party censure, which is often the most rash and heedless of all others, that it draws upon time for its own certain refutation. There is scarcely one of these objections which did not grow weaker under the investigation they excited; and during the period which has elapsed since the time when they were agitated, until that at which these annals have been compiled, the conviction of the utility of the measure in question has been gradually strengthening. Various causes, most of which we have already referred to, have no doubt interrupted and thwarted its beneficial results; but these causes, we think, we have also shewn to be merely of a temporary nature, and likely, ere long, to give way to the powerful operation of those general principles upon which the measure is founded.

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CHAP. V.

Domestic Affairs.—Imposture of Joanna Southcote.—Fanaticism of her Disciples.—Her Death and Interment.—Extension of the Order of the Bath.—Classes into which it is divided.—Remarks on the Measure, and its Tendency.—Trial of Sir John Murray.—Riots on Account of the Corn Bill.—Members of the House of Commons Attacked and Insulted.—Houses attacked and Property destroyed.—Continuation of the Riots on the 7th.—Persons Shot in Burlington-street.—Petition of the Electors of Westminster against the Corn Bill.—Conduct of Sir Francis Burdett in moving it, and Debate which ensued, in the House of Commons.—Acquittal of the Soldiers indicted for Murder in defence of Mr Robinson's House.—Liberal Feelings of the Populace towards them.—Anecdote of a Private Soldier of the Guards.

THE first domestic event which occupied the attention of the public, in the year 1815, is almost too ridiculous for recital, were it not the duty of the annalist to record all that can preserve the form and pressure of the times, from which he forms his record. It was the close of an impious and extravagant imposture, which had long insulted religion, scandalized morality, and entertained the idle and thoughtless.

A wretched old woman, called Joanna Southcote, originally a Methodist, had, for no less than twenty-five years, assumed the character of a prophetess and an inspired writer. It is impossible to discover, from the foolish and blasphemous trash which she occasionally published, whether she was altogether an impostor, or held that dubious rank between madness and knavery, which may be justly assigned to most founders of false religions. THE WOMAN, as she called herself, pretended to have immediate intercourse with the Deity; held controversies with Satan, whom she banished from her presence in confusion, after sustaining a debate of several days; and derived no ungainful trade, by selling a sort of sealed passport, which, like the Pope's of yore, was supposed to procure the bearer instant admittance into the heavenly regions. Many condemned criminals, and others, who had not inclination or leisure to repent of their sins, and petition for repentance, embraced this compendious mode of assuring their part of paradise. A seal with the letters *J. S.*, which she found in sweeping out her master's shop, was the only visible proof to which she appealed in support of her celestial mission. She had a formal disputation with her former pastors, some of whom are said to have acknowledged her divine authority. To the disgrace of an enlightened age, pretensions so blasphemous and extravagant, instead of conveying Mrs Southcote to Bridewell or Bedlam, as her case required, procured her an extended circle of disciples, among whom were enrolled several of those who had been formerly believers in the maniac Brothers. In the month of May, 1814, deceived by some inward complaint, or desirous to ascertain how far the credulity

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of her miserable followers would carry them, she announced, that she was impregnated with a mysterious birth, a new incarnation of the Deity—a second advent. Being unmarried, a virgin, as she said, and certainly in her sixty-fifth year, she was nevertheless, she averred, to become the mother of the promised *Shiloh* of the Jewish prophesies. Wonderful to say, this annunciation rather extended than abridged the number of her disciples. She could now reckon among them, the Reverend Mr P. Foly, whose name well merited an additional letter; and the no less Reverend Mr Towzer, whose chapel she honoured with her attendance; a third reverend, who afterwards saw visions on his own account; an eminent artist; a half-pay colonel; and some old women of both sexes. That posterity may judge with what gross, thick, and palpable vulgarity and nonsense, an impostor of the nineteenth century might bait her hook, and yet not fail to catch gudgeons, we will record six lines of the inspired strains of the Prophetess, or rather of the Spirit, by whom, she affirmed, they were dictated:

So now thy writings all may see
The way that I have spoke to thee;
Because I said the second Child
That way the learned all would foil;
I said the man that set thee free,
A David's crown I'd give to *He*.

At such slender expense of reason, rhyme, and grammar, Mrs Southcote went on and prospered. The family of the prophetess was now maintained upon a footing as suitable to her high pretensions, as the means of her followers could support; and several expensive presents of plate, a cradle, or cribb, as it was called, the magnificence of which called forth the superlatives of newspaper eloquence, and other elegant and valuable articles for the use of the expected Shiloh, evinced that the faithful possessed wealth in a degree very disproportioned to their allowance of common sense. Nor was it only by such expensive gifts that the disciples of this miserable enthusiast shewed their confidence in the truth of her mission. Wagers, according to Voltaire, are the English test of sincerity; and that it might not be wanting on this occasion, a citizen of Gravesend laid a bet of two hundred to one hundred pounds, Joanna Southcote would be delivered of a child before the first day of November. The Chief Justice Gibbs afterwards refused to sustain an action on this wager, as contrary to good morals, so that the defendant escaped for the disgrace of public exposure. Nine medical men (it was pretended) visited her, six of whom, to the credit of that learned faculty, are said to have pronounced her pregnant, while the other three more cautiously suspended their judgment. Her followers applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury to provide her with suitable apartments and assistance worthy of the expected birth; and it was by others gravely suggested, that the Lord Chancellor should take Mrs Southcote under his protection, in order, doubtless, that Shiloh, on his expected arrival, might become a ward of Chancery. But however deeply both church and state were interested in the event, neither the right reverend archbishop, nor the learned lord on the woolsack, could be moved to give such a farce the sanction of their countenance.

Mrs Southcote adjourned her mysterious delivery from time to time, until at length she appears to have been partly undeceived by the pain of an internal disease. A female companion addressed a medical gentleman by her desire. "Her case," said her amanuensis, after detailing the symptoms, "is singular in other points, this event being the criterion by

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by which herself and friends are to decide whether she has been directed by a visitation from the Lord, or it has been from an invisible spirit to deceive, as she neither *wish* to deceive or be deceived herself; she *have* faithfully and honestly laid before her friends and the public, an event which must either establish her mission to be of God, or annihilate it altogether. Therefore into the hands of the Almighty she *commit* her cause, if it is his divine work that he will make it manifest in his own good time; if not she *have* no wish or desire to live."

But although the prophetess herself seems to have abated in her confidence as the disease increased, and her strong mental delusion, as well as the necessity of sustaining her high pretensions, failed, in the agony of pain and before the fear of death, her followers abated not an iota of their zealous faith. Even the death of the unhappy woman, which took place in the end of December, was incapable of quenching their hopes. In a will, dictated at what she called lucid intervals, she asserted her conviction that she had been visited by a divine inspiration, or evil possession, and that she was to be the mother of a living child, of divine or infernal origin. As one of her early prophecies had announced, that the mother of Shiloh was to be seemingly dead for four days, the will directed her body to be preserved for that period; and should the four days elapse without re-animation, she committed the examination of her corpse to persons of anatomical skill. Her death therefore, being considered as a mere intermission of existence, did not shake the confidence of her followers, who watched the corpse constantly for the four days, although the state of the body rendered the task disgusting and even dangerous. The inspection of the body then took place by medical practitioners of character, and it may be easily supposed that the cause of decease was found to have no relation to the imaginary pregnancy. The mob assembled to enjoy the doleful and disconcerted looks of the departing disciples, and, according to custom, did not fail to accompany their hootings with some mud, and a few stones, a discipline which nearly proved fatal to an old lady of respectable appearance and singularly demure aspect, who called to enquire after Joanna's resuscitation, and imprudently suffered surprise to escape her that the event had not yet taken place. To elude the insults of the rabble, the mortal remains of Joanna Southcote were interred at an unusual hour, and with much privacy. Four gentlemen (disciples doubtless) attended the ceremony, muffled and disguised; mourning at once, it may be presumed, the death of their inspired mistress, and the downfall of their own extravagant hopes. The service of the Church of England was read upon the occasion; a profanation of the holy office, unless we charitably suppose that the blasphemies of the deceased were the exclusive fruits of insanity. One sort of posthumous atonement Joanna Southcote had indeed made, by directing that the gifts sent in for the use of the expected child and his mother, should be restored to those by whom they were sent. The list got into the public papers, and amused the readers by the various degrees of wealth and rank which the donors seem to have possessed; for the miscellaneous catalogue contained all sorts of accommodations, from silver plate and articles of splendid embroidery, down to two nutmegs, a silver sixpence, and a paper of pins. But another and more direct palinode was made by her apostle, the Reverend Mr Towzer, in the paper called the Observer, by a letter stating, that he was directed by Joanna to acknowledge her former wicked errors; and

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to state, that being recovered from a state of mental delirium, and approaching to her end, she had renounced before her death the visions of her distempered brain; and implored all good Christians not only to forgive her, but to join in fervent prayer, that the Almighty would pardon her manifold blasphemies. Thus ended a delusion, which, had it been used by a dramatic writer or a novelist, laying his scene in the nineteenth century, would have been considered as a gross outrage upon sense and probability.

The peace being now considered as placed upon a permanent foundation, measures were adopted by the Prince Regent for conferring degrees of honour upon the gallant officers of the navy and army, by whose honourable exertions the war had been carried on through such difficulties, and brought finally to so glorious a termination. For this purpose, the ancient and honourable Order of the Bath was enlarged, and divided into three classes. The first, to be termed in future Grand Crosses, instead of Knights Companions of the order, was to comprehend seventy-two knights, of whom twelve might receive the honour for civil or diplomatic services; the remaining sixty were to be either major-generals in the army, or rear-admirals in the navy. These Grand Crosses were to enjoy all the honours and immunities belonging to the former Knights Companions of the order, who were, of course, included in the highest class. The second class was to be stiled Knights Commanders of the order, to take place of all Knights Bachelors; the number was limited to one hundred and eighty, to be composed of persons not under the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, and post-captains in the navy. Ten foreigners holding British commissions might be added to this class as honorary Knight Commanders. And no one, it was provided, should be promoted to the class of Grand Crosses, without having previously been a Knight Commander. The third class was to consist of officers holding commissions in the land or sea service, and to be distinguished as Knights Companions.—Their precedence was ranked beneath Knights Bachelors, but before all Esquires.

This measure did not escape severe criticism. It was first represented as degrading the Order of the Bath;—and no doubt, abstractedly speaking, every honorary distinction is liable to lose its value in proportion as its numbers are extended, unless this tendency to depreciation be counteracted by other circumstances. But, considering the persons who, at the close of a war in which British valour had so proudly distinguished itself, were selected to share the purposed honours, it is presumed that the Order of the Bath rather acquired lustre by the fame of those on whom it was conferred, than lost it by the extension of the institution. The question might indeed be safely perilled upon the single issue, whether the Order of the Bath, reckoning from its earliest records, exhibited such a constellation of names of distinguished lustre, as were added to its rolls in consequence of these new regulations. As, therefore, the honour of an order depends less on the great or limited number, than on the character of those enrolled in it, it is scarce worth notice, that as sixty Knights of the Bath already existed, only twelve were added by this new arrangement.

It was further urged, though somewhat inconsistently with the first argument, that the proposed augmentation of the Order was adopted in imitation of Buonaparte's Legion of Honour; and designed to elevate the rank of the military, as the immediate dependents of the crown, over the ancient gentry of the country. It was replied, that the nervous apprehen-

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sion of the military ascendance implied in this objection was like that of the poor insane gentleman, who was afraid of his own sword after he had hung it up on the wall;—that the character and constitution of our army, as well as the principles and education of our officers, were such as to warrant us against any apprehension of their being led to consider their own interest, or that of their profession, as distinct from the liberty and welfare of their country;—that as Britain could not repay by more solid bounty the actions of her best and bravest sailors and soldiers, the least which could be assigned to them was the empty honour of rank and precedence;—that there was no novelty in the precedence of the Companions of the Order, since an Esquire of the Bath took rank of all Esquires, except those of the King's body, by the original statute of the order; and, finally, that the gentry of England, who had been protected in their rights by these gallant men, could feel no degradation in giving place to their distinguished merit.

Viewing the matter generally, we can see no impropriety in the establishment or extension of a military order, to reward past services, and afford an honourable object of emulation in future wars. Something perhaps may be objected to the terms Grand Crosses and Commanders, both as unknown to our English chivalry, whose dialect affords modes of distinction as significant; and as approaching too nearly, in sound at least, to the phraseology of foreign orders, the lowest ranks of which are usually distributed with injudicious and indiscriminate profusion. This, however, is a trifle; for the respectability of the Order of the Bath, and every other honorary institution, must depend, not upon its titles or classes, but on the mode in which it is conferred. At present, there is no want of breasts, often exposed to danger for their country, on which the badges of the various classes may be honourably displayed. But we hope, (for the hope implies a prospect of long and continued peace) that the time will arrive when worthy candidates for military honours must necessarily be more scarce. If the sovereign, withstanding favour and importunity, shall then refuse to grant the distinctions of the order to all who have not honourably earned them, it will retain its lustre in the eyes of those who wear it, of those who aspire to win it, of the country, and of posterity. Should it be otherwise, this, like other honours, will cease to be the badge of merit, and sink into a distinction of little value, to be obtained by court-intrigue or favouritism, honouring neither the wearer, nor the sovereign by whom it is conferred. And it is further to be remarked, that the supposed degradation cannot take place, even in the lowest rank of the Order, without transgression of the fundamental rule, that the officers on whom it is conferred, shall have been distinguished for some special act of service communicated to the public in the London Gazette.

The trial of Sir John Murray by a court martial next engaged the attention of the public. The reader may remember, that while the Duke of Wellington was pursuing his victorious career in the south-west of Spain, in summer 1813,* Sir John Murray, at the head of an army of English and Sicilians, had the difficult task to keep in check Suchet, who occupied Catalonia with a large French force. With this view Sir John undertook the siege

* See the Edinburgh Register for that year, Chapter X.

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of Tarragona, and being compelled to raise it by the advance of a very superior French force, succeeded indeed in embarking his men with safety, but left behind some battering guns and mortars, and stores of no great value. We have given the particulars of his expedition in our volume for the year in which it took place, with so much minuteness, that we may dispense with resuming the subject. The charges brought against Sir John Murray were three in number, the two first being supported by the judge-advocate, Mr Larpent, and the third by Admiral Hallowell, who commanded the naval force of the expeditions. The first charge related to the siege of Tarragona, and the delay in raising it, even after, in Sir John Murray's own former opinion, the success of the enterprise had become hopeless. The second was, that he had disobeyed his instructions in embarking only a part of his army, and in subsequently disembarking them. The third charged, that the force was embarked in a hurried and precipitate manner, so as to sacrifice the object pointed out in Lord Wellington's letter, and to disgrace the military character of the country, by abandoning various guns and trophies to an approaching enemy. Upon these charges, the first and third of which are not easily reconciled to each other, a quantity of evidence was led, and Sir John Murray adduced many witnesses to support his defence. The decision of the court found Sir John Murray Not Guilty of the two first charges. Upon the third, they found that Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray, Bart. is Guilty only of so much of the charge as states, "That he unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety, such conduct being detrimental to the service; and the court does therefore find him Guilty of such part, but does acquit him of the remainder of that charge; and the court, under all the circumstances of the case, considering the conduct of Sir John Murray to have proceeded from a mere error in judgment, is of opinion, and does adjudge, that for the part of the third charge of which Lieutenant-General Sir J. Murray has been so found guilty, he be admonished in such manner as his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief may think proper." It was probably considered by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, that the error of judgment of which Sir John Murray was found to be guilty, arose from his preferring the certain loss of a few guns and stores of no great value, to the possible and even probable chance of the troops being exposed to the attack of a superior enemy when in the very act of re-embarkation. It was, therefore, the conclusion of his royal highness, that as an error in judgment alone was charged against Sir John Murray, and that it proceeded from a cautious regard to the safety of his army, engaged in what always must be a perilous operation, the case did not appear to call for any further observation. The decision of the commander in chief was generally acceptable to the public, for the temporary prejudices against Sir John Murray had been long removed when the impossibility of success against Tarragona was made fully manifest, and the necessity of a retreat no less so. The third charge, comparatively unimportant in itself, was supposed to be in some degree founded upon the rivalry between the army and navy, which had in former times done so much prejudice to both, and which has occasionally disposed the officers of the one service to think and judge somewhat harshly of the conduct of those belonging to the other.

Another incident, of an extravagant and even ludicrous nature, occupied for a few days the public attention. We regret to say it again

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related to Lord Cochrane, whose original exploits were of a nature so widely different from those which it has been lately our painful duty to record concerning him. About the 6th or 7th of March, his lordship (condemned to a year's imprisonment for his share in the imposture practised on the Stock Exchange), effected his escape from the King's Bench prison. Upon the 21st, about a fortnight after his disappearance, Lord Cochrane, to the great surprise of those by whom he was first observed, was discovered seated with great composure upon the Treasury Bench, in the House of Commons, engaged in reading a pamphlet. Tidings of his re-appearance speedily flew to the prison from which he had escaped, and the marshal and tip-staff of the King's Bench, with a party of peace officers, appeared in the House to demand their prisoner. Lord Cochrane resisted the attempt to seize him, and was only secured after being overpowered in a personal struggle. He was forcibly removed to a carriage, and re-conducted to his former place of confinement,

> Bawling, till his lungs were spent,
> Privilege of parliament.

The marshal at first shewed some diffidence at laying hands upon his eccentric prisoner, being probably apprehensive that he might use fire-arms in defence of his person. But the only ammunition with which his lordship had provided himself was as singular as the rest of his conduct, being a quantity of snuff which he proposed to have thrown in the eyes of those who came to arrest him, had they not prevented him. Lord Cochrane soon afterwards published an address to his constituents, stating that it was always his intention, so soon as he had effected his escape from prison, to repair to the House of Commons; but that the commotions attending the discussion of the corn bill induced him to suspend his purpose, lest his escape and sudden appearance in parliament should have increased the spirit of disturbance. Having thus stated an honourable and considerate motive for remaining concealed, his lordship proceeded to say, that every engine had been set at work to allure him back to his place of confinement, or to compel him to leave the country. He had even been assured, he said, that if he chose to return to the custody of the marshal, he would find the doors of the prison open to him at midnight, and be received with secrecy, courtesy, and indemnity. In conclusion, he severely attacked the state of the prison, and alleged, that such were the deleterious effects of the damp and unwholesome cell in which he was confined, which he described as so dreadful, that a prisoner must certainly within a few months totally lose the use of his limbs. Lord Cochrane was afterwards tried for breaking prison, and had a sentence of farther confinement passed upon him.

The next important event in the annals of 1815, is the effect produced upon the populace of the metropolis by the discussions concerning the corn bill. We have, in the last chapter, traced with some minuteness the political reasons urged for and against this measure; but it is not to be supposed that the common people in London, and other large towns, were either disposed to admit, or capable of comprehending, the arguments urged by the speakers on either side. Least of all were they inclined to trust to the reasoning which urged, that to preserve an adequate supply of grain in years of scarcity, it was necessary to fall on some measure to keep up the price in seasons of plenty; for a plan which infers immediate privation for the purpose of future advantage, is of all others what

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an impassioned and short-sighted populace is least willing either to comprehend or submit to with patience. Laying aside, therefore, alike the soundness and the subtleties of economics, the populace only saw, in the proposed bill, a measure for raising the price of grain, the most necessary article of their subsistence, for interposing a legal barrier as it were between the poor and the blessings of a plentiful harvest, and for enriching the corn-factor, farmer, and landholder, the engrossers, as they esteemed them, of the fruits of the earth, at the expence of the poor, who could not exist without that article, of which they held the monopoly. Causes much less nearly affecting the immediate interests of the lower class will often excite riots in great cities; but any measure which touches, or threatens to touch, their subsistence, comes strait home to their business and bosoms, and never fails to do so. In the present instance, the mob of London, like Shakespeare's plebeian Romans, conceived that the object of their misery was but "an inventory to particularize patrician "abundance;"—their sufferance proposed as a gain to the landed gentry. Their natural disposition to tumult was greatly aided by placards at the corner of every street, which, while ostensibly they only invited the people to petition parliament against the obnoxious measure, had in fact the effect of irritating the public discontent, and instigating the populace to acts of riot and disorder. The consequence was, as in Rome, a cry, "to the Capitol."

Accordingly, on the 6th of March, when the corn bill was in discussion in a committee of the House of Commons, a riotous mob taking possession of all the avenues to the House, and of the entrance to the lobbies, not only interrupted the members by threats and indignities, but even by acts of personal violence endeavoured to extort from individuals a promise to oppose the bill. The secretary to the admiralty was insulted, hustled, and even struck, because he refused firmly either to tell his name, or give them any satisfaction concerning his intended vote. He escaped with difficulty from their hands, and made his way into the House, while his servants were maltreated, and his carriage broken to pieces. The power of eloquence was never more favourably displayed than in the case of the Attorney General (Sir W. Garrow), who, by expostulation, succeeded in persuading the rioters to let him enter the House without personal injury, upon a solemn promise that he would vote according to his conscience. Other members were insulted and hustled, one of whom (Sir Frederick Flood), excited some laughter by declaring, that he had been bandied about in the hands of the mob like a basket of mackerel at Billingsgate, and that at one time he verily believed he had been quartered alive. The interference of the peace-officers being unable to put a stop to these disgraceful scenes, the military were sent for to support the civil magistrate, and their exertions, which were made without harming an individual, soon cleared away the mob from Palace-yard, and the avenues to the House of Commons. Their appearance, however, gave such alarm to an honourable Member (Mr Lambton), that, with the feverish apprehension, or affectation of apprehension, of the standing army, which it is thought patriotic to express in season and out of season, he gravely rose, insisted upon knowing *why* the House was surrounded by bayonets, and demanded an instant adjournment. At this moment the ears of the honourable member might have been regaled by the clamorous menaces of a furious populace,

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assembled in the very lobby of the House, for the avowed purpose of intimidating the members of the legislature in their deliberations; and his eyes, if theirs be the channel of communication he is most in the habit of trusting, might have read an answer to his question in the marks of ill-usage exhibited by such members as had undergone the discipline of the mob. But, notwithstanding the evidence of his own senses, it was not until several witnesses had been examined at the bar, that Mr Lambton became finally satisfied that the soldiery were brought down, not to overawe the House of Commons, but to protect them from the threats and actual violence of a riotous populace.

Upon the whole (as might have been expected from the British spirit of our legislators) the violence, by which the populace attempted to overawe the House, produced exactly the opposite effect. Several members, whose opinions were not before completely made up, were decided in favour of the bill, from the determination to shew they were not to be debarred from their duty by popular clamour and violence. Many of those who opposed the bill, and had advised that the measure should be at least postponed, now agreed with its supporters that a dilatory course might inspire the populace with a dangerous belief that their measures of intimidation had made some impression, and consented therefore to the immediate and final discussion. And the vote of the night was decisive in favour of the corn bill, by a more triumphant majority than had accompanied the measure in any former stage of its progress.

The resentment of the populace did not subside upon their being driven from the vicinity of the House of Commons by the military. They divided into parties, in order, by a simultaneous attack, to destroy the property and houses of the members understood to favour the corn bill. A small and desperate band, which at first did not exceed seventy or eighty in number, went to the house of the right honourable F. J. Robinson, the original mover of the bill, and obtaining admittance by a stratagem, proceeded to destroy the whole furniture, with books, pictures, papers, and property of every description, and ended by dashing the windows into the street, and breaking the doors down. Having thus completely sacked the habitation of the obnoxious member with whom the bill originated, they proceeded to those of others, whom they regarded as its supporters. Lord Darnley's house and Mr Yorke's were attacked. The rioters were unable to force admittance into the latter, and were alarmed in their attack upon the former, when they had penetrated into the hall, so that less damage was sustained than at Mr Robinson's.

Neither peace officers nor military appeared in sufficient force to disturb the mob in these riotous proceedings. If this was little creditable to the police of the metropolis, the conduct of two eminent law-lords shewed the firmness and spirit worthy of those selected to administer justice to a great nation. The rabble assembled before the Lord Chancellor's house in Bedford-square, and having giving three cheers, deliberately proceeded to force their way into the premises, by breaking open the doors. Lord Eldon, by a private door, through which he had let out his lady and family into the gardens of the British Museum, introduced two files of soldiers; and finding the mob had succeeded in forcing their way into his house, and were commencing the destruction of his property, his lordship exhibited the Chancellor of England in a new character, by personally leading his military auxiliaries to the charge.

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The rioters fled with great alarm before this inferior, but unexpected force; not, however, till the Lord Chancellor had with his own hand made two of their ringleaders prisoners. Lord Ellenborough behaved with equal spirit. On the mob appearing before his house, and commencing their usual violence, he came out and demanded their purpose; and being answered with menacing shouts of "No corn bill!" he placed before them, in a few brief words, the folly and danger of their conduct, with such effect, that they greeted him with three cheers, and carried their clamours and fury elsewhere. These were the events of the Monday night.

It has seldom happened that riots, having been allowed to proceed to a certain height, without an effectual check, subside till they arrive at a fatal crisis. What is in the first day a popular start of violence, becomes on the next a system of organized plunder and destruction. Every great city contains a certain number of persons, to whom theft and rapine are familiar: and in London, at this period, there existed several associations who were led to join in such scenes of tumult, and to aid the thoughtless rioter, and the more determined professional depredator, from the instigation of political zeal. The tumults, therefore, assumed on the Tuesday a more systematic form. The rioters, dispersed in parties through different and remote quarters of the city, selected their objects of vengeance, by learning at the beer-houses in the Meuse-lanes the names of such members of parliament as inhabited the adjacent streets. They then proceeded to the work of destruction, not in one large mass, but acting in different parties of limited numbers; and to add to the general alarm which their tactics produced, as the night was dark and the wind high, they sometimes accomplished their purpose while the soldiers were in the next street, without their having notice of it. When a party of the military did come up, the rioters dropped their implements of mischief, and appeared to be the wondering and innocent spectators of the ruins they themselves had made. The mansions of Lord King, Earl Bathurst, and Sir William Rowley suffered severely; the sashes and doors being demolished, the windows dashed in, and the iron railings broken down and converted into weapons for storming the street-doors. The houses of many other distinguished members of the legislature were injured in a greater or less degree.

The rioters, whatever care they might mean to take in selecting the victims of their fury, fell into various mistakes, and frequently broke the windows and assaulted the houses of persons who had nothing to do with the state measure which they resented so deeply. The following instances of such errors were ludicrous. Mr Morritt (member for Northallerton, and known to the literary world as the advocate of the Iliad against the criticisms of Bryant) had spoken in favour of the corn bill. From the similarity of the names, the mob visited with their vengeance the house of Mr *Morris* the Indian director; and the classical defender of Homer had his windows broken only by proxy. At another time the mob announced their next object of vengeance by shouting "Let's to Berkeley Paget's." A gentleman enquired what possible pretext they could have for attacking the house of a brave officer, who had no concern whatever with the corn-laws. It was replied by one of these sagacious orators, that the individual in question was no officer, but a brewer, and deeply concerned in grain speculations. An ecclaircissement ensued, and it was found out

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that these "most sweet voices" had confounded Colonel Berkeley Paget, with Messrs Barclay, Perkins, and Co.

But the events of the 7th March were unfortunately not all of a ludicrous nature. A guard of soldiers had been posted in Mr Robinson's house, which, as we have said, had sustained the first fury of the mob on the preceding evening, and had again been visited by them in the course of the day. The guard were supported by some of that gentleman's servants, armed to protect what property their master had left, and to repel the rioters, who had repeatedly demanded to know where Mr Robinson was; and threatened death to him and all who protected him. About seven o'clock at night a party of the mob entered Burlington-street, and again attacked the ruins of Mr Robinson's house. The military, after warning them of their danger, and loading their pieces in their presence, at length fired from the windows. Several of the mob were wounded, but the persons killed were unfortunately a young midshipman named Vize, and a female called Jane Watson, innocent spectators of the tumult, if those can be termed entirely irreprehensible, who, though gazing on the mob out of mere curiosity, increase their confidence by giving an appearance of numbers, and put themselves in the way of danger from the means which at last must be used to suppress them. It is probable that no mob would ever appear so formidable as to defy the civil power, were the mass of idle, curious, and unthinking spectators to be withdrawn from the determined and active rioters. The deaths of these persons were not the less accidents deeply to be regretted, since, however prudent and proper it may be to repress the spirit of curiosity in such cases, it cannot but be thought most natural to indulge it.

The riots did not cease even with this fatal accident. In the course of Wednesday (8th March) fresh outrages were committed, and some for which no pretext whatever could be alledged. An attack was made on the house of Sir Joseph Banks, whose whole life had been devoted not to politics but to science, and some property and papers were destroyed. Fortunately, the arrival of the military saved the inexpressible loss to knowledge which might otherwise have been sustained by the destruction of his library and scientific collections. Similar violence disgraced different parts of the metropolis; and it seemed that the audacity of the rioters increased with the forbearance of the soldiery, who conducted themselves with the most uncommon temper and discretion; hardly assuming even the blameless license of self-defence, though subjected to every species of outrage in language and action. In the meanwhile a scene passed in the House of Commons, which, though doubtless not so intended, must have led the mob to believe they were not without a friend and advocate even within the walls of that House.

On the forenoon of the 6th there had been a meeting of the electors in Old Palace-Yard for petitioning against the corn bill. Their representative, Sir Francis Burdett, seems (like the general who said he was a Venetian before he was a Christian) to have remembered that he was a landholder before he was a patriot, and therefore approved of the corn bill. But to have avouched such sentiments in the House of Commons would have risked his popularity with his constituents; and therefore, as a compromise between his opinion and his

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character as a patriot, the member for Westminster absented himself from the House during the discussion of this obnoxious measure. At the meeting he gilded over this desertion of his post, by a jest worthy of his conduct. "He did not chuse," he said, "to join in the mockery of debate—he might have many reasons for staying at home—he should say generally, that he did not like to go to any house that was filled with bad company, and where they kept late hours." This fool-born jest was thought worthy of the applause of the meeting; and Sir Francis Burdett, though he insinuated that his sentiments were in favour of the measure so clamorously condemned, and made the subject of such execration by his constituents, was dragged home in triumph, because he had not had the manliness to discharge his duty as a legislator, in asserting his own sentiments in opposition to theirs. Apparently, however, he thought, upon reflection, that some declaration of sentiments more decidedly accommodated to the popular taste was necessary to maintain his post as the favourite of the rabble. The incident which happened at Mr Robinson's house on the 7th seemed to furnish a favourable opportunity to regain what ground Sir Francis might have lost in the opinion of the good people of Westminster. When he rose in his place on the 10th to present the petition against the corn bill, he spoke of the question as one of little real importance, and avoided either granting or denying it. But, while he slightly touched on the irregularities of the mob, "he deprecated the fatalities which had occurred, and the placing soldiers in *ambuscade*, for the purpose of attacking and destroying the lives of unwary multitudes. He called such fatalities, (the placing of armed men, namely, within a house which had been twice broken into by a furious mob, for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of the family,)—nothing less than military murders; and he thought there were symptoms, on the part of government, to supersede the civil authorities which were the constitutional guardians of the public peace, and to erect in their room a military despotism!!!" To such sophistry, mixed with such truckling subservience to the humours of the rabble, did this honourable member stoop in his misdirected ambition, forgetting that the true patriot equally despises the bended brow of tyranny, and the shouts and menaces of a misguided multitude. Mr Robinson, against whom this speech was principally directed, and who surely had already suffered enough, both in property and feeling, rose to reply under the greatest emotion. He stated "the ravages committed by the mob upon his house on the Monday; their outrageous return the next day, with threats of murder against him and his domestics; and made it plain that the soldiers posted within the house were at length, and after long forbearance and repeated warning, compelled to fire in their own defence." Mr Robinson's speech was interrupted by tears, which testified the grief which he felt, as a man of humanity, at a fatality to which he was no way accessory, and for which the immediate agents were justifiable in the eyes of God and man. He concluded, by entreating the honourable baronet, if he was really moved by that regard for the people which his language expressed, to desist from misrepresentations calculated to produce the most unhappy effects, both towards the peace of the country and the safety of his fellow-subjects. All felt the force of this appeal; and Sir Francis Burdett himself endeavoured to escape from the charge of pointing out an innocent individual as

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the object of popular revenge, by pleading that he had no allusion in particular to what had happened at Mr Robinson's, (although it was only upon that occasion, during the whole riots, that the soldiers had made effective use of their arms;) but to the general system adopted by the ministers, of protecting the city by soldiers in place of peace-officers, and this at a time when the joint efforts of the civil and military had proved totally inadequate to protect the property of individuals, offending only by discharging their duty as legislators on a question where their opinions were corroborated by those of Sir Francis Burdett himself. With such obliquity of intellect will party-spirit, or rather a feverish appetite for the garbage of popularity, endow such as prize the shout of a mob beyond the dignity of moral independence. Sir Francis on this occasion received from Lord Castlereagh a severe and merited reprehension. "It was a little too much," his lordship observed, "considering how many lives had been lost on a preceding occasion to preserve the honourable baronet from being attached by an order of the House of Commons, that he should presume to question an Englishman's right to defend his castle and his family from the violence of an ungovernable and furious rabble. As the honourable baronet, departing entirely from the question before the House, neither supported nor opposed the corn bill, he could conceive no purpose for which he came down, excepting in order to subvert the constitution." From this strong charge Sir Francis Burdett could only escape by such intemperance of personal recrimination as drew down the censure of the Speaker. But, however the "throng of words" which came from him with such effrontery might serve his cause with his friends in Palace-yard, the honest consideration of almost the whole House of Commons, and of all thinking persons without doors, stigmatized his conduct on this as a home-attempt made to buy or redeem his fading popularity, by heating the popular odium against an individual, of whom it was hard to say whether he had been most injured in property or distressed in feelings; and to encourage the violence of the rabble, by representing as tyrannical and illegal, the means which were necessarily employed in repressing it.

The violent agitation occasioned by the corn bill was suddenly and effectually silenced by the arrival of the news that Buonaparte had again landed in France; a stupendous piece of intelligence, before which all topics of domestic interest at once sunk into annihilation. These extraordinary tidings reached London on the evening of the 10th March; and there was no more heard of the corn bill, than if the subject had never agitated the popular mind.

It was perhaps owing to the appearance made in the House of Commons by Sir Francis Burdett, that the grand jury of Middlesex found a true bill against the corporal and two soldiers stationed in the house of Mr Robinson, as also against his butler James Ripley, for the murder of Jane Watson. However absurd the conduct of the grand jury, it was fortunate, as giving an opportunity of a solemn trial of the most important question, how far a person acting like Ripley under a sense of duty to his master, and in defence of his property, or like the soldiers defending a post to which they had been called by the civil authority, are entitled to use arms in protection of that which is entrusted to their charge. The spirit of democracy, always at work on such occasions, failed not, by the manufacture of false reports and malicious in-

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sinuations, industriously circulated in pamphlets, to keep up the popular violence, and prepossess, if possible, the minds of the jurors against the prisoners. But the law, a law of infinite consequence to the protection of good order, property, and tranquillity, was distinctly laid down by the prisoner's counsel, on the authority of Lord Hale, Lord Mansfield, and other learned judges, was recognized by the judges, (Lord Ellenborough and Mr Justice Chamber) as indisputable, and received as such by a jury assembled in the ordinary manner for transacting the business of the sessions; who without hesitation pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty. Upon this solemn occasion, it was acknowledged as law that the peaceable master of a family, with his inmates, friends, and neighbours, as well as the peace-officers and military who are called in to his assistance, is justified in resisting whatever violence may be offered to person, house, or property; while, on the other hand, those assembled for purposes of mischief and destruction, led away by their own passions or the instigation of others, as well as they who in idle curiosity augment their numbers, must in future be aware of the risk in which they stand, since if their death ensues in such circumstances, the law will justify those employed in protecting at once private property and the public peace.

It must not be forgotten that the good-nature and candour of the English populace, qualities which they always shew when neither led away by their own prejudices, or the misrepresentations of their demagogues, were remarkably displayed on this occasion. Satisfied with the fairness of the investigation, and satisfied that the conduct of the soldiers had been entirely blameless, they greeted them on their acquittal with three cheers, sought to shake hands with them, and anxiously endeavoured to shew that they harboured no malice from recollection of a transaction, which, in its first aspect, operated so powerfully upon their feelings. There is a generosity in this conduct peculiarly characteristic of a free people, whose sober moments are always marked by a love of justice and a deference to the law, and who seek rather a fair and impartial investigation of such grievances as they suppose themselves to have sustained, than the gratification of vindictive feelings towards those whom they consider as the authors of them. And while we think it right that every attempt at systematic riot and violence should be checked early, and at a period when it may be possible to select the ringleaders as the objects of the resistance which they have provoked, we are as far as Sir Francis Burdett himself from desiring that every ebullition of popular feeling, though tumultuously and riotously expressed, should be made an excuse for employing deadly retaliation. The minds of the English common people cannot retain that energy of feeling which makes each regard the prosperity and fame of his country as matters of his own special concern, without the risk of its being expressed with occasional violence. We do not therefore think either the huzzas or hootings of a mob, accompanied with some insolence to their betters, and probably the demolition of some panes of glass, as fit subjects either of serious apprehension or severe repression. We would rather now and then endure the fever-fit of licence, than sleep the death-sleep of military despotism. But every thing has its bounds; and when the property and lives of the lieges are daringly assailed, they must be boldly defended, or the supine government which stoops to endure such scenes of outrage, must be contented to witness the streets of London gleam-

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ing with conflagration, and at length flooded with the gore of her citizens; as in the memorable year 1780, when only the firmness of the sovereign, in commanding his troops to act in defence of the peace, saved the capital from total destruction.

We will close this chapter with an anecdote, trifling in itself, but important as it serves to shew the deep interest which the very lowest ranks of the British public take in the concerns of the state; a circumstance arising solely out of the freedom with which public measures are submitted to their discussion, and to which the wisest and best-informed foreigners are disposed to ascribe the peculiar energy of our national character. When the order for embarking the Guards for Flanders, which followed immediately upon the landing of Buonaparte, was in the act of being carried into execution, a grenadier of the Coldstream was observed taking a friendly farewell of a cobler with whom he had been quartered. They had exhausted their parting draught, and were shaking hands cordially. "God bless you, my good fellow," said the soldier; "do *you* look after the corn bill at home, and leave *me* to manage Buonaparte." The first impulse of the reader may be to laugh; but as both men were perfectly serious in the division of their public duty, we may estimate, from this trifling circumstance, the quantity of patriotism in a state where the meanest individual considers her safety and fame as intrusted to his charge, and dependent on his efforts.

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CHAP. VI.

Internal State of France.—Defects of the Administration.—Count de Blacas.—State of Parties.—Royalists, comprehending the Nobles, and Clergy, and Vendeans.—Tumult at the Funeral of Mademoiselle de Raucour.—Sepulchral Honours paid to Louis XVI. and his Queen.—Jealous Fears of the Possessors of National Domains.—Republicans.—Buonapartists.—Discontents of the Army.—Constitutionalists.—Purchasers of National Domains.—Resemblance between the State of France and of England after the Restoration.

FRANCE, so long the centre of those successive revolutions which had disturbed the tranquillity of Europe, appeared now to be in the situation of an exhausted volcano. The thunders of the eruption seemed over, but its former ravages were still visible, and it was manifest to every reflecting mind, that many years must pass away ere their traces could be obliterated. The very extravagance of those hopes, which were naturally entertained upon the restoration of the royal family, like too early and too luxuriant a show of blossom, diminished the chances of their ripening into the expected fruit, and exasperated the disappointment of the over-sanguine expectants.

Yet symptoms of recovering prosperity began to appear in this rich country. The manufactures of Rouen, Lyons, and other French towns, were resumed with a zeal and readiness which alarmed their competitors in Great Britain. Capital, which has such a wonderful capacity of escaping like quicksilver from the grasp of arbitrary power, and re-uniting and re-appearing when the prospect of profit and of security call it forth to action, began again to put in motion commercial speculations. Marseilles, Nantes, and Havre, resumed the appearance of trading cities, and again sent merchant vessels to sea. The cellars of Bourdeaux were once more emptied of her wines and brandies, and her warehouses replenished in lieu of them with colonial produce. Nor was it a matter of indifference to Paris at least, that crowds of foreigners, and particularly of English, rushed thither to spend large sums of money, and augment in no small proportion the reviving circulation of wealth. But this hopeful commencement was checked and counterbalanced by many circumstances of discontent and disappointment, some arising out of the nature of things, and totally uncontroulable by human wisdom, and others out of the errors of the government, and the

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evil passions and contending interests of the governed.

The sort of enthusiasm with which the Bourbons had been at first welcomed, soon faded into indifference, and indifference was succeeded by doubt, and suspicion, and dislike. The fabulist, in the apologue of the frogs who demanded a king, has described the sensation produced by a tyrant succeeding to a mild and over-easy monarch. But it was reserved to France to exhibit the counterpart of the fable, and to show how the aquatic nation would have probably demeaned themselves had the indulgence of Jupiter again substituted a mere passive type of monarchy, and banished King Stork to some remote islet. In the person of Louis XVIII. himself, the French could indeed find nothing to censure, nor any thing to contemn, excepting those corporeal infirmities, which disease inflicts upon some, and age upon all. Even the revolutionists yielded their unwilling assent to his merits;—An excellent temper,—a sound judgment,—a cultivated understanding,—a disposition to make every sacrifice for the welfare of the people,—even honour and good faith in his engagements, his worst enemies were compelled to allow him. He possessed also a readiness of good-humoured repartee, which uses to weigh much with the French nation, and that overflowing and kindly quality of the heart, which they express by the word *bonhommie*. He had one quality, and only one of the original monarch of the frogs, but it was the very quality on which the veneration due to King Log suffered shipwreck,—an inertness arising from the bodily infirmity at which we have hinted, which prevented his dazzling the eyes of his frivolous subjects, by assuming the dress and activity of his warlike predecessor, and something like a corresponding want of firmness and decision in the measures of his government. "Send him back to us," said an Englishman, who had listened impatiently to a Parisian, as he lamented betwixt pity and scorn the king's incapacity to mount on horseback,—"send the excellent old man back to us, and you shall have a king will suit you better—we will send you young Astley the equestrian, the best horseman in Europe." But however just the reproof, it is no less certain that the bodily infirmities of Louis, and the want of personal activity which necessarily attended them, were of great prejudice to his affairs at this critical period. The gifted eye of Burke had foreseen, when few but himself anticipated the possibility of the restoration of the royal family, that personal activity would be a quality in the highest degree essential to the restored monarch. "A king of France," he said, "ought, speaking literally, to spend six hours in the day upon horseback." The necessity of this proved as true as most of his other prophecies; for the deficiency was most severely felt in the king's affairs.

The constitution which the king had solemnly sanctioned, although it could not be termed perfect, was in most respects adapted to France in its existing state, and contained not only the elements of a free and representative government, but the means of gradual improvement, as circumstances should require and experience should point out. The charter, as it was called, recognized, in the most formal manner, what Britons consider as their most sacred rights. 1. It established three branches of the legislature, by king, peers, and a house of representatives, whose concurrence was required in framing laws. 2. It guaranteed personal liberty, and toleration concerning religious faith. 3. It recognized the liberty of the press. 4. The ministers were held respon-

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sible and subject to be tried by the Chamber of Peers, on the indictment of the House of Representatives. 5. The representatives had the sole right of proposing taxes. 6. The judges were recognized as holding their offices permanent; new courts and commissions were declared illegal, and the institution of juries was sanctioned. Theoretically, therefore, the principles of the charter were admitted to be excellent. But a very ill-timed question was stirred concerning the mode in which the constitution had been established.

It will be remembered that the senate of Buonaparte, in calling the king to enjoy the crown under a constitution of their own framing, attempted to burthen their invitation by a sordid and selfish arrangement, by which they were to secure the revenues of the senatorial order to them and theirs for ever; in consideration of which, and upon condition of his acknowledging certain principles laid down in their plan, they agreed to call Louis XVIII. to the throne. The King refused to acknowledge the right of the senate, either to dictate the terms on which he should ascend a throne, his own by hereditary descent, and to which he had never forfeited his claim; or to engross the endowments provided to their order by Buonaparte, as their own exclusive property. He therefore assumed the crown as the lineal and true representative of him by whom it was last worn; and issued his own constitutional charter as a concession which the spirit of the times demanded, and which he had himself no desire to withhold. The objections to this mode of proceeding were, practically speaking, of no consequence. It signified nothing to the people of France, whether the constitution was proposed to the king by the national representatives, or by the king to them, so that it contained, in an irrevocable form, a full ratification of the national liberties. But for the king to have acknowledged himself the creature of the senate's election would have been at once to recognize every ephemeral tyranny which had started up and fretted its part on the revolutionary stage; and to have sanctioned all subsequent attempts at innovation, since they who make kings and authorities must have the inherent right to dethrone them. It should not be forgotten how the British nation acted on the great occasions of the Restoration and Revolution; recognising, at either crisis, the right of blood to succeed to the crown, whether vacant by the murder of Charles I., or the abdication of James II. In principle, too, it may be observed, that in all modern European nations, the King is nominally the source both of law and justice, and that statutes are promulgated, and sentences executed in his name, without inferring that he has the despotic right either to make the one, or to alter the other. Although, therefore, the constitution of France emanated in the usual form of a royal charter, the king was no more empowered to recal or innovate its provisions, than King John to abrogate those of the English Magna Charta. Monsieur, the king's brother, had promised in his name, upon his solemn entrance to Paris, that Louis would recognise the basis of the constitution prepared by the senate. This pledge was fully redeemed by the charter, and wise men would have been more anxious to secure the benefits which it promised, than scrupulously to cavil on the mode in which they had been conferred. In fact, Louis had adopted not only the form most consonant to ancient usage, but that which he thought most likely to satisfy both the royalists and the revolutionary party. He ascended the

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throne as his natural right, and having done so, he willingly granted to the people, in an irrevocable form, the substantial principles of a free constitution. But both parties were rather displeased at what they considered as lost, than gratified at what they gained by this arrangement. The royalists considered the constitution with its concessions, as a voluntary abandonment of the royal prerogative, while the revolutionary party exclaimed, that the receiving the charter from the king as an act of his will, was in itself a badge of servitude; and that the same authority which had granted these privileges, might, if recognised, be supposed to reserve the privilege of diminishing or resuming them at pleasure. And thus it is, that folly, party-spirit, pride, and passion, can misrepresent the best measures, and so far poison the public mind, that the very granting the object of their desires shall be made the subject of new complaints.

The formation of the ministry gave rise to more serious grounds of apprehension and censure. The various offices of administration were, upon the restoration, left in possession of persons selected from those who had been named by the provisional government. All the members of the provisional state council were called to be royal ministers of the state. Many of these, though possessed of reputed talents, were men hackneyed in the changes of the revolution; and were not, and could not, be entrusted with the king's confidence beyond the bounds of the province which each administered. Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, whose talents and experience might have given him claim to the situation of prime minister, was unpopular, from his political versatility; and it was judged, after a time, most expedient to send him to the congress at Vienna, that his diplomatic skill might be employed in arranging the exterior relations of France with the other powers of Europe. Dupont was promoted to the situation of minister at war, owing, perhaps, to the persecution he had undergone from Buonaparte, in consequence of his surrender at Baylen to the Spaniards. Soult was afterwards called to this important office, how recommended, it would be vain to enquire; certainly not by his having, in the preceding year, fought the battle of Thoulouse, after he was in possession of the fact of Buonaparte's abdication. This appointment was the more remarkable, as Soult, like Davoust, had not, like the other marshals, been promoted to the House of peers. The charge of the finances was entrusted to Abbé Louis, named to that office by the provisional government, and who had held several situations of trust under Buonaparte. D'Ambray, a royalist, was made chancellor of France. Ferrand and Count Blacas d'Aulps, also royalists, were nominated to the confidential situations of director of the posts, and minister of the household. Berenger, director of the Caisse d'amortissement under Buonaparte, was now constituted director-general of the indirect taxes. But the chief trust of the affairs of finance was believed to rest upon the Ex-Abbé Montesquieu, formerly a member of the constituent assembly, now named minister for the interior. Beugnot, by the experience which he had acquired as minister of finance in the Grand Duchy of Berg, became director of police. The other ministerial posts were filled with persons of a similar description; nor had the king, in his ostensible council, any friend of his exile, excepting Messieurs D'Ambray, Ferrand, and Blacas d'Aulps. The consequence of this arrangement was,

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that each minister's acts and responsibility were strictly bounded within the limits of his own department. The wheels of the state, if the expression may be used, moved each independent of the others, and there was no appearance of any presiding or governing principle, by which the whole should be directed and influenced. Each minister, feeling himself independent of the others, entrenched himself within his own department, and within its precincts made such regulations as suited his temper or his interest, independent and often contradictory of the measures which might be adopted by his brethren of the cabinet. As the king himself, from whom their ministerial authority emanated, was declared by the charter incapable of doing wrong, the public looked in vain either for an individual first minister, or an united and combined body of ministers, to whom should attach the legal responsibility of the general acts of administration. And thus, in every sense, the political body wanted a head, though it had the full proportion of members.

To add still farther to the inconveniences of this state of administration, Louis XVIII. had a favourite, although he had no prime minister. Count Blacas D'Aulps, minister of the household, an ancient and confidential attendant on the king's person during his exile, was understood to be the channel through which the king's wishes were communicated to the other ministers; and his protection was supposed to afford the surest access to the favours of the crown. According to the vindication which Count Blacas thought it necessary to publish, these ideas of his influence and ministerial primacy arose chiefly from the casual circumstance of the ministers holding their cabinet-councils in the apartment which belonged to his office of Grand Master of the Wardrobe, the choice of a room being thus mistaken for a measure of state. But there was more reason than could flow from a cause so trivial, for concluding that he enjoyed, in a peculiar manner, the ear and confidence of his sovereign; and he paid the usual penalties of censure and calumny for such an honourable but invidious advantage. Without doing his master the service of a premier, or holding either the power or the responsibility of that high situation, De Blacas had the full share of odium usually attached to it. The royalists, who pressed on him for grants which were in the departments of other ministers, resented his declining to interfere in their favour, as if, having satisfied his own ambition, he had become indifferent to the interest of those with whom he had been a joint sufferer during the emigration. The opposite party, on the other hand, represented Count Blacas as an absolute minister, an emigrant himself, and the patron of emigrants; a royalist of the highest class, and an enemy of course to all the constitutional stipulations in favour of liberty. Count Blacas has complained, that while his unpopularity was universal with all classes, and while the public voice heaped upon him all the blame arising from the various errors and miscarriages in every department of the state, the accusations of his enemies never assumed so distinct and determined a shape as to admit of decided refutation. There was, however, one charge of a grievous nature, unnoticed in his published exculpation, perhaps, because it had never reached his ears. It was generally said that the Count de Blacas did not hesitate to convert the king's favour to his own personal advantage; and that by such indirect modes he acquired a considerable fortune during the few months that he held his official situation, and enjoyed the royal con-

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fidence. Thus far it is certain, that the unpopularity of Monsieur de Blacas, with all ranks and parties in the state, had the worst possible influence on the King's affairs; and as his credit was ascribed to a blind as well as an obstinate attachment on the part of Louis, the monarch was of course involved in the unpopularity of the minister of the household.

Thus France was governed rather by a set of independent ministers than by a combined administration, and the only channel through which something like a general impulse was given by the crown, was considered as partial, suspicious, and corrupt.

What rendered this disconnected, wavering, and weak administration yet more prejudicial, was the conflicting state of parties, which demanded a government, watchful, firm, mild, united in itself, decisive in its views, cautious, secret, and prudent in resolving; but firm and prompt in execution. To understand the dissentions by which the country was divided, it is necessary to consider the parties as drawn up under the political standards to which they respectively adhered. The French of this period might be divided into four parties, Royalists, Republicans, Buonatists, and constitutionalists.

The ROYALISTS, while they added little real strength to the king by their numbers, attracted much jealous observation from their high birth and equally high pretensions; embroiled his affairs by their imprudent zeal; embittered his peace by their just and natural complaints; and drew suspicion on his government at every effort which he made to serve and relieve them. They consisted chiefly of the emigrant nobles and clergy. The former class were greatly reduced in number by war and exile; in so much, that of the House of Peers, consisting of one hundred and seventy and upwards, the ancient nobles of France supplied only thirty. The rest were the fortunate marshals and generals whom the wars of the revolution had raised to rank and wealth; and the statesmen, many of whom had risen to the same station, by less honourable means of elevation. The old noblesse, after their youth had been exhausted, their fortunes destroyed, and their spirits broken, while following through foreign countries the adverse fortunes of the exiled Bourbons, beheld the restoration, indeed, of the monarchy, but were themselves recalled to France only to see their estates occupied, and their hereditary offices around the person of the monarch filled, by the fortunate children of the revolution. Like the disappointed English cavalier, they might well complain that though none had wished more earnestly for the return of the legitimate prince, yet none had shared so little in the benefits attending it. By a natural, and yet a perverse mode of reasoning, the very injuries which the nobility had sustained rendered them the objects of suspicion to the other ranks and parties of the state. They had been the companions of the king's exile, were connected with him by the ties of friendship, and had near access to his person by the right of blood. Could it be in nature, it was asked, that Louis could see their sufferings without attempting to relieve them; and how could he do so in the present state of France, unless at the expense of those who occupied or aspired to civil and military preferment, or of those who had acquired during the revolution the national domains which those nobles once possessed? Yet the alarm was founded rather on suspicion than in fact. Of the preferments of emigrants in the army we will speak hereafter; but in the civil departments of the state few obtained office. To take a

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single example, in the course of eleven months there were thirty-seven prefects nominated to the departments, and the list did not comprehend a single one of those emigrants who returned to France with Louis; and but very few of those whose exile had terminated more early. The nobles felt this exclusion from royal favour, and expressed their complaints, which some, yet more imprudently, mingled with threats, that their day of triumph might yet arrive. This language, as well as the air of exclusive dignity and distance which they affected, as if the distinction of their birth was all that they had left to them, was carefully remarked and recorded against the king. Yet it was not in the saloons or anti-chambers of Louis that these imprudent speeches were heard. But the nobles who attended on Monsieur and his sons, the Dukes of Angouleme and Berri, permitted themselves greater licence. These princes were supposed to be the chiefs of the royalist party, and as such were held to be indisposed to the popular cause and national charter. Monsieur himself, and his eldest son, the Duke of Angouleme, were represented as being under the influence of the dignified clergy, and the high-born aristocrats. The Duke of Berri, with a more marked character than his father or brother, was still less popular. He imitated the hot and violent manners of Buonaparte towards the soldiers and people, without recollecting that that person had arbitrary sway both over the persons and minds of those whom he insulted. The following is one of the most pardonable instances of his extravagance. He reviewed two regiments, one of which shouted *Vive le Roi*, the other was silent. "What!" said the Duke of Berri to the officers of the latter corps; "it seems you have not taught your men that cry, so dear to France? If you love your emperor, support him openly, and I will charge you at the head of the regiment which cried *Vive le Roi.*" Such a challenge could only pass as a cheap yet insulting bravado in the eyes of those to whom it was given, but by whom it could not be accepted. The king was frequently called upon to repair errors committed by this impetuous young man; of which he was doomed, nevertheless, to expiate the consequences and incur the odium. This happened on one occasion, when the Duke de Berri, in a frenzy of passion, tore the epaulet from the coat of a subaltern, who had served long and with reputation. The king, from policy alike and good nature, soothed the wounded feelings of the officer, by giving him instant promotion, and assuring him that the duke's violence only meant that *one* epaulet was misplaced on the person of one so well deserving to wear *two*, to which he now gave him the right. Upon the whole, however, the conduct of the king's near kinsmen was imprudent and unpopular; and they excited jealousy, by holding themselves out as chiefs of that party who affected to be better royalists than the king himself. In this as upon other occasions, the members of the king's family imitated too much the manners previous to the Revolution, when it was customary for the princes of the blood to head their own separate parties, in opposition to the reigning monarch. The divisions of the house of Bourbon had more than once brought it within a hair's-breadth of ruin at earlier periods of history, and had contributed not a little to its temporary downfall in 1792. And yet, untaught by experience so dearly bought, the princes were supposed to separate their views and their interest from that of the king, at a time when the united strength of the whole family was scarce likely to secure the permanence of the monarchy.

The state of the clergy falls under

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our view of the royal party. They were sincerely attached to the king, and had they been in possession of their revenues and of their natural influence upon the public mind, their attachment would have been of the utmost consequence. But without this influence, and without the wealth, or at least the independence, on which it partly rests, they were as useless, politically speaking, as a key which does not fit the lock to which it is applied. This state of things, unfortunate in many respects, flowed from a maxim adopted during the revolution, and followed by Buonaparte, who had his reasons for fearing the influence of the clergy. "We will not put down the ecclesiastical establishment by force; we will starve it to death." Accordingly all grants and bequests to the church had been so limited and qualified by so many conditions and restrictions, as to intercept that mode of acquisition so fruitful in a catholic country; while, on the other hand, the salary allowed by the state to each officiating curate was only five hundred livres (26*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*) yearly. No doubt each community were permitted to subscribe what they pleased in addition to this miserable pittance; but in France, when the number of those who care for no religion at all, and of those whose zeal will not lead them the length of paying for it, is deduced, the remainder will afford but a small list of subscribers. With such encouragement, few young men have within the last twenty years been educated for the church; and it is only the zeal of a few religious persons, which maintains at the seminaries as objects of charity some half-starved students of divinity. These, inured to indigence, and accustomed to dependence, are all to whom the church can trust for reforming the morals of the people, and the spirit of the age. The consequence is, that as very many parishes are now, and have been for years, without any public worship, ignorance has increased in an incalculable degree. "We are informed," was the communication from Buonaparte to one of his prefects, "that dangerous books are distributed in your department."—"Were the roads sown with them," was the answer returned by the prefect, "your majesty need not fear their influence; we have not a man who could or would read them."—When we add to this the relaxed state of public morals, the pains taken in the beginning of the revolution to eradicate the sentiments of religion, and render its professors ridiculous, and the prevalence of the military character, so conspicuous through France, and so unfavourable to devotion; and when it is further remembered that all the wealth of the church has fallen into the hands of the laity, which are fast clenched to retain it, and trembling at the same time lest it be wrested from them, the reader may, from all these causes, form some notion of the low ebb of religion in France.

The disposition of the king and royal family to restore the formal observances of the Romish church, as well as to provide the suitable means of educating in future those designed for the ministry, and other religious institutions, excited among the Parisians a feeling of loathing and contempt. It must be owned also, that though the abstract motive was excellent, there was little wisdom in attempting to bring back the nation to all those mummeries of popish ceremonial, which, long before the revolution, only subsisted through inveterate custom, having lost all influence on the public mind. After an interval of twenty years, and to the eyes of a dissolute populace equally void of religion and superstition, and of a youth trained up in arms, and in ignorance

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even of the name of christianity, such efforts only excited ridicule. Other enactments, not only consonant with, but demanded by, the laws of christianity, were equally ill received by the perverse and corrupt metropolis of Paris. The shopkeepers murmured loudly against an edict which compelled them to suspend their traffic, or at least to shut their shops, upon the sabbath; and the populace of high and low degree, which, like that of ancient Rome, considered food and amusement as equally the necessaries of life, were not less offended at the closing the theatres. And an incident happened, which showed in a striking point of view the popular feeling upon the revival of the catholic religion, with all its bigotry and intolerance.

It is well known, that by a rule unworthy equally of christianity and civilization, theatrical performers are in a state of constant excommunication by the catholic church. Upon this ground, the reliques of Moliere were refused christian burial by an Archbishop of Paris, himself famous for licentious gallantry. And when, at the personal entreaty of the king himself, the honour of a grave in hallowed ground was permitted to a man of the brightest genius that ever adorned France, the mob, instigated by the curate of Saint Eustace, attacked the funeral procession; and the widow of the poet could only purchase his reliques a quiet passage to the grave, by scattering money among the rabble who assembled to insult them. The church of Rome, whose motto is *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*, retains to this day the same mark of barbarism. In the year 1802, the curate of Saint Roche, under the reign of Buonaparte, refused the rites of burial to a female performer at the opera, and a considerable tumult ensued in consequence. But on the 17th of January, 1815, a much more serious commotion took place upon the same subject. The remains of Mademoiselle Raucour, an actress, a woman of decent character and morals, were brought for interment to the church of St Roche, in the Rue St Honoré. The gates of the church were found locked, and all admittance was refused. An immense crowd began to assemble, with exclamations of fury and indignation. A deputation was sent to the king to solicit his interference, which was refused, with the excuse, that his majesty could not interpose in matters of spiritual jurisdiction. The tumult increased, and it seemed as if it might have effects different from, and extending far beyond the cause which had produced it. The doors of the church were forced open by the populace; and a second deputation sent to the king, and accompanied with a declaration, on the part of the theatrical performers of every class, that they were determined to become Lutherans or Calvinists, if the honours of sepulture were denied to them by the Catholic church, procured, or rather extorted an order from the king to the priesthood, to pronounce the service over the body. Mademoiselle Raucour was accordingly interred; but, as was alleged, "with maimed rites," amid shouts of *a bas les Calottes—a bas la cagoterie*, &c. The incident was considered as a triumph of the popular party over the clergy, and even over the king; and the feeling was far from ending with the cause by which it had been excited.

The solemn obsequies of Louis XVI. and his unfortunate queen, although they excited no tumult, produced a deep and unfavourable impression on the public mind. The remains of these innocent victims to the fury and crimes of the revolution were raised from the hasty grave to which their

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murderers had consigned them, and transferred, in solemn pomp, to the royal sepulchre in the church of St Denis. There was, perhaps, more fraternal feeling than policy in this measure. The singular contrast between the characters and history of some of the mourners, and the office which they were called upon to perform, did not escape the watchful ridicule of the Parisians. Barthelemy, once a member of the republican Directory, now a vice-president of the Chamber of Peers; and Soult, another child of the revolution, seemed strangely selected as pall-bearers over the corpse of the monarch, to whose fall and death they owed all their honours. The troops called out to form part of the procession resented it as Cromwell's battalions would have resented a summons to attend the obsequies of Charles, whom they had guarded to execution. But the ceremony was ill judged, chiefly because it was capable of being misrepresented to the people as a public mark of the king's hostility to every thing connected with the revolution; and his alleged purpose of remembering, and at fit times revenging, the wrongs of his deceased brother. At all events, it was quoted as a proof of his intolerable bigotry and attachment to the clergy, their doctrines, rules, and opinions.

It may be doubtful, however, whether any of the causes which we have noticed, rendered the trust reposed by Louis XVIII. in his clergy, and the respect which he paid to the rules of the church, so much the object of popular jealousy, as the fear that he would be ultimately prevailed upon to make some attempt to resume the lands, of which the spiritual orders had been deprived by the revolution. It has often been noticed, that the grants of church-lands to the laity, at the time of the Reformation, made the soundest and most zealous protestants; and that there were few instances of those who received them relapsing into the errors of popery. The domains of the church, assumed in property by the National Assembly, and sold to individuals, formed in France a host of proprietors, equally jealous of the reviving influence of the clergy, at whose expence they had been enriched, as the reformed nobles of England, who had divided the spoils of the church in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. These men remembered that the canons declared even the Pope himself incompetent to confirm the alienation of church-lands, without the consent of a council of the church; and that the council of Trent had solemnly anathematized all who detained such property from their spiritual owners. They watched with alarm incipient measures towards resumption, or at least composition, for such property, which the churchmen obtained by alarming the ductile consciences of some proprietors of national domains, and the more accessible fears of others. Imprudent priests added to this distrust and jealousy, by denunciations against those who held church-lands, and by refusing to grant them absolution, without they made restitution or compensation for them. This distrust spread far wider than the proprietors of national domains. For if these were threatened with resumption of the property they had acquired under authority of the existing government for the time, it was most probable that the divine right of the clergy to a tithe of the produce of the earth might next have been brought forward, a claim involving the interest of every landholder and farmer in France to a degree almost incalculable. Distrust was thus widely circulated through the kingdom; and the violence, or imprudent zeal and egotism of every royalist, whether

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noble or church-man, had its separate effect in rendering Louis and his government suspected and unpopular.

The royal party yet counted a third set of adherents, in the brave inhabitants of La Vendee and Britany, and their gallant leaders, with the descendants of such as had fallen in the royal cause. Sapineau, the surviving companion of Charette, La Roche-Jaquelin, and Bouchamp, headed a deputation from La Vendee, composed of veteran officers, covered with honourable scars, who, through the long period of twenty years adversity, had never ceased to give the strongest proofs of unconquerable courage and devoted constancy to the family of Bourbon. The king was much affected at receiving their homage, confirmed to them the rank which they held in the royal Vendean army, and granted them the decorations of the Lily and of St Louis. These natural and yet cautious marks of favour to the only departments of France which had shewn themselves actually animated by a zeal for the Bourbon family, were jealously regarded by the Jacobins and by the army, both of whom had found in the untaught but indomitable courage of La Vendee, more effectual resistance than from the disciplined ranks of their foreign enemies. They raised a yet louder outcry when the king granted letters of nobility to the brother of Georges Cadoudal, the intended assassin of Buonaparte, who perished in the Temple. And, upon the whole, this class of royalists erred, as well as others, by keeping themselves, and their pretensions to favour, of a nature so unpopular to the bulk of the nation, too much in the public eye. For it was a natural and fatal inference, if the services of these men have merited the royal favour, what have they deserved whose conduct was diametrically opposite?

While the royalists made these false movements, and thus rather sapped and encumbered than supported the throne to which they adhered, their errors were carefully pointed out, circulated, and exaggerated, by the JACOBIN, or, as they called themselves, the Patriotic Party. This faction, small in numbers, but formidable from their audacity, their union, and the dreadful recollection of their former power and principles, consisted of ex-generals, whose laurels had faded with the republic; ex-ministers and functionaries, whose appointments and influence had not survived the downfall of the Directory; men of letters, who hoped again to rule the state by means of proclamations and journals; and philosophers, to whose vanity or enthusiasm abstract principles of unattainable liberty, and undesirable equality, were dearer than all the oceans of blood, and extent of guilt and misery, that they had already cost, and were likely again to occasion. The chiefs of this party were men of that presumptuous and undoubting class, who, after having failed repeatedly in political experiments, were as ready as ever again to undertake them, with the same unhesitating and self-deceptive confidence of success. They were familiarized with, and hardened to the dangers of the most desperate revolutionary intrigues, by their familiar acquaintance with the springs which set each in motion, and were ready to recommence their perilous labours with as little forethought as the labourers in a powder-mill, which has exploded ten times during their remembrance. In the character of these self-entitled philosophers, and busy agitators, vanity, as well as egotism, are leading prin-

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ciples. The one quality persuades them that they may be able, by dint of management, to avert danger from themselves; and the other renders them indifferent respecting the safety of others.

During the government of Buonaparte, this jacobinical party was repressed by a strong hand. He knew, by experience of every sort, their restless, intriguing, and dangerous disposition. They also knew and feared his strength, and his unscrupulous use of it. The return of the Bourbons called them into life, like the sun which thaws the frozen adder; but it was only to show how they hated the beams which revived them. The Bourbon dynasty, with all the remembrances it combined, seemed to this faction the very opposite to their favourite revolution, and they studied with malignant assiduity the degree of liberty afforded by the national charter, not in order to defend or to enjoy it, but to discover how it might be made the vantage-ground for overthrowing both the throne and constitution. Carnot and Fouché, formidable names, and revolutionists from their youth upward, were the ostensible leaders of this active party, and most of the surviving revolutionists rallied under their standards. These agitators had preserved some influence over the lees of the people, and were sure to find the means of augmenting it in the moment of popular commotion. The rabble of a great town is democratical and revolutionary by nature; for their vanity is captivated with such phrases as the sovereignty of the people; their avarice and licentious fury tempted by occasion for uproar; and the restraints of laws and good order, they regard as their constant and natural enemies. It is upon this envenomed and corrupted mass of evil passions, that the philosophical and experimental politicians of the revolution have always exercised their chemical skill. Of late, however, the intercourse between the philosophers of the revolution and this class of apt and docile scholars, had been considerably interrupted. Buonaparte, as we have hinted, restrained with a strong hand the teachers of this school; while by the eclat of his victories, his largesses, and his expensive undertakings, he debauched from them great part of their popular disciples, who may be said, with the inconsequence and mutability belonging to their habits, principles, and temper, to have turned imperialists, without losing their natural aptitude to become jacobins again on the next tempting opportunity.

The party of IMPERIALISTS, or BUONAPARTISTS, if we lay the army out of view, was small and unimportant. The public functionaries, whom the king had displaced from the situations of emolument which they held under the emperor,—courtiers, prefects, commissioners, and commissaries, whose present means and future hopes were cut off, were of course disobliged and discontented men, who looked with a languishing eye towards the Island of Elba. The immediate family connections, favourites, and ministers of the late emperor, confident in the wealth which most of them had acquired, and resenting the insignificance to which they were reduced by the restoration of the Bourbons, lent to this party the activity which money, and the habit of political intrigue, can at all times communicate. But the real and tremendous strength of the Buonapartists lay in the attachment of the existing army to its abdicated general. This was the more formidable, as the circumstances of the times, and the general military character of the French nation, had raised the army from its proper and natural character,

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of servants of the state, into a distinct deliberative body, having interests of its own, which were in their nature incompatible with those of the commonwealth, since the very profession of arms implies an aptitude to a state of war, which, to all other ranks in the state, may indeed be a necessary and unavoidable evil, but never can be a real advantage.

The king could not be accused of neglecting to cultivate the affections, soothing the prejudices, and gratifying the wishes of the army. The fact is, that the unprecedented difficulties of his situation forced him to study how to manage by flattery, and by the most imprudent indulgences and favours, the only part of his subjects, who, according to the rules of all well-governed states, ought to be subjected to absolute authority. The Bourbon family felt, or thought it necessary to affect, the same solicitude about the state and numbers of their standing army, which was entertained by the war-loving Napoleon. Efforts, which, in the exhausted state of the country, might be termed gigantic, were made to remount the cavalry regiments, to repair the loss of artillery, and all the *materiel* of the army, to clothe the soldiers, and to pay a part of the heavy arrears due to them. Their ranks were again filled with upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners of war, restored by England, Russia, and Prussia, whose minds were in general actuated by an ardent wish to avenge the dishonour and hardship of their captivity upon the countries in which they had sustained it.

Having thus re-established this formidable engine, the king had before him the more difficult task of gaining the command and management of it. The marshals he endeavoured to attach to his cause by even adding to the emoluments which they had enjoyed under Buonaparte, and treating them with a respect which they had never received from that stern autocrat. "It is on you, gentlemen," he said, as he received them in public, and availed himself of their assistance to rise,—"it is on you I must always lean." There is every reason to think, that the court, which on this and other occasions the king paid to the marshals, was successful in most instances. They had, besides, many wrongs to complain of from Buonaparte, who, in the last campaigns, had often left them with inadequate means to atchieve the most desperate attempts, and then publicly charged their want of enterprize or skill as the cause of failure. Above all, the age of enterprise and active ambition was past with most of these distinguished generals, and, like the soldier of the Roman satirist, they felt no alacrity to rush on new dangers, after having obtained the prize of wealth and honour, for which they had struggled in their youth. Had the marshals possessed absolute, or even extensive influence over the army, it is probable the reign of the Bourbons would not have been disturbed.

But the policy of Buonaparte continued to operate upon the army which he had organized, with a view to the support of his own authority. It was a principle of his system to suffer no general officer to have the means of acquiring a degree of influence with the troops, which might in any respect be put into competition with his own. For this purpose, all officers and soldiers, of whatever rank, were permitted and encouraged to approach him personally with their petitions or complaints. The course of preferment was understood to emanate chiefly from the free-will of the emperor; and his occasional familiarity with the inferior officers and soldiers formed a strong contrast to the abrupt and reserved manner in which

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he treated his marshals. Napoleon thus continued in person to fill the eye and occupy the attention of the soldiers; and his generals resembled the handle of the sword, of which the mounting could be changed at pleasure, while the army was the blade itself, retaining the same unvaried temper, notwithstanding such occasional alteration. It was natural also that the French army should remember the unparalleled degree of military fame which they had acquired under Napoleon, and which had rendered them so long the dread of Europe and the pride of France. Let it not be thought, that recollection of recent losses and defeats were capable of allaying the enthusiasm with which the soldier looked back on this long train of victory. He "whose business 'tis to die," and whose hopes of promotion depend on the death of his comrades, recollects a field of carnage as a sailor remembers a storm or shipwreck, the terrors of which are never known to divert him from his profession. To such a height had this indifference arrived in the French army, that a very young officer, made prisoner at Talavera after the corps to which he belonged had been reduced from fifteen hundred to about two hundred men, cordially thanked the English colonel, to whom he gave his sword, for having achieved his promotion, by sweeping out of his way all the senior officers of the regiment. These men, whose sense of justice and morality had been long destroyed, saw in the universal peace of Europe nothing but a bar to their individual promotion, unless by the slow progress of survivance, and a period to their importance as well as to the captivating facilities of acquiring and dissipating wealth afforded by the licensed plunder of Buonaparte's campaigns. This temper of the soldiery became yet more alarming when the state of the public finances rendered it necessary to disband some corps, a measure which the army, conscious of its own demerits towards the Bourbons, regarded as preparatory to a general reduction, so soon as the king durst venture on so bold and decisive a step. Their very means of subsistence, therefore, as soldiers, and few could or would practise any art but the military, seemed to depend on some speedy change of the existing order of things.

Nor was it only the selfish interests of the army which rendered them discontented. The sense of honour, as it was called, or rather the vanity of military ascendancy and national aggrandisement, had been inspired by Buonaparte into all classes of his subjects, but were chiefly cherished by his companions in arms. According to their opinion, the glory of France had risen with Buonaparte, and sunk with him for ever, not, as they fondly contended, through the superior force of the enemy, but by the treachery of Marmont, and the generals whom he trusted. This sentiment passed from the ranks of the soldiers into other classes of society, all of which are in France deeply susceptible of what is represented to them as national glory; and it was again echoed back to the soldiers from fields, from work-shops, from manufactories. All began to agree that they had received the Bourbons from the hands of foreign conquerors, and that the king's reign had only commenced, because France had been conquered, and Paris surrendered. They remembered that the allies had declared the restoration of the ancient family was combined with the restriction of France within the ancient limits; and that, accordingly, the first act of Monsieur, as lieutenant of the kingdom, had been to order the surrender of upwards of fifty fortresses beyond the frontiers, which Buonaparte, it was supposed, would have rendered the means of re-acquiring the conquests of which fortune

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or treachery had for a time bereft him. The meanest follower of the camp affected to feel his share in the national disgrace of losing provinces, to which France had no title save that of military usurpation. The hope that the government would at least endeavour to re-conquer Belgium, so convenient for France, and which, as they contended, fell within her natural boundaries, served for a time to combat these feelings; but when it was perceived plainly that the government of France neither could nor would engage in external war for this or any other object, the discontent of the army became universal, and they might be pronounced ripe for any desperate enterprize.

Amidst these general sentiments of the soldiery, the favourite guard of Buonaparte retained, as was natural, a yet deeper attachment to his person, and a more profound resentment of the supposed wrongs which the glory of France had received. Their murmurs were loud and unequivocal, and they were subjected in consequence to circumstances of discountenance and disgrace, which irritated their desire of revenge, while they did not withdraw from them the means of executing it. They were deprived of the privilege of guarding the royal person, the care of which was entrusted to about two thousand household troops, highly paid and expensively decorated, the individual members of which were selected as approved royalists. This was a just as well as a necessary measure, since it could hardly be expected that the king should entrust himself to the worse than doubtful faith of the old Imperial Guards, who, while eating his bread, and parading in the courts of his palace, expressed the most decided contempt for his person, and the most devoted attachment to the usurper. Even their own interest seemed to give way to their predilections and prejudices. "Were you as punctually paid by Buonaparte," said a prince to these malcontents, "as by the king, that you seem so much to regret the exchange?" "What is that to you," returned a veteran grenadier, "if we did chuse to trust our general with a few months pay?" But, in such circumstances, it had been better for the king to have selected 20,000 guards, placed on a more economical footing, than a small body of privileged body guards, which served only to excite the jealousy and envy of the rest of the army, without affording any effectual protection to the royal cause.

The army, indisposed already to the royal family from so many causes, sought out others in the prodigality with which the king distributed crosses of the Legion of Honour, an honorary decoration established by Buonaparte, which it had been judged proper to retain, only changing the effigies and cypher of the usurper for those of Henry IV. It was said that the Duchess of Angouleme, in particular, held in her work-bag a number of them, which she gave away carelessly to all who approached her, with a profusion which seemed intended to diminish its value. To this it was replied by the friends of the Bourbons, that the cross of St Louis, which the king could not be suspected of any intention to discredit or dishonour, had been distributed with similar prodigality. And indeed it would appear, that deficiency of more substantial means of recompensing services or securing gratitude, had led to a profusion in granting the decorations of both orders, the more impolitic, as such distinctions, the value of which is purely ideal at all times, cease to be honourable in proportion to the facility with which they are obtained, and the numbers on whom they are conferred. If, as was confidently averred, the minister of the household made these honours the subject of barter and sale, the degradation of the orders

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became complete, and the unfaithful and sordid servant of the crown ought to have been punished severely. But while we record the charge brought againt Count de Blacas, we ought to add, that we have found no distinct proof of its justice.

The course of promotion was another source of clamorous complaint to the army. The princes of the blood royal had been early declared colonels general by the king, and the army soon discovered, or supposed they discovered, that under their auspices the superior ranks of the army were likely to be filled by the emigrant nobility, whose military service was considered as having been continued while they were in attendance upon the king during his exile. The most indecent competition was thus excited between those whose claims were founded in their devoted attachment to the house of Bourbon, and those who had borne arms against that family, but still in the service of France. The truth is, that the derangement of the finances, and the jealousy of the ministers, each of whom claimed the exclusive patronage of his own department, left the king no means so ready for discharging his debts of gratitude, and affording the means of subsistence to his ancient friends and adherents, as by providing for them in the army. The measure was in many respects undesirable, though perhaps unavoidable. Old men past the age of service, or young men who had never known it, were, in virtue of these claims, placed in situations to which the actual officers conceived they had bought a title by their laurels and their scars. The appearance of the superannuated emigrants, who were thus promoted to situations ill-suited to age and infirmity, raised the ridicule and contempt of Buonaparte's soldiers, while the patrician haughtiness and youthful presumption of the younger nobles excited their indignation. The agents and friends of Buonaparte suffered not these passions to cool. "There is a plot of the royalists against you," was incessantly repeated to the regiments upon which these new officers were imposed: "The Bourbons cannot think themselves safe while those who shared the triumphs of Napoleon have either honour or existence. Your ranks are subjected to the command of dotards, who have never drawn a sword in battle, or who have served only in the emigrant bands of Condé, or among the insurgent Chouans and Vendeans. What security have you against being disbanded on a day's notice? And if the obligations of the government to you bind them, as it would seem, so slightly, will you consider yours to them as of a stricter description?" Such insinuations and such reasoning inflamed the prejudices of the army; disaffection spread generally through their ranks, and, long before the bold attempt of Napoleon, his former soldiery were generally prepared to aid him in the recovery of his power.

The state of active political parties was such as we have described, but the great mass of the population in France was neither Royalist, nor Republican, nor Buonapartists. For want of a better name they may be termed *Constitutionalists*, although the term, in strictness, implies a more decided taste and predilection in politics than was, generally speaking, to be found in this numerous and miscellaneous class. They were not royalists; for, notwithstanding the charms which the name of Bourbon once had for Frenchmen, and which the flattering journals continued to ascribe to it, nothing is more certain, than that the recollections which the greater part of the present generation had of the royal family were merely historical, and as void of animation as ours concerning the Plantagenets or Tudors. On the other hand, this numerous body of

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the nation dreaded a second revolutionary crisis, remembered with terror the crimes and miseries which it brought in its train, and were by no means prepared to stake their property and tranquillity against empty words and maxims of false philosophy. They were, therefore, no jacobins. Neither did they look back with any regret to the reign of Buonaparte, since, though they may have felt with others the occasional glow of vanity inspired by his conquests, they deemed them, on reflection, severely bought by his constant wars, his blood-thirsty conscriptions, his oppressive system of taxation, and the consciousness that, while he was at the head of affairs, there could never be a lasting peace in Europe. From this class the members of the legislative bodies were in a principal degree composed, as we are informed by the Count de Barruel-Beauvert, a zealous royalist, whose fidelity we admire, although we cannot adopt his prejudices. He assures us that the rich proprietors of France were almost all friendly to the Revolution which had made them such, and were enemies to the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy, in which alone he saw salvation. Upon the whole, this class of Frenchmen, and it contained the great bulk of the men of property, substance, and education, hoped well of the king's government. His good sense, humanity, love of justice, moderation, and other valuable qualities, recommended him to their esteem, and his restoration might be considered as the guarantee of a lasting peace with the other nations of Europe. But they dreaded and deprecated that counter-revolutionary *re-action*, as the established phrase was, which was considered as the object of the princes of the blood, the nobility, and the clergy. The property of many of the constitutionalists was vested in national domains, and they watched with doubt and fear every step which the emigrant nobility and clergy seemed disposed to take for recovery of their former rights.

An unfortunate and hasty promise of Monsieur, that the severe and pressing taxes called *les droits reunis* should be abolished, had been made when he first entered France, and while, betwixt hope and despair, he essayed every inducement for the purpose of drawing adherents to the royal cause. On the other hand, the king, upon ascending the throne, had engaged himself, with perhaps too much latitude, to pay all the engagements which the state had contracted under the preceding government. To redeem both of these pledges was impossible, for without continuing this very obnoxious and oppressive tax, the crown could not have the means of discharging the national debt. A plan was in vain proposed by Jalabert to replace this oppressive excise by a duty on wines; it was referred to a committee of the Chamber of Representatives, but the substitution seems to have been found impossible. Louis naturally made the promise of his brother give way to his own more deliberate engagement. But it is not the less true, that in continuing to levy *les droits reunis*, many, not otherwise disinclined to his government than as it affected their purses, charged the king with breach of faith towards his subjects, and would listen to no defence upon a topic on which few people are disposed to hear reason against their own interest. These jealousies, fears, and resentments, balanced the king's popularity with the constitutionalists. They remained indeed inactive, not only from doubt, but from the indifference and *vis inertiæ*, which is the characteristic of all whose politics are of a moderate description, and who wish to see things go well, but without the zeal which would incur hazard even to keep them

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so, much less to put them again right when they have gone wrong. The constitutionalists, therefore, in the approaching collision of parties, might be considered, in a great measure, as neutrals, whom each party endeavoured to draw to their side, who were in many cases suspended in opinion by the contradictory arguments addressed to them, and were, generally speaking, decided by the prudential considerations which render it more safe to adhere to the party which happens to gain the superiority.

Such was the state of parties in France, in which it was obvious they could not long continue, without some violent and probably fatal collision. Let not the reader suppose, with the natural feelings of English pride, that versatility of disposition, ingratitude for the great blessing of Providence in the restoration of a lawful monarch, military insolence, and popular disaffection, are attributes peculiarly flowing from the national character of the French. These are weeds which, in every country and climate, rush up after the cessation of such a tornado as preceded the restoration of the Bourbons, and the faithful page of Clarendon exhibits them as rising in their fatal luxuriance after that of Charles II. There is not a point of his narrative which has not a corresponding feature with that of France at this period. It describes the selfish and greedy egotism of those called the king's party, who, instead of waiting until the public disorders were appeased, and the peace of the kingdom settled, embittered the first moment of the king's return by pressing on him their unreasonable, or unseasonable requests for offices and titles, until they compelled him to lament even the happy restoration that rendered him liable to such persecution. Again, the noble historian informs us, that, notwithstanding the general joy with which Charles was received on his entry into his metropolis, there were in the House of Commons many of various factions, "who did all promise themselves some liberty and indulgence for their several parties." Nor was there wanting a discontented army, which the king could not new model, and dared hardly venture to disband. And if, instead of that Lambert, to whom most of them looked as their natural head, Cromwell himself had been alive, and exercising the protectorate of the isle of Jersey, the following passage in Clarendon would be an exact description of the state of the French army. But the coincidence, as it exists, is sufficiently striking.

"But the delay in disbanding the army, how unavoidable soever, did exceedingly afflict him, (the restored monarch); and the more, because for many reasons he could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew all the ill constitution of the army, the distemper and murmuring that was in it, and how many diseases and convulsions their infant loyalty was subject to; that how united soever their inclinations and acclamations seem to be at Blackheath, their affections were not the same; and the very countenance of many officers as well as soldiers did sufficiently manifest that they were drawn thither to a service they were not delighted in. The general (Monk) had dismissed many officers who he thought might be willing and able to cross his designs and purposes, when he should think fit to discover them, and conferred their charges and commands upon those who had been disfavoured by the late power; and after the parliament had declared for and proclaimed the king, he cashiered others and gave their offices to some eminent commanders who had served the king; and gave others of the loyal nobility leave to list volunteers in companies to appear with them at the reception

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of the king, who had all met and joined with the army upon Blackheath, in the head of their regiments and companies. Yet, notwithstanding all this providence, the old soldiers had little regard for their new officers, at least had no resignation for them, and it quickly appeared, by the select and affected mixtures of sullen and melancholic parties of officers and soldiers, that as ill-disposed men of other classes were left as had been disbanded, and that much the greater part so much abounded with ill humours, that it was not safe to administer a general purgation. How close soever Lambert himself was secured from doing mischief, his faction was at liberty, and very numerous; his disbanded officers and soldiers mingled and conversed with their old friends and companions, and found too many of them possessed with the same spirit."

The disunion of those called the king's friends, with the importunities of the least deserving, and the neglect of those who had really sustained losses, and merited favour, existed in England among the Cavaliers of 1660, as well as in France among the Royalists of 1815.

"They," says Clarendon, "who had suffered much in their fortune, and by frequent imprisonments, and sequestrations, and compositions, expected large recompences and reparations in honours which they could not support, or offices which they could not discharge, or lands and money which the king had not to give. They who had been without comparison the greatest sufferers in their fortunes, and in all respects had merited most, never made any inconvenient suits to the king, but modestly left the memory and consideration of all they had done, or undergone, to his majesty's own gracious reflections. They were observed to be most importunate who deserved least, and were least capable to perform any notable service; and none had more esteem of themselves, and believed preferment to be more due to them, than a sort of men who had most loudly began the king's health in taverns, especially if, for any disorders which had accompanied it, they had suffered imprisonment, without any other pretence of merit or running any other hazard."

Neither had the revolutionary changes of the civil war, and the interregnum which set all selfish passions afloat, and taught most men the same indifference for his neighbour's misery, with which a sailor regards his drowning comrades during a shipwreck, failed to produce its fatal and inevitable effects in depraving the national character. The words of the noble historian are so immediately applicable to the state of France, that they may be quoted at length, in order to complete this remarkable parallel.

"In a word, the nation was corrupted from that integrity, good nature, and generosity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof the vilest craft and dissembling had succeeded. The tenderness of the bowels, which is the quintessence of justice and compassion, the very mention of good nature was laughed at, and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool; and a roughness of manner, or hard-heartedness and cruelty, was affected.

"In the place of generosity, a vile and sordid love of money was entertained as the truest wisdom, and any thing esteemed lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay, or rather a final extinction of all friendship, and to dissuade a man from any thing he affected, or to reprove him for any thing he had done amiss, or to advise him to do any thing he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy of a wise man,

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and received with reproach and contempt. These dilapidations and ruins of the ancient candour and discipline, were not taken enough at heart, and repaired with that early care and severity that they might have been, for they were not incorrigible; but by the remissness of applying remedies to some, and the unwariness in giving a kind of countenance to others, too much of that poison insinuated itself into minds not well fortified against such inflictions, so that much of the malignity was transplanted, instead of being extinguished, to the corruption of many wholesome bodies, which corruption spread the disease more powerfully and more mischievously."

But although the state of England so nearly resembled that of France, at the same critical period of history, she was more fortunate in several points, which enabled her to resist the contagion, to which France so nearly fell a victim.

The death of Cromwell, and the existence of Bonaparte, we have already noticed as a marked point of distinction.

The Cavaliers also, though ruined and impoverished, remained most of them in possession of their paternal estates, and the natural influence was attached to them, which had been transferred from the French royalists, and was vested in others, whom the very apprehension of the claims of the emigrants rendered hostile to the royal family.

The English also might at the Restoration of Charles rally around the ancient forms of their constitution, which had been violated indeed, but not obliterated, and still commanded the reverence due to the social system of their fathers. But in France there was no such resource. Even the most staunch royalist must have despaired to reinstate the ancient monarchy, since the parliaments, the privileges of the clergy and nobles, and all other Gothic institutions, which served to balance the power of the crown, and to distinguish between the government of Louis XV. and an absolute despotism, were irretrievably demolished. The ephemeral institutions of the revolution were still farther from affording a rallying point, and with the ruins of ten successive constitutions lying around them, the political architects could select little that might be useful as materials in a new structure. The charter, therefore, laboured under all the disadvantages of an experimental measure, the subject of criticism to all factions, and of reverence to none.

The high pretensions to religion among the English puritans, though in many instances hypocritical, served to keep one part of the kingdom strangers to gross and open profligacy, and if they did not restrain the egotism, pride, deceit, and avarice of the fathers, at least insured to the children the benefits of a sober, severe, and religious education, and prevented the manners of the nation from becoming utterly and openly depraved by license and sensuality. But above all, Louis XVIII. wanted—what he would have better known how to prize than Charles,—the services of such a minister as the disinterested and the sagacious Clarendon, wise to foresee, firm to meet, and skilful to repress or elude the evils growing out of the overstrained expectations of some, the fears and jealousies of others, the discontent of a third class, and the general deterioration of national character, which he saw with the eye of an able statesman, and recorded with the pen of a faithful historian. The want of such a sage and disinterested minister was, in all human probability, the principal cause that the fortunes of France and of the House of Bourbon were a second time committed to the bloody arbitrement of the sword.

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CHAP. VII.

Report on the State of France.—The Finances.—The War Establishment.—The Navy.—Moral State of the Country.—Debate on the Liberty of the Press.—Faure's Motion for a previous Censorship—Opposed by Marshal Macdonald.—Adopted in a Modified State.—Reflections on these Restrictions.—Petition of Ferru, and other Booksellers, to the Chamber of Deputies.—Characters of some of the Censors.—Conduct of Incendiary Authors and Publishers to evade the Law.—Affairs of the Maire of Darnac, and the ancient Seigneur.—Marshal Macdonald's Plan for granting Indemnities to the Emigrants, and paying the Pensions of the veteran Soldiers.

THOUGH the political atmosphere of France appeared to present symptoms of future tempestuous change, the first months of the restored monarch's reign were calm and undisturbed. There appeared even signs of reviving prosperity, which the royal ministers endeavoured to enhance by contrasting them with the state of public affairs at the restoration of Louis the Desired.

A report on the state of the nation, by the minister of the interior, painted in the strongest colours the miseries of Buonaparte's subjects, and may be long consulted as an antidote to the thirst of conquest. "War," said the Abbé de Montesquieu, "was doubtless the principal cause of the ills of France. History presented not any example of a great nation incessantly precipitated against its will into enterprises constantly increasing in hazard and distress. The world saw with astonishment, mingled with terror, a civilized people compelled to exchange its happiness and repose for the wandering life of barbarous hordes. The ties of families were broken; fathers have grown old far from their children; and children have been hurried off to die 400 leagues from their fathers. No hope of return soothed this frightful separation; habit had caused it to be regarded as eternal; and the peasants of Britany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them by anticipation the prayers for the dead!"

The details corresponding to this fearful exordium, the multiplication of levies, and the consumption of life had been such, that, including the *levy en masse* of 1814, to the number of 143,000 men, which had not been fully executed, the sum total of conscription amounted, in the course of about two years or little more, to no less than one million three hundred thousand souls. It is not too much, therefore, to suppose, that one million, the flower of the youth and manhood of France, perished by fatigue, disease, and the edge of the sword, within that brief space.

Notwithstanding this drain of population, the state of agriculture, which had received a strong impulse by the subdivision of great landed estates,

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continued to flourish. The mines were prosperous, even manufactures and commerce were beginning to revive, although hampered by prohibiting laws concerning export and import, and nearly ruined by what Buonaparte called his continental system.

The various funds appropriated to the service of the ministry of the interior amounted,

In 1811	- to	-	143 millions,
In 1812	- to	-	150 millions.
In 1813	- to	-	140 millions.

But to this expenditure the public treasury only contributed about 60 millions yearly at the utmost; the rest was made up by taxes of various kinds in the departments, and the funds so raised were often withdrawn from the purposes of the interior administration, and applied to the more pressing demands of military operations. In order to supply the deficiences thus occasioned, many expenses which should have been borne by the general funds of the state, as salaries of police administrators, expense of the barracks, &c. were thrown upon the revenues of the communes, who, to defray these exorbitant charges, were compelled to increase the poll-tax, called *communal octrois*, until it was averaged at about seven livres (five shillings and ten-pence) a-head upon each inhabitant, and in some cities even amounted to seventeen livres, (or fourteen shillings and two-pence). The state of the poor and of the hospitals, thus plundered of all the tangible funds destined to support them, was represented as most deplorable; and the state of the roads and bridges, as neglected by the late government, and destroyed in the course of the invasion.

The expenses of the war establishment being the very root of the evil, complicated as they were during Buonaparte's prosperity, and while he had all the resources which could be extorted from the other nations of Europe, had, after the commencement of his misfortunes, and while he was compelled to seek all the necessary funds from the bosom of France herself, been plunged into a complete chaos. The report states, "On the 1st of May last, (1814), the land forces of France amounted to more than five hundred and twenty thousand men, including gend-armerie, veterans, invalids, and cannoniers, guarding the coasts. Besides this force, there are 122,597 military of all ranks enjoying half-pay. One hundred and sixty thousand prisoners are returning to us from Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia. The staff of the army, including engineers, inspectors, commissaries, &c. amounts to 1874 individuals.

The pay, &c. of men in active service for 1814, amounts to -	202,000,000
Half-pay, &c. to - -	34,000,000
Total,	236,000,000

The war of 1812 and 1813 destroyed, in artillery and ammunition, a capital of 250 millions; and the fortified places in the countries ceded by France, had, since 1804, cost her 115 millions. The budget of the war ministry, properly so called, had been fixed under all heads, for 1814, at 360 millions. But in consequence of a division which had existed some years, there was, besides the department of the ministry at war, that of the war administration. The expences of this last were in 1812, 238,000,000 francs; in 1813, 374,000,000; and in 1814 they will be 380,000,000; which last sum will, for 1814, occasion a total expense, in these two branches, of 740 millions.

The arrear also of these two branches is enormous: That of the ministry at war amounts, according to present statements, to 104,000,000;

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and that of the war administration to 157,000,000, making a total arrear of 261 millions.

"But these statements are not yet complete: The arrears of the armies during the years 1811, 12, 13, and 14, are still unknown. Neither do they include a sum of 100 millions, *ordonnanced* by the two minstries, which they no longer reckon their debt, but which the treasury has not been able to pay. We must add, also, to the expenses occasioned by the war, the requisitions of which we have already spoken, the expense of the guards of honour, and of the offers of mounted and equipped horsemen. The expense of the two latter heads, for the departments of Old France, may be estimated at 15,611,000 francs."

The state of the marine department exhibited in the strongest colours the active and energetic, yet vain-glorious and miscalculating, disposition of Buonaparte. From the date of the projected invasion of England downwards, the most gigantic attempts had been made to render France a naval power. Dock-yards had been formed where scarce fishing-boats had formerly entered. Even Paris itself had seen a naval arsenal within its walls. One hundred and fifty millions of livres had been sacrificed to these visions, of which no trace now remained but a few rotten vessels, unfit even for their destined purpose while new, and works constructed at immense expense, abandoned to the winds and tides, which were daily burying them with sand. The great expenditure on the dock-yard and basins at Antwerp, which had now passed away from the French empire, did not escape notice and censure. But above all, it was complained, that while the imperial government had thus emptied the arsenals, and exhausted the treasures of France, in efforts ostensibly to form a navy, the imperial mandates had virtually given the lie to these measures, by forming into marching regiments and uniting with the army the crews with whom the intended vessels were to have been manned. And thus, while apparently intent upon forming with the one hand the material part of a naval power, Buonaparte annihilated with the other the very profession of the sailors, through whose means alone it could be rendered efficient and formidable.

In the financial department, a singular instance of Buonaparte's deceptive policy was exposed to the nation. Annual expositions of national receipt and expenditure had been periodically published since he assumed the reins of government, which were, to outward appearance, unchallengeably accurate; and, as they seemed to balance each other, afforded the fair prospect that, the revenues of the state being realized, the expenses could not fall into arrear. But in reality, a number of extraordinary expenses were withheld from the view of the public, while, on the other hand, the produce of the taxes was over-estimated. Thus the two budgets of 1812 and 1813, upon close examination, exhibited a deficit of upwards of three hundred and twelve millions of livres, or thirteen millions sterling. Buonaparte was not ignorant of this fact, but concealed it from the eyes of the nation, in hopes of replacing it, as in his more successful days, by foreign tribute, and, in the mean time, supplying himself by the anticipation of other funds; as an unfaithful book-keeper makes up a plausible balance to meet the eye of his master, and covers his peculations by his dexterity in the use of cyphers. Upon the whole, the debts of France appeared to have increased in the course of thirteen years to the extent of 1,645,469,000 francs, or more than sixty-eight millions and a half of sterling money.

The report proceeded to notice the

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moral state of the country, and that of public instruction, and concluded with a passage which proved but too prophetic: "Unhappily we cannot also restore at once to France those moral habits and that public spirit which cruel misfortunes and long oppression have there almost annihilated! Noble sentiments were opposed; generous ideas were stifled; the government, not content with condemning to inaction the virtues which it dreaded, excited and fomented the passions which could do it service; to suppress public spirit, it called personal interest to its aid; it offered its favours to ambition, in order to silence conscience; it left no other state but that of serving it, no other hope but those which it could alone fulfil; no ambition appeared indiscreet, no pretension exaggerated; hence that incessant agitation of all interests and of all wishes; hence that instability of situation which left hardly any man the virtues of his condition, because all thought only of emerging from it; hence, in fine, incessant attacks upon every kind of probity by seductions against which the most generous characters could hardly defend themselves.

"Such were the melancholy effects of that destructive system which we have now to combat. The difficulties of the moment are great, but much may be expected from time; the nation will feel that its zealous concurrence is necessary to hasten the return of its own happiness; its confidence in the intentions of its king, the lights and wisdom of the two chambers, will render the task of government more easy. If any thing can prevent the speedy realization of these hopes, it will be that restless turbulence which wishes to enjoy, without delay, the blessings of which it has the prospect."

This *exposé*, which was drawn up with great talent and perspicuity, (by Talleyrand, as was supposed,) had for a time a happy effect on the temper of the nation, and prepared the two branches of the legislature to receive favourably the financial projects which the ministers were next to submit to them.

Upon the 23d of August, 1814, the budget proposed by the ministers of France, after undergoing the revision of the central committee, was presented to the Chamber of Deputies. The ministers, professing their resolution to keep faith with the creditors of the state of every description, announced that the pressing debts of the state, which could be instantly demanded by the creditors, amounted only to 759 millions of francs, not quite thirty-two millions sterling. For reimbursement of this sum, the first resource proposed was the sale of 300,000 hectaries (being about one-fifth part) of the national forests. Voluntary subscriptions, and the sale of the property of the *communes*, was to provide for the balance of the debt. In the meanwhile, ministers proposed to issue bills upon the royal treasury, bearing an interest of eight per cent., an advantage which was thought absolutely necessary to prevent depreciation of the government securities in the market.

The budget underwent a severe scrutiny in the Chamber of Deputies, where there was already a powerful and organized opposition to the administration. Messrs Flaugergues, Dumoulard, and especially Monsieur Desgraves, attacked the means proposed to discharge the debt, as partly dangerous, partly delusive. The sale of the national forests, it was said, must destroy the means of supporting the French navy in future wars, and render her dependant on foreign countries for naval timber. But the granting treasury bonds, bearing the exorbitant interest of eight per cent.

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when bank stock hardly bore three per cent., was especially reprobated, and considered as a ruinous measure of legalized usury, which, besides increasing the debt to the extent of 178 millions, would set a desperate example of contempt of the laws on the part of the government itself. It would be better, said these opposition members, to consolidate the whole debt, by inscribing all the floating balance in the great book of the state, and paying the creditors the legal interest. It must be owned that this last measure would have been the more justifiable, as the creditors of Buonaparte's government, with whom that of Louis was now settling accounts, had no such favourable claims as could entitle them to challenge the mode of payment or settlement which should be most convenient for the country. But after the word *indemnity*, instead of that of *interest*, had been used to express the rate of usage on the treasury bonds, in order, as we suppose, to elude the charge of usury, the ministers, after a stormy discussion, and one or two narrow divisions, carried through their project of finance. The difficulties which they experienced on this occasion, and the little weight which their opinions seemed to possess in the Chamber, augured ill for the future course of their administration. At the same time, it must be owned, that the opposition conducted themselves in a fair and constitutional manner during the whole debate, and seemed to be guided by no other motive than to discover and adopt the best means for relieving the difficulties of the state.

Sept. 4, 1814.

The next affair of importance which agitated the parties in monarchical France, respected the liberty of the press. This is a question on which, in the abstract, there can be but one opinion. Without absolute freedom of the public press, (to be exercised always on the peril of such as misuse it) there can neither be enlightened patriotism nor liberal discussion; and although the forms of a free constitution may be preserved where this liberty is restricted, they will soon fail to have the necessary beneficial effects in protecting the rights of the community and the safety of individuals. The liberty of the press affords a channel through which the injured may challenge his oppressor at the bar of the public; it is the means by which public men may, in case of misconduct, be arraigned before their own and succeeding ages; it is the only mode in which bold and undisguised truth can press its way into the cabinets of monarchs; and it is the privilege by means of which he, who vainly lifts his voice against the corruptions or prejudices of his time, may leave his counsels upon record as a legacy to impartial posterity. The cruelty which would deafen the ear and extinguish the sight of an individual, resembles, in some similar degree, his guilt, who, by restricting the freedom of the press, would reduce a nation to the deafness of prejudice and the blindness of ignorance. The downfall of this species of freedom, as it is the first symptom of the decay of national liberty, has been in all ages followed by its total destruction, and it may be justly said that they cannot exist separately; or, as the elegiac poet has said of his hero and the country to which he belonged—

Illa tibi supresse negat, tu non potes illi.

We must own, at the same time, that as no good comes to us unmixed with evil, the unlimited freedom of the press is attended with too obvious inconveniences, which, when a nation is in a certain state of excitation, ren-

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der the exercise of it peculiarly dangerous. This is especially the case when a people, as in France, are suddenly released from a state of bondage, and disposed, "like youthful colts broke loose," to make the most extravagant use of their liberty. With minds unprepared for discussion, with that degree of political misinformation which has done this age more dire mischief than absolute ignorance itself could have effected, subject to be influenced by the dashing pamphleteer, who soothes their prevailing passions, as the Athenians were by the orations of their popular demagogues, it has been the opinion of many statesmen, that to withhold from them the freedom of the press, is a measure justifiable alike by reason and necessity. We proportion, say these reasoners, liberty to the power of enjoying it. The considerate and the peaceful we suffer to walk at liberty, and armed, if their occasions require it; but we restrain the child, we withhold weapons from the ruffian, and we fetter the maniac. Why, therefore, they ask, should a nation, when in a state of fever, be supplied, without restriction, with the indulgences which must necessarily increase the disorder? Our answer is ready,—that, granting the abuse of the liberty of the press to exist in the most fearful latitude (and we need not look to France to see examples,) the advantages derived from it are so inestimable, that, to deprive us of them, would be as if an architect should shut up the windows which supply light and air to a mansion, because a certain proportion of cold, and perhaps of rain, may force their way in at the aperture. Besides, we acknowledge ourselves peculiarly jealous of the sentiments of the members of every government on this delicate subject. Their situation renders them doubtful friends to a privilege through which alone they can be rendered amenable to the public for the abuse of their power, and through which also they often see their just and temperate exercise of authority maligned and misconstrued. To princes, also, the license of the press is, for many reasons, distasteful. To put it under regulation, seems easy and desirable, and the hardship on the community not greater, in their account, than the enforcing of decent respect and subordination,—of the sort of etiquette, in short, which is established in all courts, and which forbids the saying, under any pretext, what may be rude or distasteful to a sovereign, or even unpleasing to be heard. Under these circumstances, and in the present state of France, men rather regretted than wondered that the ministers of Louis XVIII. were disposed to place restrictions on the freedom of the press.

The eighth article of the Charter provided that Frenchmen have a right to publish their opinions while conforming to the laws which repress the abuse of this liberty. In fair interpretation, this clause comprehends all that can be desired by the most enthusiastic lover of liberty, since the freedom of writing, like that of speaking or acting, must be limited by the laws which protect both the state and individuals against the speech and actions of others. But the inundation of libels, dispersed among the citizens and soldiers in prejudice of the new dynasty, and particularly by the jacobins or self-entitled patriots, alarmed the ministers by their numbers, while, as the authors were unknown and the printers not responsible, they eluded the punishment of the law. The effect produced by these insidious and inflammatory pamphlets occasioned, so early as the 4th July, 1814, a motion in the Chamber of Deputies by Mons. Faure, a knight of Buonaparte's empire, and a member of his commission of government for Hamburgh, and

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whom, therefore, no one could wonder to find an active agent in the suppression of free discussion. Having observed that the liberty of the press necessarily enforced responsibility, the speaker stated, as the next question, "Would it not be better to prevent the evil, than to punish it after commission? He acknowledged that it would be desirable to abolish the censorial power, that natural enemy of freedom of thought and writing; but that was not possible,—it was only necessary to set limits to the authority of the censors; such was the only way of reconciling the rights of authors with the interests of the state, of religion, and of morals. The censorship, with proper modifications, might be used, as physicians sometimes employ poisons in the composition of their medicines. He must also strongly contend that printers should be made responsible. Thus only a mound could be raised against a torrent of worthless publications from so many pamphleteers."

Monsieur Faure proceeded to state his motion, which, in substance, went to establish a censorship of works under thirty pages, before publication, by officers to be nominated by the king. If two censors should agree that the intended publication contained any thing libellous, contrary to good morals or the public tranquillity, the printing should be staid, under reservation of the author's right of appeal to a committee of the two legislative bodies, who might, if they saw cause, remove the interdict. A second branch of the same project went to place at the king's pleasure the general controul of the national press. It was proposed, that no one should exercise the trade of printer or bookseller without the royal license, under heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment. If notice was not given to the director-general of the press, and a copy lodged with him, the impression of any work was liable to seizure, and the publisher to a fine of a thousand livres for the first offence, and double the sum for the second. The omission of the printer's name and residence, or the insertion of a false name and address on the title-page of any work, were liable, the former to a fine of three thousand, the latter to one of six thousand livres; and the bookseller who should sell a work without a printer's name, was to be subject to a fine of two thousand livres, to be reduced to one thousand if he should give up the printer.

The measure, thus recommended, was sent to the consideration of a committee, who made their report on the 2d of August. It was unfavourable to the motion. Monsieur Raynouard, the reporter, stated, with considerable energy, the disadvantages attending the proposed censorship, and the elusory nature of the remedy provided by the measure of Monsieur Faure. "The establishment," he observed, "of this previous censure excited alarm, and appeared to him incompatible with the liberty of the press, that right which was secured by the charter. The means also of repairing the injustice or error of the censors were equally illusory. Sometimes the whole recess of a session must expire before an author could exercise his right of complaint; and the stoppage of a work ordered during one of our sessions, could not be decided upon till the opening of the next. What reparation, in the mean time, was the author to receive, whose work was unjustly delayed? None whatever; and yet it was often of great importance to the honour or the fortune of a citizen that his work should appear at a certain determinate period. What punishment also was to be inflicted on the injustice of the censors? There was none. What gua-

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rantee could be found in their fear of being reprobated; for even if their decisions were reversed, what security was there for the condemnation being public? But were their acts of injustice even proclaimed and posted up, still the spirit of party would easily console them for the public disapprobation. Besides, would it be difficult to mention administrations where excess of zeal, though publicly discouraged by the heads of government, might yet be excused, and even rewarded in secret? Thus every thing in the establishment of a previous censorship appeared equally unjust, both in substance and form."

The modifications of the measure did not escape the censure of the reporter. The law exempted from the censorship works printed in foreign languages. Foreigners, therefore, would possess within France a freedom of which the natives were thought unworthy. This argument, which could only be intended to catch the thoughtless vanity of his hearers, was followed by others of greater weight. "If," as the minister declared in his discourse, "care was taken to exempt all writings whose authors afforded in their character and situation a sufficient guarantee, why was it not thought proper to extend to many others an exception made in favour of ecclesiastics and advocates? Would not members of the Chamber of Peers, or of deputies, counsellors of state, public functionaries, chief members of the University, of the Chamber of Commerce, and many others, be equally entitled to be included in the number of those who by their character or situation presented sufficient guarantee?

"By article 9, journals and other periodical writings were not to appear without the sanction of the king. This article, so short and incomplete, was only the more alarming for the liberty of the press. It would have been proper to explain, whether it was only meant to apply to the establishment of future journals, or whether every morning the journalist would be obliged to require a sanction. We should at least have learned how this sanction was to be obtained, or on what grounds it might be refused; whether censors or co-editors were to be appointed, and up to what point injurious both to public and private rights, those who shall have the direction of the journals may exclusively distribute praise and blame, or pass judgment on men and things, for the purpose of leading astray or putting down public opinion.

"By art. 10, 'authors and printers may demand the previous examination of their works; and if approved, the author and printer are discharged from all responsibility, except towards private individuals who may be injured.'

"What an alarming power does this confer on a couple of censors? In this way the most immoral book, works injurious to every public right or institution, outraging even the sacred person of the king himself, would be screened from all future enquiry! The author would be freed from all responsibility, because two censors may have accorded their perhaps guilty approbation. But at what period, or in what country, have magistrates ever been prohibited to exercise the rights of public justice, notwithstanding the *imprimatur* of doctors or censors?

"The 22d article, declaring that the law shall be reviewed within three years, announces sufficiently that it is not meant to be a temporary, but a definitive law; and besides, it has appeared to many, that the period of revision was too distant.

"These different motives, which have had more or less weight with the members of the committee, have determi-

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ned them to declare unanimously, that the plan of the law, such as it has been proposed, cannot be adopted without some modifications. The question then arose, whether this plan was easily susceptible of amendments, by which it might be corrected, at the same time adopting its principal basis. That basis is previous censorship.

"On this question the committee decided by a mere majority of voices, that previous censorship ought not to serve as the basis of the law, unless the ministers should lay before the chamber a modified project, together with the peculiar motives which suggested so strange a measure."

This important subject was resumed in several sittings, and certainly the members shewed no reluctance to exercise the freedom of debate, however they might differ concerning that of the press. About eighty, including both sides of the Chamber, inscribed their names as desiring to be heard upon the proposed law. The strongest argument used by those who defended the law referred to the existing state of France, unprepared, it was stated, for the advantages of a free constitution and the unlimited freedom of the press. It was urged, "that the order of society has been disarranged; the people have lost all precise and cautious habits of thinking, and are prepared to receive every fanciful impression; if a complete freedom of opinion is tolerated, 'bold bad men' immediately know that the most daring opinions are the most vendible, if they have but wit to support them, and, in consequence, let their ambition and their interest go hand in hand to encompass themselves with unreflecting proselytes. The French government therefore seeks to repress those hasty and consequently dangerous ebullitions of opinions, which come reeking from the press, to set the vicious and the unthinking in a periodical ferment. It does not seek to put down those arguments which extend themselves to the size of a moderate volume; it knows that twenty sheets of false wit and sophistry would carry with them their own antidote; that an epigram or an essay may prepare men to be traitors or atheists, but that a wholesale heap of sedition or blasphemy is sure to be confuted and despised. Lastly, it wisely provides that the laws should be temporary, in the virtuous hope that wise and cautious regulations may so improve and establish the French character, that truth and justice may, in a few years, be left to make their own way to the hearts of men."

After a warm debate, the ministers saw themselves compelled to adopt several modifications of the original motion. The length of the pamphlets to be subjected to the previous censorship, was restricted to twenty pages instead of thirty, and the operation of the law was made to extend only till the end of the session 1816. In the Chamber of Peers another amendment was adopted, which went to oblige the director of the press and bookselling trade to submit his interdictions against printing works, with his reasons, to both Chambers. The projected law was in this stage warmly opposed by the celebrated Marshal Macdonald, called Duke of Tarentum. His speech touched upon one topic of fearful interest. He affected to vindicate the army from the calumnies which alleged that the soldiers were seduced from their allegiance by seditious publications, yet dropped the ominous question, "Ought we to be alarmed if a few obscure soldiers have swerved from their allegiance?" acknowleging thus the existence of the very agitation which he had endeavoured to palliate or deny. The Marshal alleged that the real cause of disaffection was not the multitude of

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libels which the proposed law was meant to restrain, but the too sudden changes in public offices, and the fear of apprehended alterations in the constitution and the state of property. The soldiers, he said, feared for their honour and for their subsistence; and all ranks looked to the loyal fulfilment of the charter as the only source of security and protection. "Such," continued Marshal Macdonald," is the source of these disquietudes; and since we are acquainted with the remedy, let us not fail to apply it. Make laws conformable to this constitution; it is such only that France expects from you: she expects from you, gentlemen, the maintenance of that charter to which we have all sworn in that solemn sitting of the 4th of June; our oaths resounded throughout the kingdom, and in every part of Europe. Let us be faithful to them, as to our love for the sovereign, whom Providence and our wishes have given to us. What confidence will the French repose in us; what faith shall we display in acts and treaties; what opinion will foreigners entertain of us, if we now forget those oaths? Make it appear to the world, and prove to mankind, that you are Frenchmen truly regenerated. For, recollect that it is the non-observance, that it is the violation of the laws, which, in our unhappy disturbances, have caused all the confusions of which France has so long been the victim. If you adopt this project, gentlemen, if you leap over this barrier, who shall secure us in future from new attacks? Who shall secure those benefits which are as generously promised as they are solemnly granted by that charter? And what but the liberty of the press shall apprise the king of the truth, the errors, and the faults into which his ministers may fall? Restrain it by severe laws, by the most heavy penalties; you will thus soften licentiousness, vindictive resentments, seditious provocations, and you will be faithful to your oaths, in leaving us the liberty of speaking, of writing, and of printing. Such is my opinion; such are my unalterable principles. I demand the previous question on the project of the law."

Notwithstanding this opposition, the law upon the censorship and superintendance of the press, upon the votes being taken by ballot, was finally adopted by a majority of 137 white balls to 80 black ones. The friends of good order and rational freedom,—for the words are synonimous, though too often placed in opposition to each other,—regretted this measure. It was in vain, they said, to allege as an excuse, that the French were yet unfitted for the liberty of the press, or to argue from the analogy of an oculist, who does not permit the eyes of his patient, after a successful operation, to be exposed to the full blaze of day. They were of opinion, on the contrary, that the liberty of the press is not only necessary to secure freedom, but is the only effectual means of framing man's mind to understand and to enjoy it. They allowed, that the voice of clamorous and seditious pamphleteers might justly alarm government, and mislead, for a time, the governed. But they trusted in the omnipotence of truth, which at length is almost sure to prevail over all obstacles. They conceived that the formation of a public mind in France capable of understanding sound, and rejecting false reasoning, depended on free opportunity being given to the inhabitants of listening to both. The bigotted zeal, the folly, the partiality, the self-interest of censors, has been shown by the history of literature in all countries where the office has subsisted; and it is certain that the very idea that a work must necessarily be subjected to the ordeal of their criti-

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cism, must restrain and overawe the genius of the author in the labours of composition, and operate as a discouragement to liberal and free investigation by its terrors, even before their power comes into actual exercise. Admitting the imminent evil and risk to the state of France, at this hazardous crisis, from the multiplicity of seditious libels, the advocates for the freedom of the press contended, it would have been better to subject those guilty of abusing the privilege to severe, or even capital punishment, than, under the pretext of anticipating and preventing their crimes, to put the light of nations under a censorial bushel. The inefficiency of such attempts, continued these reasoners, is equal to their impolicy. While there is a free press in Europe, the expressions of popular discontent will find their way to it, as water to its level; and nothing short of an universal state of war and non-intercourse, such as existed under Buonaparte, will prevent France from receiving from other countries, with an interest and curiosity enhanced by mystery and by prohibitions, those publications which are interdicted in her own.

Much hope was conceived, however, of the future affairs of France, from the open and manly manner in which the debate was carried on; and this was augmented by a circumstance which seemed to show that the opposition members who voted against the law had done so not on factious, but on national motives, and really wished to secure the freedom of the press, but not to encourage its licence. Ferru, Chamerot, Dentu, Roux, and other booksellers, had been active in dispersing a pamphlet, entitled, an "Extract from the Moniteur," reflecting upon the person of the king, the printer of which had concealed his name, and they had been committed to prison as dispersers of a libel. Encouraged, it may be, by the animated speeches made in defence of the liberty of the press, these persons petitioned the Chamber, not only for liberty, but for authority to prosecute the persons who had occasioned their imprisonment. The Chamber, by a great majority, found that their arrest was legal under the penal code, and that, being accused of a serious offence, the petitioners had no right to apply to the Chamber for protection, since their guilt or innocence would be ascertained in the proper court of justice. The reporter, in the name of the committee of petitions, declared that the members most zealous for the freedom of the press, were not less than their colleagues the declared enemies of those who should abuse it, for the purpose of creating trouble and disorder in the state.

The censors were, however, nominated, and put into office. Among their names we observe two of bad omen; those, namely, of Lemontey, formerly a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, who had been already a theatrical censor in the days of Buonaparte, and of Lacretelle, the historian of the Revolution, who had served his apprenticeship to the same trade, under the same imperial master. The Abbé Salgues, one of the editors of the *Journal de Paris*, whose pen had circled as regularly around the political compass as if it had been plucked from the tail of the revolutionary weather-cock, was also named a censor, and afterwards showed how well he deserved the office, by the furious articles against the Bourbons, which he published in his journal immediately on the return of Buonaparte.

The law for restraining the freedom of the press had been carried through with such difficulty, that the disaffected were rather encouraged than checked by it, and resorted to all expedients to elude it, with a certainty that in doing so they would have the public on their side. Mon-

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sieur Lecompte and his associate editors of a paper, called *Le Censeur*, in which the measures of government were severely animadverted upon, so soon as the law was passed, publicly announced their intention to convert their weekly, into a monthly publication, in order that the size might exceed twenty pages, and thereby escape the revision of the royal censors. The imperfection of the law being thus pointed out, many authors hastened to avail themselves of similar means of eluding it, and the pamphlets against government which used to appear separately were now strung on to each other, like the pieces of paper attached to the train of a kite, until, with a little assistance from the art of the printer, they were made to cover the number of pages necessary to evade the regulation. Thus the ministers gained nothing by their encroachment on the charter, but the odium of having attempted it, and the ridicule of having done so to no purpose.

They were incautious enough to touch upon another point, on which the nation was sensitively jealous. This regarded the claims and property of the emigrants. An ordonnance of the king, made soon after his assuming the throne, had restored to these victims of loyalty of every description their rank as French subjects. Their wealth, their privileges, their importance, he could not restore, nor had he the means of checking their natural aspirations after the influence and honours from which they had fallen. The temper of the Chamber of Deputies towards them may be judged from the following minute incident. A

Nov 20 1814. petition was presented from the Maire of Durnac, in the department of the Upper Vienne, on the subject of a scandalous affair which occurred in his communal church on All-Saint's Day, in consequence, as the petition stated, of Monsieur de Blois, Seigneur of Durnac before his emigration, having required that the Sacristan should offer the consecrated bread to him, at the elevation of the Host, before presenting it to the Maire and the municipal body. Both parties seem to have insisted on their honorary pretensions with a clamour and violence very little edifying to the congregation, and the Maire esteemed the point of such consequence as to carry it by petition to the Chamber of Deputies. To give it, however, additional weight, he thought proper to generalize his complaints against the whole class to whom his competitor belonged. "It appears," said the Maire of Durnac, "that the emigrants wish to treat France like a conquered country. They seem, in various parts, to place themselves above the constituted authorities, and to acknowledge no other laws but their pleasure."

The Chamber appointed these expressions to be expunged as calumnious, and the affair of precedence and of the riot was referred to the proper courts. But in the course of the debate, it was manifest that many of the members of the Chamber held the same suspicions with the Maire of Durnac, or at least endeavoured to instil them into others. Monsieur Dumoulard, a leading member of the opposition, treated this brawl as a matter of great gravity. "It was not," he admitted, "the business of the assembly to enter into little communal disputes; but at the same time, the government could not remain indifferent to a fact of this kind. It could not be dissembled that there existed a kind of dark and secret system, which tended to sow the seeds of discord and anarchy among the citizens, and to resuscitate pretensions incompatible with the laws. It was important to impress every class of French-

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men with the great idea, that there was no safety for France, for the king, for every member or society, but in the maintenance of those principles on which were founded the laws protecting the whole."

This speech plainly intimated the sense entertained of those who called themselves Constitutionalists, (whose opinions, variously modified, pervaded the greater part of France) of danger to the constitution from the claims of the emigrants: and ought, therefore, to have put government upon their guard, and to have induced them either to postpone all discussions upon that delicate subject, or at once to take such determined measures as might silence at least, if it did not satisfy, all the parties concerned, and put the question at rest for ever. They seem, on the contrary, to have adopted a sort of compromising and vacillating policy, divided between their desire to do justice to the plundered royalists, whose case was truly severe, and their fear to innovate upon that article of the charter which sanctioned the sale of national domains.

In acknowledging the Bourbons' title to the throne, it was impossible in principle to deny that their faithful adherents, who had sustained exile and forfeiture merely for asserting that title, had been unjustly plundered and proscribed. Those emigrants, therefore, whose estates still continued in the possession of the nation, were, in common justice, entitled to have them restored. A plan for this purpose was proposed to the Chamber of Deputies, by Monsieur Ferrand, and excited much attention. The pleading in favour of the emigrants' right to their own estates seemed unanswerable, while that of Louis XVIII. to the throne of France remained unquestioned. And, undoubtedly, those who were inimical to the claims of the emigrants, although they dared not at the period speak their opinions, rested their reasons in point of right on the validity of the decrees against the Bourbons and their adherents. The admitted claims of this class of emigrants led naturally to the consideration of their less fortunate companions, whose property had not only been seized by the state, but disposed of to third parties, to whom it was guaranteed by the charter. Accordingly, their cause was pleaded by Monsieur Astorg, who openly declared his opinion, that those emigrants whose property was alienated beyond the possibility of restoration, were as well entitled to the consideration of the Chamber as those whose property was yet available. If their property had been sold, the state was in possession of the prices at which it had been bought, and was effectually benefitted to this extent; and they were, by the same rule which entitled their companions to claim their unsold possessions, creditors to the state for the value it had received for their lands. "It could not be dissembled," he observed, "that by the abolition of the laws on emigration the emigrants resumed the rights natural and common to all Frenchmen. On the same principles of justice which decide in their favour the restoration of their unsold property, they ought to be considered as creditors of the state in respect of the sums which it has derived from the sale of their property. If the state applied these sums to its assistance in critical times, it was not the less their debtor. If financial difficulties prescribed the terrible resource of reducing the national debt by two-thirds, still one-third remained to the national creditors. If some such plan as that which he had proposed were not adopted, would not the emigrants have more reason to complain than all the other creditors of the public?"

This proposal called up Monsieur

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Durbach's warm disapprobation, who might be said to speak on this occasion the sentiments of the whole constitutionalists, peculiarly sensitive as we have described this party to be on the subject of the national domains. This minister considered "the plan of the law as unconstitutional; not that he disproved of what it proposed to do for the emigrants, for he was even desirous that the relief should be extended to all emigrants alike; but he wished this to be done with due regard to the present holders of emigrant property. "All France," continued he, "has discovered in the fatal doctrine of M. Ferrand a desire to open a door on the vast field of national domains."—(*Here some murmurs were heard.*) "Already," continued the orator, "the two extremities of the kingdom have resounded with the words of the minister, as with the claps which precede the thunder-bolt. The effect which they have produced has been so rapid and so general, that all civil transactions have been at once suspended. A general distrust and excessive fear have caused a stagnation, the effects of which even the royal treasury has felt. The proprietors of national property no longer sell or mortgage their estates. They are suddenly reduced to poverty in the very bosom of wealth. Whence arises this calamity? The cause of it is the declaration of the minister, that the property they possess does not legally belong to them." For this is, in fact, the consequence of his assertion, that "the law recognises in the emigrants a right to property which always existed."

There can be no doubt that the jealousy concerning the insecurity of national domains spread at least as widely as Monsieur Durbach affirmed. An attempt was made by Marshal Macdonald, in the House of Peers, to effectuate such an arrangement as should satisfy the emigrants at the expense of the state: while, by putting a final end to their claims, it should give to the proprietors of national domains all the security they could desire. The acknowledged talents and high character of this distinguished general had great weight with the nation at large. He himself was descended of a family of emigrants, since his father (a Macdonald of the ancient branch called Mac-Eachan, or the sons of Hector*), had attended Charles Edward in all his romantic adventures, and, returning with him into France, was made an officer in the Irish brigade, in which his son had a commission before the Revolution. The marshal's skill as a soldier was attested by the campaign in Italy, in which he had to cope with the superior forces of Suwarrow and of Melas. He was the friend of Moreau, and was long discountenanced by Buonaparte, who, though in the wane of his fortunes he was compelled to make use of his talents, neither liked his military fame nor his love of liberty.

It was the object of this distinguished and estimable character to combine the restoration of the unsold property of emigrants with a plan of general in-

* The MacEachans sprung from the stem of the Lords of the Isles. It may not be indifferent to the Scottish reader to learn, that the Macdonald, or MacEachan,—for, according to the custom of the Highlands he bore either name,—father to the marshal, was one of the eight gentlemen who landed with Charles Edward in Moidart in the month of August, 1745. As he spoke Gaelic, English, French, and Latin, he was highly useful to the Prince as an interpreter. He had been educated for the Roman Catholic church, but preferred the military line.

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demnities, to be arranged on such a footing as would suit the finances of the state, and which would provide for the wants, not only of the emigrants, but of the military veterans whose pensions had remained unpaid since the disastrous campaign of Moscow.

Dec. 6, 1814. In his speech upon the proposed plan of the ministers, he gave his full assent to the restoration of the unsold estates, as a measure dictated by justice; since, the grounds of sequestration or confiscation no longer subsisting, the forfeiture ended from the moment France received in her bosom her banished children; but he complained, that the imprudent discussions which had taken place on the delicate topic had re-opened the wounds and awakened the rankling jealousies of the country. "One would," said the marshal, "be almost tempted to believe, that it is the secret intentions of some persons to poison the national feeling, if one were not aware to what an extent the spirit of party may lead astray the most correct minds. On the arrival of the son of St Louis, France was strewed with flowers, and now all the spots which witnessed our civil dissensions are marked by monuments of mourning; though, after so many calamities, what place may not in its turn claim the melancholy honour of exciting painful recollections?

"There cannot be a doubt, that millions of purchasers of national property are alarmed at the direction which some individuals endeavour to give to public opinion; and some people have rejoiced at their alarm, as if it would occasion a voluntary abandonment. Chimerical hopes are even cherished, that fears, skilfully insinuated into men's minds, will anew occasion changes of property, which all the power of the strongest government of which history contains any record would have failed to effect. Are the spectators of the rapid fall of that government still so stupified by that catastrophe, as not to have meditated on its causes? Are they ignorant that neither constitutions, nor laws, nor armies, defend governments against the mass of social interests? Are they ignorant that when these interests are in imminent peril, governments feel the first effects?"

Having thus pointed out the hazard of any attempt to disturb the present state of property which had passed into the hands of third persons, he announced his intention of bringing forward a double plan for indemnifying, upon a liberal principle, the emigrants whose property had been transferred to third parties, and for paying the donations or pensions of the army which had, during Buonaparte's prosperity, been paid from countries beyond the verge of France, and since the retreat of Moscow had not been paid at all.

Upon the 10th December, Marshal Macdonald resumed the subject, and brought forward his proposed plan. Its particulars are of less consequence than the speech which introduced it, and which throws considerable light upon the state of France at this momentous period, and the nature of the internal convulsions with which she was menaced.

There had been concluded directly with the government 1,055,889 sales. Giving each purchaser a family of three persons, considerably upwards of three millions of persons were interested in the stability of these sales from the outset; and allowing that number to be trebled by the common proportion of sales and partition, the number of persons so interested would in twenty-five years amount to betwixt nine and ten millions. "Against this Colossus, whose height the eye cannot measure, some impotent efforts would affect to direct themselves;

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but the wisdom of the king has foreseen this danger, even for the sake of those imprudent persons who might expose themselves to it."—The national sales respected either the lands of the church or of private property. The former the marshal discussed in a summary manner. "France has groaned over the misfortunes of her clergy; but in giving them her tears she has confirmed the alienation of their property. It was otherwise with the private property of individuals.

"The miracles of Providence," said Marshal Macdonald, "which have raised up the empire of the lilies, have attached a particular character to a numerous class of citizens; they appear in the midst of us, protected by age and misfortune; they are a kind of crusaders, who have followed the standard of the cross into foreign countries, and they relate to us those long vicissitudes, those storms and tempests which had at length driven them into the port where they had lost all hope of reaching. Which of us could refuse to give them our hand in token of eternal alliance? Our hearts have been moved. If theirs have remained colder, can we be astonished? The return of the king, the bearer of the olive of peace, exceeded all our hopes—one only of theirs is realized. In truth, the first of their wishes is accomplished. The towers of St Louis have seen again their heir.—But what changes have been operated in France!—What destruction consummated! What monuments overthrown! What others erected upon their ruins!—What prosperous dreams vanished in one day, after having been for so many nights the consolations of the exile! Let us dive into our hearts to judge our fellow men. Let us place ourselves, in thought, in the position I have described: let us add to the sentiments with which they inspire us, that pride, the companion of the unfortunate: and instead of sharing the common complaints upon the reception of our brethren restored to us, let us recognise Frenchmen in the disinterested calm of the greater part of them, and in the nobleness of their attitude."

The existence of the old proprietors in the presence of the acquirers of their property, is a fact which they themselves must be aware cannot and ought not to cease to exist. The necessary consequence the marshal inferred was, "that we remove the difficulty, instead of vainly trying to conquer it: to change the present situation for a new one: in a word, to dare to make known the abyss opened before us, to leap it, and, armed with all the generosity and force of the nation, to launch into a vast system of indemnity."

From various calculations, through which we cannot follow him, Marshal Macdonald concluded that on the most forced supposition, the value of the forfeitures or sales could not exceed three hundred millions of livres, (L.12,500,000 sterling) and to this extent, therefore, at the utmost, were indemnities to be provided. "This value," he proceeded, "though immense in the eyes of those who have lost it, and intolerable to them as they witness the property which it represents in the possession of others, would be almost unperceived in the calculations of a great nation, if its first want, in reviving to order, were not the sentiment of justice and generosity. This sentiment requires that the country should place itself, by an indemnity, between the ancient proprietors and the acquirers, and that, by its liberality toward the one, it put an end to the recollections of *all*."

Marshal Macdonald proposed to calculate the indemnities to be granted to the original proprietors of the na-

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tional domains, as annuities equal either to one third of the revenues of the alienated property, valued as in 1790. or more simply by an annuity of two and a half per cent. on the value of the lands. The limitation of the claim to one-third of its original extent, was to put the emigrants on a footing with other creditors of France, to whom she had only paid that composition on their full claims.

The great and obvious difficulty in the existing state of France, was, to find funds for paying these annuities, or indemnities, which he computed might amount to twelve millions of livres, (or L.500,000 sterling) yearly. This difficulty Marshal Macdonald left unsolved, and contented himself with referring generally to the sum of thirty millions, (being a third part of the produce of the duties, on registering sales of land) as the assured pledge of the indemnities. This was a branch of revenue, he observed, which was on the eve of being ruined by the discredit cast upon property of this nature; whereas by satisfying the claim of the emigrants, and putting them to rest for ever, security would be restored to the actual proprietors, sales and transferences would multiply more than ever, and the income arising from the registration of these transactions would be not only preserved to the state, but greatly increased. There therefore was a fund for defraying the expence of the proposed plan, which, without some such measures were carried into effect, would soon cease to make part of the income of the state.

The Marshal concluded with adverting to the pensions of the military, which, having been charged upon funds payable from conquered countries which had now been regained from France, had not been paid since the Russian campaign. He drew a picture of the misery to which the veteran soldiers, pensioners of the state, were reduced, by the discontinuance of their endowments, which they had bought with their blood in a thousand battles. France, he said, would require only to expend three millions of livres more to acquit herself of this sacred debt.

Marshal Macdonald might have several motives for uniting in the same proposal, the indemnities of the veteran soldiers with those of the emigrant nobles. He might think it became his rank in the army, to shew that, in recommending the claims of the emigrants to consideration, he had not forgot those of his unfortunate brethren in arms; or perhaps, that treating both parties as if their claims were on a parity, might have some effect in extinguishing their natural hatred and jealousy of each other. But this union of two subjects, not very naturally connected, in the same motion, gave rise to a singular misconception, or rather wilful misrepresentation, in the *Journal de Paris*. The Marshal's speech, as reported in that paper, was made to conclude "with a declaration in the name of the French armies, that in order to give the emigrants deprived of property a mark of consideration and interest, the *armies had resolved to form a fund of twelve millions out of their pay, from generals down to the soldiers.*"

As nothing could be more improbable than that the army should voluntarily assess themselves, to form a fund for the subsistence of the despoiled emigrants, a class of men with whom of all others they had the least sympathy, so nothing could be calculated to make a worse impression on the minds and tempers of the soldiers, than the idea that such a measure was proposed to be carried into execution at their expence. Government endeavoured to repair the mischief, by an exertion of arbitrary authority, and suppressed the publication of the offending journal.

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The punishment was not undeserved, for it seems impossible that a misrepresentation so gross, and so hazardous in its consequences, could flow from any thing but premeditated malice. But if, as would have been the case in England, the printer had been called to account for breach of privilege, and his defence heard, the malicious report would have experienced a complete refutation in the public discussion which must have taken place. As it was managed in France, the arbitrary suppression of the paper became the principal feature in the case, and served only to show that free discussion, on the part of the French press, was at an end, leaving the public uncertain whether the journal had been suppressed for publishing falsehood, or for promulgating truths, which the government did not desire should be made known. And as the greater part of mankind are disposed to believe the very worst of their rulers, the false report spread by the *Journal de Paris* obtained some credit from the very means used to suppress it. Thus does arbitrary power often ever-shoot its own object of aim.

To conclude this chapter with the same metaphor which commenced it, the throne of France was situated on the crest of a volcano, firm indeed in outward appearance, but with torrents of lava boiling beneath, and deceitful ashes for its sole foundation.

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CHAP. VIII.

Leaders of the Jacobins.—Carnot—His History—His Memorial against the Bourbons.—Fouché—His Share in the Massacres of the Revolution—His Conduct on the King's Restoration.—Intrigues and Misrepresentations of the Disaffected under these Leaders.—Warlike Preparations in France.—National Dislike to the English.—Duke of Wellington's Residence in Paris.—Policy of Talleyrand at the Congress.—He endeavours to direct the Resentment of the Allies against Bernadotte—Against Murat.—Arrest of Lord Oxford, and Seizure of his Papers.—Affair of General Excelman.—His Petition to the Chamber of Deputies—That of General Grissoles.—Excelman is tried by a Court Martial, and acquitted.—Insubordination of the Army.—Life of Napoleon at Elba.—His Conversations with his Visitors.—His Character begins to be more favourably considered.—Arts of his Emissaries to fix the public Mind of France upon him.—His Correspondence with Murat—With France.—Females engaged in the Plot.—Organization of the Conspiracy.—Imperfect State of the Parisian Police.—Correspondence with Elba maintained through the Royal Post-Office.—Every thing is prepared for the bursting forth of the Conspiracy.

AMONG the intriguers by whose machinations the Bourbon dynasty was endangered, two leaders of the jacobin party were chiefly remarkable. Both were distinguished by audacity, activity, and talents, as well as by an experimental knowledge of the revolutionary springs, and of the complicated movements on which their efficiency depends; but Carnot was esteemed a staunch unyielding republican; Fouché, a statesman capable of temporizing and accommodating his service to the party which was uppermost. In the various and flitting scenes of the French Revolution, each had played important parts; and as we are not among those who think a politician can change his nature, as a stage-player does his clothes with every new character in which he is called upon to appear, we will briefly recal to the mind of our readers what these parts were.

Carnot was the associate and colleague of Robespierre during the whole of that monster's reign. His admirers pretend, that charging himself only with the conduct of the foreign war, he left to his brethren of the committee of public safety the sole charge of those measures, for which no human language affords epithets of sufficient horror, through which they originally rose to power, and by which they maintained it. According to these fond advocates, their hero held his course through the reign of terror unsullied by a bloody spot, as Arethusa rolled her waters through the ocean without mingling with its waves! and the faith of most readers will swallow the ancient miracle as easily as the modern. That Carnot voted for the murder of one of the most well meaning and guiltless monarchs that ever reigned, will by his favourers be con-

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sidered rather as matter of praise; and we have heard him lauded, because, after the fall of Robespierre, which he aided to accomplish so soon as he saw that the fate of Danton impended over his own head, he had exerted himself with the successful party to prevent *re-action*, a cant expression, which, in that case, meant to secure from condign punishment some of the most blood-thirsty wretches who ever polluted the face of a land. Carnot was condemned to transportation on the ephemeral supremacy obtained by the Directory on the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, and restored by that of the 18th Brumaire. He was then created minister of war, and tribune; and let us not refuse him the praise, that when he perceived the ambitious views of Buonaparte, he resigned his offices, inscribed his vote against the Corsican's being created consul for life, and against his subsequent assumption of the imperial dignity, and retired to a voluntary exile at a time when Napoleon would have doubtless been glad to purchase his acknowledged talents at no low rate. From this period he led the life of a private citizen until the campaign of 1814, when, not without an insult which the times rendered perfectly safe, he offered Buonaparte his services for the defence of Antwerp, the events of which we have mentioned in our last volume. He gave in his adhesion late and reluctantly to the Bourbon dynasty,* and was restored to, or confirmed in, the rank of inspector-general of the engineers.

He who declares his solemn submission to a form of government, more especially who accepts rank of any kind from its favour, must, in honour and good faith, be considered as binding himself at least to abstain from conspiring its downfall; but it was soon evident that Carnot had apprehensions for freedom during the mild and even feeble government of Louis XVIII., which had never stirred him into action under that of Buonaparte, under whom he lived a peaceful, if a reluctant subject. To ulcerate the wounds of the state, to inflame the giddy and headlong passions of the factious, which might otherwise have become gradually less violent, was a work worthy of the colleague of Robespierre, who, if his secret motives might be guessed, would have submitted to any species of government in preference to beholding on the throne of France a family whom he had most cruelly wronged, and under whose government decency forbade him to hope for more than safety and protection. It is thus that, in the commencement of civil commotion, men take up arms for principles, but seldom have long stood in opposition to each other, ere private interests and personal prejudices are substituted for the public reasons of quarrel, and partizans turn their back without hesitation on the cause they have espoused, that they may still point their swords against the throats of those whom they consider as their personal antagonists.

The name of Carnot, and his high talents, well shewn in the management of the wars of the republic, combined with the character he had acquired for independence by deserting Buonaparte in his rising, and adhering to him in his falling state, gave great weight to the opinions he expressed upon the state of public affairs under the Bourbons. They were embodied in a Memorial made public in the month of December, 1814, in which every fault committed by the restored family is exaggerated; and they, with the nobles, their personal adherents,

* See Moniteur, 16th April, 1814.

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are, under a thin and contemptuous veil of assumed respect towards the king, treated alike as fools, who did not understand how to govern France, and as villains who meditated her ruin. The murder of the king is, with irony as envenomed as unjust, stated to have been occasioned, not by the violence and cruelty of his persecutors, but by the pusillanimity of his nobility, who first provoked the resentment of the nation and then fled from the kingdom, when, if they had loved their sovereign, they should have rallied around him. This plea, in the mouth of a regicide, is as if one of a band of robbers should impute an assassination not to their own guilty violence, but to the cowardice of the domestics of the murdered, by whom that violence might have been resisted. No one also knew better than Carnot by what arts Louis XVI. was induced by degrees to abandon all means of defence which his situation afforded him, and to throw himself upon the sworn faith and allegiance of those by whom he was condemned to death. As whimsical and unlogical were the examples and arguments he referred to in support of the condemnation of Louis. Cicero, it seems, says in his Offices, "We hate all those we fear, and we wish for the death of those we hate." On this comprehensive ground, Carnot vindicates the orator's approbation of the death of Cæsar, notwithstanding the clemency of the usurper; and Cato, indeed, (continues the colleague of Robespierre) went farther, and did not think it possible there should be a good king. Of course, not Louis XVI. alone, but all monarchs may be justly put to death, in Monsieur Carnot's estimation, because they are naturally the objects of fear to their subjects, and because we hate those we fear, and because, according to the kindred authority of Shyleck, no man hates the thing he would not kill. The doctrine of regicide is said to be confirmed in the Old Testament; families were massacred,—monarchs proscribed,—intolerance promulgated by the ministers of a merciful Deity: Wherefore, then, should not the jacobins put Louis XVI. to death? If it was alleged, that the persons of kings were inviolable by the laws of all civil governments, those of usurpers certainly were not so protected; and what means were there, says Carnot, for positively distinguishing between an usurper and a legitimate king? The difficulty of making such a distinction was, no doubt, a sufficient vindication of the judges of Louis XVI. Trash like this had scarce been written since the club-room of jacobins was closed. But the object of Carnot's pamphlet was not to excuse a deed which he would probably have boasted as laudable, but by the exaggerations of his eloquence, and the weight of his influence with the public, to animate the fury of the other parties against the Bourbons and their adherents. The king was charged with having been ungrateful to the call of the nation, a call which assuredly he would never have heard but for the cannon of the allies,—with having termed himself king by the grace of God,—with resigning Belgium when Carnot was actually governor of Antwerp,—with preferring Chouans, Vendeans, emigrants, Cossacks, or Englishmen, to the soldiers whose victories had kept him in exile, and in consequence of whose defeat alone he had regained the throne of his fathers. The emigrants are represented as an exasperated, yet a contemptible faction. The people, it is said, care little about the right of their rulers,—about their quarrels,—their private life, or even their political crimes, unless as they affect themselves. All government, of course, has its basis in popular opinion; but, alas! in actual history, "the

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people are only regarded," says Monsieur Carnot, "as the victims of their chiefs; we witness nothing but the contest of subjects for the private interest of their princes,—kings, who are themselves regicides and parricides,—and priests who incite mankind to mutual slaughter. "The eye can but repose on the generous efforts of some brave men who consecrate themselves to the deliverance of their fellow-countrymen; if they succeed, they are called heroes,—if they fail, they are traitors and demagogues." In this, and other passages, the author plainly intimated what spirits were at work, and what was the object of their machinations. The whole pamphlet was designed as a manifesto to the French public, darkly, yet distinctly, announcing the existence of a formidable conspiracy, the principles on which its members proceeded, and their grounds for expecting success.

Carnot himself affected to say, that the Memorial was only designed for circulation among his private connections. But it would not have answered the intended purpose had it not been printed and dispersed with the most uncommon assiduity. Small carts traversed the *boulevards*, from which it was hawked about among the people, in order to avoid the penalties which booksellers and stationers might have incurred by dealing in an article so inflammatory. Notwithstanding these evasions, the printers and retailers of this diatribe were prosecuted by government, but the *Cour d'Instruction Criminelle* refused to confirm the bill of indictment, and this failure served to encourage the jacobin faction. The official proceedings, by which the ministers endeavoured to suppress the publication, irritated rather than intimidated those who took interest in it. It argued, they said, at once a timorous and a vindictive spirit to oppress the inferior agents in an alleged libel, while the ministers dared not bring to trial the avowed author. In this unquestionably they argued justly; for the measures corresponded with the paltry policy, which would rather assail the liberty of the press, than bring to fair trial and open punishment those by whom it is misused.

If Carnot aspired to influence the jacobin faction, and the converts whom they daily acquired by his reputation for military science and for republican spirit, Fouché was not less distinguished for the civil endowments which their cause required. To *his* share in the cruelties of the revolution, and especially of the reign of terror, no doubt attaches. The name of Fouché of Nantes is written in bloody letters in these dreadful pages; and his own dispatches to the committee of public safety, as well as the laudatory comments of Chaumette, Robespierre, and other heroes of that period, are on record to prove, that at Nevers and at Lyons, he was the willing agent of their most sanguinary decrees, and reported their execution with the Sardonic sneer of one delighted by the exercise of his bloody vocation. He presided at, and he reported, the dreadful wholesale executions which took place in the square at Lyons, and associated with the horrible Collot D'-Herbois. He regretted the slow means which their zeal employed in the destruction of that beautiful city. "Indulgence," said his official dispatch, "would be a criminal weakness—demolition proceeds too slowly: There must be more rapid means for the gratification of republican impatience;—the explosion of the mine,—the devouring activity of fire, can alone express the power of the people. Their will is incapable of being checked like that of tyrants;—it ought to have the speed and the force of thunder." *

* Moniteur, November 3, 1793.

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The actions of these representatives of the people kept pace with their emphatic language. Upwards of four hundred of the most respectable citizens of Lyons were executed by the guillotine and by discharges of musketry.* Menaced with the vengeance which overtook some of his colleagues, Fouché sheltered himself under the protection of Tallien, and afterwards under that of Barras, and totally changed his opinions in politics. He was the foremost to denounce the club of jacobins, in which he had so often presided; and in the revolution of 18th Brumaire, (8th November, 1799,) when the vision of Liberty and Equality vanished before a military government, Fouché was the first to hail the rising sun. He kept pace with Napoleon in promotion, and as his master became Consul for ten years, for life, and finally Emperor, Fouché became Senator, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Duke, and Peer of France. But these were only honorary distinctions. As an apostate priest, Fouché was without religion; as a Septembrizer, he was devoid of mercy; unfettered by the scruples of Carnot, he made few pretensions to political consistency, and was therefore, in every point of view, suited for the office of minister of police, which, for nearly ten years, he held under Napoleon. During this all-seeing and all-scrutinizing occupation, Fouché, doubtless, became the master of many a dark and dangerous secret, and the agent of much hidden oppression. The journals, the theatres, the management of domestic spies, the charge of watching the intrigues of the clergy, the emigrants, the Chouans, the Vendeans—all fell under his charge; and the well-known kidnapping of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Mr Drake, Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and the Duke D'Enghien, attested his capacity for this important office. It is certain that he lost for a season the confidence of the jacobin faction while acting under the imperial government; but he regained it in some measure by his disgrace with Buonaparte. The occasion was never distinctly known, but it has been supposed that Buonaparte suspected Fouché of a desire to form an interest separate from his own, by means of the immense influence and extensive information vested in him by virtue of his office. The pretext of the government of Rome removed this dangerous servant into an honourable exile, and the breach between the emperor and his minister of police, restored to the latter the confidence of his republican friends. But Fouché did not belong to that class of statesmen who make a point of becoming the victims of their principles. By means which may easily be conceived, he had acquired immense wealth, and was in no hurry to lose it by engaging in any hazardous adventure, until he had examined the probable stability of the new royal government, and ascertained whether his services would be acceptable to Louis XVIII. He solicited and obtained an audience of the king soon after acknowledging his sovereignty. While he attended in the anti-chamber to be introduced, he observed a sneer on the countenance of some royalists who were in waiting, and gave them a lesson that a minister of police, even when he has lost his office, is not a person to be jested with. "You, sir," said he, to a gentleman, "seem proud of the lilies with which you are adorned. Do you recollect the language you held respecting the Bourbon family some time since in such a company?—And you, madam," (he continued, addressing a lady,) "to whom

* Moniteur, 20th December, 1793.

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I gave a passport to England, may, perhaps, wish to be reminded of what then passed betwixt us on the subject of Louis XVIII." The laughers were conscience-struck, and Fouché was introduced into the cabinet. What passed betwixt Louis and this person cannot be known; but it may be presumed that Fouché's motives were to offer his services to the king, and it is said that he recommended the organization of a police, which should be effectual for the security of the government, without being odious or oppressive to the people. It would certainly have been of the last consequence to Louis to have secured the attachment of this sagacious, though unprincipled statesman, and through him a complete acquaintance with the secrets of Napoleon's government. Accordingly, Louis is said to have received him with courtesy, and even favour. But Fouché's vote on the late king's death could scarce be forgiven by his brother, even if the memory of that and his other crimes had not been thundered into the ears of Louis by the royalists around him. Fouché soon saw all hopes from the royal favour were vain, and placed himself once more at the head of the jacobin, or, as they called themselves, the patriotic party, whom he had deserted and betrayed under the reign of Napoleon, and whom he was destined, in the course of this marvellous year, once more to desert and betray.

Headed by the audacious Carnot and the wily Fouché, the ancient assertors of the republican cause, as well as the later agents of Buonaparte's tyranny, with many who had played both parts in this changeful drama, began to reappear on the public stage with new courage and confidence. The members of Buonaparte's senate, who had been dismissed from the House of Peers in the most gentle manner, by receiving, namely, no intimation or letter from the king commanding their attendance, lived in the greatest security. Cambaceres continued to maintain the same style of luxury at his table, and was quitted for the self-imposed fine of two hundred francs, (8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) subscribed towards erecting a new statue of Henri Quatre. The folding doors of the Tuilleries still opened to receive Lebrun, (late Duke of Placentia) in his capacity of arch-treasurer of the empire. Savary, so long the manager of Buonaparte's high police, with his subaltern agents of oppression, walked the streets without notice or insult. Carnot, David, and other men of letters, who had mingled in the revolution, now figured in the institute, as if literary employment was to be henceforward the business of their lives. Under all this apparent peace and security, the bonds of jacobinical fraternity were in secret renewed, and the members of the confederacy might be distinguished by the well-disciplined unanimity with which they praised or blamed, censured or approved, individuals or opinions.

But it was chiefly their business to insist upon the faults of the royal family, and their prejudices against the men and measures of that period when France was successful in foreign war, against the statesmen who directed, and the soldiers who achieved her gigantic enterprizes.—The king, they said, had suffered misfortune without having learned wisdom;—he was incapable of stepping beyond the circle of his Gothic prejudices;—France had received him from the hand of foreign conquerors, surrounded by an emaciated groupe of mendicant nobles, whose pretensions were as antiquated and absurd as their decorations and manners. His government went to divide, they alleged, the French into two classes, opposed to each other in merits as in interests—the emigrants, who alone were regarded as faithful and willing subjects, and the rest of the

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nations; in whom the Bourbons saw, at best, but repentant rebels. Too timid as yet to strike an open blow, they alledged that the king and his ministers sought every means to disqualify and displace all who had taken any active share in the events of the revolution, and to evade the general promise of amnesty. Under pretext of national economy, they were disbanding the army and displacing the officers of government, depriving thus the military and civil servants of France of the provision which their long services had earned. Louis, they said, had insulted the glory of France, and humiliated her heroes, by renouncing the colours and symbols, under which twenty-five years had seen her victorious: he had rudely refused a crown, offered to him by the people, and snatched it as his own right by inheritance, as if the dominion of men could be transferred from father to son, like the property of a flock of sheep. The right of Frenchmen to chuse their own ruler was hereditary and imprescriptible; and the nation, they said, must assert it, or sink to be the contempt, instead of being the pride at once and dread of Europe.

Such was the language which nettled, while it alarmed, the idle Parisians; the departments were assailed by other arts of instigation. The chief of these was directed to excite the jealousy so often alluded to concerning the security of the property of national domains. Not content with urging every-where that a revocation of the lands of the church and emigrants was impending over the present proprietors, and that the clergy and nobles did not even deign to conceal their hopes and designs, a singular device was in many instances practised to inforce the belief of such assertions. Secret agents were dispatched into the departments where property was advertised for sale. They made enquiries as if in the character of intending purchasers, and where the property appeared to have been derived from revolutionary confiscation, instantly objected to the security as good for nothing, and withdrew their pretended offers; thus impressing the proprietor, and all in the same situation, with the unavoidable belief, that such title was considered as invalid, owing to the expected and menaced revocation of the Bourbon government.

It is generally believed that Buonaparte was not originally the object of these intrigues. He was feared and hated by the jacobin party, who knew what a slender chance his iron government afforded of their again attempting to rear their fantastic fabrics, whether of a pure republic, or a republican monarchy. It is supposed their eyes were turned in preference towards the Duke of Orleans. As the son of the foster-father of the revolution, as the pupil of Madame Genlis, as having, during the very early part of his youth, worn the colours and fought under the banners of the revolution, the jacobins founded hopes upon this prince, which his upright and loyal character ought to have checked. They reckoned probably on the strength of the temptation, and they thought that in supplanting Louis XVIII., and placing his kinsman in his room, they would obtain, on the one hand, a king, who should hold his power by and through the revolution, and, on the other, would conciliate both foreign powers and the constitutionalists at home by chusing him out of the family of Bourbon. The more cautious of those concerned in the intrigue recommended that nothing should be attempted during the life of the reigning monarch; but that they should reserve their force for an effort after his decease, an event which probably was not dis-

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tant, to set aside his brother, and call the Duke of Orleans to the throne. It was supposed that the unpopularity of Monsieur and his sons, with the general belief that they were devoted to the interests of the emigrants and clergy, would render it comparatively easy to contest their right of succession. Others were more impatient and less cautious, and the Duke of Orleans received an intimation of their plan in an unsigned billet, containing only these words, "We will act it without you—we will act it in spite of you—we will act it FOR you,"* as if putting it in his choice to be the leader or victim of the intended revolution. The Duke of Orleans, though his intimacy with the king and princes is not supposed to be great or cordial, immediately communicated this note to the former, and acted otherwise with such prudence as greatly to cool the hopes which the jacobins had founded upon him. It became necessary that they should turn their eyes to some other central point.

The court, aware of the disaffection of the army, and the intrigues of the jacobins, seems to have formed no other plan of defence, than by flattering the military with the prospect of a speedy call to war. On the frontiers towards Flanders, the fortresses were put into a state of defence, and the inhabitants of fortified towns were commanded to desist from erecting buildings, or laying out gardens, within three hundred toises of the outermost works. The army was recruited and furnished with clothing and arms, while great magazines were formed in central places for their regular supply. Many disbanded officers, who were preparing to seek their fortune in America, were commanded to remain in France, with an intimation that their services might be required.

All these military preparations received a fresh impulse, in consequence of the nomination of Soult to re-place Dupont, as minister of the war department. A general who had been usually successful would be more popular, it was supposed, with the army, than one who was only known by his disaster at Baylen; and Soult improved this favourable impression by an order of the day, promising a speedy settlement of the arrears of the army.

The language of court flatterers and court poets, who had hitherto hailed the Bourbons as the restorers of peace, began to anticipate their glory as conquerors in war.† The popular aversion to foreigners, and particularly to the English, whom they regarded, not unjustly, as the original cause of the depression of France in the scale of Europe, as-

* *Nous le ferons sans vous—nous le ferons malgré vous—nous le ferons pour vous.*

† Si les dangers, si la victoire
Nous offrent de nouveaux combats,
Les Bourbons sont fils de la gloire!
Soldats, aux champs d'honneur ils guideront vos pas:
Vous les verrez, fiers de combattre,
Frapper de mort une superbe ennemi;
Et le panache d'Henri Quatre
S'elevera sur le front de Berri.

Such praises were, of all others, the most injudicious, as they invited a comparison between the Bourbons and Buonaparte, in the only point where the latter could claim superiority.

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sumed a tone unusually rancorous. In theatres and public places every scurrilous reflection and commonplace satire on English customs was applied personally to our countrymen who chanced to be present, by an audience calling themselves the most civilized in the civilized world.

It was unreasonably argued, that the British government had excited, or at least aggravated, this irritation, by sending the Duke of Wellington, on whom no Frenchman could look without feelings of national humiliation, to be the resident ambassador of his Majesty at the court of France. But, not to mention that no such effects were to be apprehended, from the unbounded applause with which Paris had at first received the British general, we see no reason that our country should have lost the advantage of the duke's diplomatic talents, in deference to the unreasonable sensibility of the French, to which perhaps but too much respect had been paid in other respects. It is generally known, that Wellington, like Marlborough, (the only name in British history which approaches his own) has been as successful in treaties as in battles. Not that he possesses the winning address of Churchill, which almost gained the iron heart of Charles of Sweden; but because, open, manly, and decisive, in the cabinet as in the field, he has substituted strong reason and plain sense for artifice and finesse, and carried his point in political discussion, as in war, by marching straight up to it. He had claims upon the gratitude of many of the French generals, from his active interference with Louis in their behalf; and if his presence at Paris was disagreeable to the French, it was only because they hated in him the representative, as he had been the sustainer, of the honour of his country.

France, by the intrigues, and even open declaration of Talleyrand, her minister at the Congress, held a course hostile to Britain, and endeavoured by various means to force upon the Congress the revisal, or rather alteration, of the maritime law of nations, in hopes of arriving at the establishment of the long desiderated principle, that free bottoms make free goods. With what plausibility such a discussion could be proposed, or how it was expected that England, triumphant, and over whom not one of the powers whose plenipotentiaries were assembled in Congress, could pretend to exercise a coercive influence, should yield rights to which she had adhered as her palladium in the darkest hour of her history, it is not for us to conjecture. The attempt was probably made to shew, that the heads of the Bourbons were entirely French at heart, and free from any partiality in favour of England; or perhaps they gave way to the ebullition of national feeling, as a timid horseman contents himself with an attempt to guide the run-away steed, whose course he cannot check.

Other intrigues of France at the Congress were more consistent with the interests, or at least the feelings, of the royal family. An attempt was made to instigate the other powers against Bernadotte and Murat, whose authority in Sweden and Naples emanated originally from that of Buonaparte, and shared his taint of usurpation. Bernadotte lay distant from France, and had besides, in the campaign of 1813, deserved well of the European league. The merits of Murat were more questionable, and there were hopes of embittering against him Austria, always jealous of her Italian possessions. Various documents were exhibited to the Duke of Wellington, as tending to establish that King Joachim had play-

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ed a double part during the Italian campaign of 1814, and continued to maintain an under-hand correspondence with Buonaparte. But, in the Duke of Wellington's opinion, these documents failed to make out the case founded upon them. They indicated, he allowed, that Murat acted with reluctance against his brother-in-law; but did not imply his being untrue to the allies. The repulse of the British minister did not prevent the Bourbons from assuming an hostile attitude towards Joachim. His name was not permitted to appear as King of Naples in the Royal Almanack of France,—a trifle in itself, but one of those trifles which are important among sovereigns. A proclamation of Louis recalled all Frenchmen, civil and military, from the service of Murat, and numbers left Naples in consequence. This was a measure decidedly hostile. Talleyrand, instigated, it is said, partly by personal resentment for the loss of his principality of Beneventum, the revenues of which had been confiscated by Murat, urged his ruin by every art of persuasion, and we shall presently see that the versatile imprudence of Joachim himself precipitated his catastrophe.

In the mean while, Murat was not without friends and abettors in France, as appeared from a remarkable incident, peculiarly illustrative of the discontent of the army, and the weakness of the government. Lord Oxford, with his lady, had resided for some time in the court of King Joachim, where they were treated with the distinction which their rank required. His lordship, leaving his family at Naples, had proceeded to England apparently on important business, where he demanded and obtained from the Prince Regent an audience, in his capacity of a peer of the realm, in which his lordship is supposed to have reclaimed the protection of the British government in behalf of his royal friend of Naples. It is probable that Lord Oxford received no other answer than is usually given at a compulsory audience. But his lordship, however, directed his course again to Naples, as a mediator, who returned to give an account of his mission, and he took Paris in his road. Those to whom the noble earl is known will not suspect him of hatching or abetting high treason, and the British public therefore learned with surprize, that his lordship had been arrested by the French police at a stage beyond Paris, called Ville Juif, and compelled to deliver up his papers, from which was taken by the commissary of police a quantity of letters addressed to different persons at Naples, and elsewhere beyond the bounds of France. This violence was slightly covered by the intimation, that his lordship had no title to diminish the revenue of the French post-office by taking so voluminous a correspondence under his charge; and with this supercilious explanation the commissary acquainted his lordship he might proceed on his journey. Lord Oxford chose rather to return to Paris, and carry his complaint to the Duke of Wellington. Apparently the French government alleged serious grounds for this strong measure against a British nobleman; for the explanations which were given were satisfactory to the British ambassador, and the letters were not returned to Lord Oxford, or any apology made for the manner in which he had been treated. Extraordinary precautions were adopted for the safety of the Tuilleries, as if some extraordinary conspiracy had been discovered; the gates of the gardens, and of the Place de Carousel, were shut at an unusually early hour; ball-cartridges were served out to the guards of the palace, and an air of

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apprehension, real or assumed, characterized all the movements of the government. About the same time, General Maison published an order for the regular observance of the patroles of Paris, which breathed a spirit of greater apprehension of insurrection than the king had yet manifested. This intercepted packet is also supposed to have given rise to the arrest of General Dufour and others; but no case was completely canvassed before the public, excepting that of Count Excelman.

This officer, long colonel of the first regiment of the chasseurs-à-cheval, had been created by Buonaparte a general of division and count of the empire, and now resided at Paris as inspector-general of the first division. It appears, that among the letters of which Lord Oxford condescended to be the bearer, was one from General Excelman to Murat, expressive of his own devoted attachment, and assuring him, "that thousands of brave officers, formed in his school, and under his eye, would have been ready at his call, had matters not taken a turn in his favour." Dupont, then minister at war, contented himself with admonishing General Excelman to be more cautious in his correspondence in future; but his successor Soult, affecting greater rigour, placed the general on half-pay, and ordered him to retire to Bar-sur-Ornain, which he named as the place where he was in future to receive it. Excelman alleged the situation of his wife, then on the eve of being confined, as an excuse for delaying his departure, and entered into farther expostulations, which terminated in his formal refusal to obey the order for leaving Paris, and in his escape from the officers sent to arrest him, in consequence of his disobedience. While thus in open resistance to the authority, which, as a soldier, he was bound to acknowledge, Excelman petitioned the Chamber of Deputies for redress against what he termed an abuse of power, and violation of domicile, and his wife lodged a similar petition, complaining of the rigour exercised by the officers while searching for her husband. After a warm debate, in which the opposition members voted for receiving both petitions, the general's was rejected, and that of Madame Excelman was referred to the government.

By a singular coincidence, while the Chamber was occupied in deliberating whether they ought to entertain a petition from an officer, who, being accused of military disobedience, had fled from arrest and trial, one of a very different nature came under their cognizance, serving to remind them how similar dilinquencies, nay, even the disproved suspicion of them, was treated under the government of Buonaparte. Field-Marshal Grissolles had been tried as a Vendean by a special commission, and solemnly acquitted. But, instead of regaining his liberty, he was for three years imprisoned in the Temple; and from thence transferred to the Bicetre. Here he was loaded with irons, and immured in a dungeon eight feet square, which had been recently plastered, lest his constitution should resist the mere confinement, and the ordinary damp of the den. For two years he suffered tortures only equalled by those of the celebrated Baron Trenck, and his petition (which was referred to the government), set forth in the most horrid colours the secrets of Buonaparte's prison-house. It may seem impossible, that, comparing the case of Marshal de Grissoles with that of General Excelman, there should exist such blinded folly and prejudice, as would prefer the domination of the iron-handed despot to that of the legitimate, and perhaps too feeble mo-

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narch, and proclaim that in doing so, they favoured the cause of liberty. Yet the event showed that prejudice and faction could achieve this extraordinary conquest over reason and common sense.

The termination of General Excelman's affair consisted in his surrendering himself to a court-martial, in which Count D'Erlon presided, and undergoing a trial at Lisle. In the letter announcing his surrender, he states, that it was made in consequence of his acquaintance with "the justice and enlightened sentiments" of the members of the court-martial; an intimation which seemed to anticipate the issue of the trial. The accusations against him were, 1. That he had corresponded with the public enemy, namely, with Joachim Murat, whose sovereignty had not been recognised by France. 2. That he had committed an act of espionage, by acquainting Murat with the dispositions of the French officers in his favour. 3. That he had written things derogatory to the king's person and authority. 4. That he had disobeyed the orders of the minister at war. 5. That he had violated his oath as a Chevalier de St Louis. Interrogated by the court on these heads of accusation, he replied to them in order. 1. That he could not be guilty of corresponding with the enemies of France, since France, at this moment, was at peace with all the powers of Europe. 2. That he disdained to make any reply to the article accusing him of espionage. 3. That his profound respect for the king rendered it impossible he could be guilty of the third charge, and that in his letter there was not a word applicable to his majesty. 4. That he had resisted an order to exile himself, because the minister of war had no lawful authority to issue such a mandate. 5. That he did not understand what was the nature of the delict inferred in the last article of accusation. It is manifest from the high and scornful tone assumed by the accused party, that he was already certain of his acquittal, which, accordingly, was unanimously pronounced by the court-martial. "General Excelman seized the first opportunity," (we are informed by the Journal of Debates) "which his freedom afforded to present himself at the foot of the throne, return thanks to his majesty for the justice which had been rendered him, and swear fidelity *a toute epreuve*." How he kept his oath we shall presently learn.

14 *Jan.* 1814.

The reflecting part of the nation could not but see, in the conduct of General Excelman, and that of the court-martial who gave it their sanction, a resolution formed by the army to shake themselves free of subordination to the king. If a government has any authority over its soldiers, it must consist in the power of assigning them their posts and places of residence, and such authority is exercised wherever a standing army is known. Yet so much was this point of discipline disputed, or at least regarded as a grievance, by the French officers, that General Flahault having expressed himself on the subject of Excelman's disgrace in a manner disagreeable to the minister at war, and being commanded to retire from Paris, immediately sent in the resignation of his decorations and military rank. Every thing seemed to indicate that an understanding pervaded the army of their independent existence as a separate order of the state, subject to no external authority, not even to that of the sovereign whom they acknowledged as their master. Yet the correspondence of Excelman with Murat seems to exclude the idea that he had at that time hopes of the re-appearance of his ancient master,

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since he would otherwise have naturally addressed Buonaparte himself. And although the fact of an actual organized and existing conspiracy, having the Isle of Elba for its object, and its centre, is strongly averred by some of the French writers, and is even said to have existed within a few weeks after the restoration of the Bourbons, no direct proof has been produced on that subject, and what evidence was adduced on the trials of Labedoyere and Lavallette would rather authorize a contrary conclusion. Still, however, as discontents waxed more and more bitter, and the jarring interests of contending factions became less and less reconcileable, it is obvious that the thoughts and hopes of the malcontents of every description must finally have centered on Buonaparte, whose name had such charms for the soldiery, the lower class of mechanics, and all other Frenchmen who were "fools to fame."

The first reports from Elba seemed to imply, that Napoleon had devoted his life to the improvement of his limited dominions. He built, he planned, he improved; he erected bridges, palaces, hospitals, fortifications; cut roads and canals, constructed machines, and laid out pleasure-grounds. Nothing seemed either above his power or beneath his notice, if it could contribute to the improvement of his limited dominions. His natural activity of disposition divided his time into the hours of business, study, and recreation, and he seemed to pursue all with equal alacrity. He was affable, and even cordial, (in appearance,) to the numerous strangers whom curiosity led to visit him; spoke of his retirement as Dioclesian might have done in the gardens of Salonica; seemed to consider his political career as ended, and to be now chiefly anxious to explain such passages of his life as met the harsh construction of the world. In giving free and easy answers to those who conversed with him, and especially to Englishmen of rank, Buonaparte found a ready means of communicating to the public such explanations concerning his past life as were best calculated to serve his wishes. More modest than his British apologists, he palliated, instead of denying, the poisoning of his prisoners in Egypt, the massacre at Jaffa, the murder of the Duke D'Enghien, and other enormities. An emperor, a conqueror retired from war, and sequestered from power, must be favourably listened to by those who have the romantic pleasure of hearing him plead his own cause. Milder editions of his crimes began to be circulated in Europe, and, in the curiosity to see and admire the chained tyger, men forgot the ravages which he had committed while at liberty.

In France, especially, there were many disposed to think more favourably of Napoleon in Elba, than of Napoleon on the throne; and gradually, even from the novelty and peculiarity of his situation, he began to excite a very different interest from that which attached to him who levied so many conscriptions, and sacrificed to his ambition so many millions of victims. Every instance of his activity within the little circle of his dominions was contrasted by his admirers with the constitutional inertness of the restored monarch. Excelling as much in the arts of peace as in those of war, it wanted but (they said) the fostering hand and unwearied eye of Napoleon to have rendered France the envy of the universe, had his military affairs permitted the leisure and opportunity which the Bourbons now enjoyed. These allegations, secretly insinuated, and at length loudly murmured, had their usual effects upon the fickle temper of the public; and,

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as the temporary enthusiasm in favour of the Bourbons faded into indifference and aversion, the general horror of Buonaparte's ambitious and tyrannical disposition began to give way to the recollection of his active, energetic, and enterprizing qualities.

This change must soon have been known to him who was its object. An expression is said to have escaped from him during his passage to Elba, which marked, at least, a secret feeling that he might one day recover the high dignity from which he had fallen. "If Marius," he observed, "had slain himself in the marshes of Minturnæ, he would never have enjoyed his seventh consulate." What was perhaps originally but the vague aspirations of an ardent spirit striving against adversity, became, from the circumstances of France, a plausible and well-grounded hope. It required but to establish communications among his numerous and zealous partizans, to hold out such hopes as might lure the jacobins to his standard, to profit by and inflame the growing discontents and divisions of France, and a conspiracy was ready formed, with little exertion on the part of him who soon became its object and its centre. It has been gravely stated, that the Exile of Elba even intrigued with the foreign powers of Europe, in order to induce them to undo the work which, with such labour, they had accomplished, and replace Napoleon on the throne of the Bourbons. To England he is said to have offered the sovereignty of Holland, and to have made proposals of equally extravagant advantage to Russia and Austria. We know this report to be false, so far as Britain is concerned, and we do not believe it in other respects. Such overtures could only have served to sharpen the suspicion with which the Congress regarded Buonaparte, when the allied powers began, too late, to be sensible of the extravagance of their generosity at the treaty of Paris. It was in France and Naples only that Buonaparte could look for allies and confederates.

The situation of Murat, partly owing to his own ambitious views, and partly to the persevering enmity of Talleyrand, was becoming daily more critical. The state of Italy afforded him the most flattering hopes of success in a daring enterprize; the views of France and Austria menaced him with the loss of his kingdom. These causes, which will be more fully developed when we treat of the Italian campaign, rendered Murat peculiarly accessible to the daring suggestions of Napoleon, who, it must be remembered, was at once his master, his brother-in-law, and the author of his fortune. The confidante of their correspondence was the sister of Napoleon, Pauline Borghèse. Lively, bold, active, an intriguer in every sense of the word, this lady performed several voyages betwixt Elba and Naples, the object of which was to re-establish an intimate union of interests betwixt the brothers-in-law. How Murat's share of the adventure terminated, we will detail hereafter.

In France, Buonaparte had doubtless many correspondents; and if his power had lasted longer, we should have heard them make a merit of their share in scheming and forwarding his enterprize. But the term of his success was so short, that although it afforded innumerable reports of this kind, there was no time to discover which of them were true, which forged by the vanity of the narrators, which invented by the government to serve temporary purposes. The materials for this vast conspiracy seem to have lain so ready for combination, the moral sense of the people was so depraved, and their passions so much inflamed, that its ramifications soon

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extended, like those of an immense net, over the whole kingdom of France, and the cord for drawing it was in the hands of Buonaparte. Paris was, of course, the centrical point from which the subordinate agents received their secret instructions; committees of the disaffected were established in the different quarters of the city. The most active members were women, who, having held rank at the court of Buonaparte, had been repulsed or treated with neglect at that of Louis. They were, in general, the wives of Buonaparte's generals and nobles and statesmen, to whom the aristocratic pride of the court-ladies denied the honours of the drawing-room. It is astonishing how much the passions of female emulation and revenge influenced the feelings of their relations, and influenced a grand national catastrophe. A quarrel betwixt two ladies of Queen Anne's household occasioned the peace of Utretcht; and the aristocratic state maintained by the female attendants of the Duchess d'Angouleme, had some share in bringing on the battle of Waterloo. One remarkable agent and victim of the short-lived revolution acknowledged how much he was influenced by such considerations. "I shall no longer," said Ney, when he deserted the cause of his sovereign for that of Buonaparte, "see my wife return from the Tuilleries in tears, on account of the neglect with which she has been treated;" and many, besides the Marechal, felt, though they might not acknowledge, the impulse they received from these womanish grievances. Offended pride hesitates at no measures for gratifying vengeance. Besides the purses of their husbands, or lovers, which, of course, they commanded, many of these female intriguers devoted their jewels to the cause of revolution, and the sale produced considerable sums. The chief of these female conspirators was Hortensia Beauharnois, daughter of Josephine, and wife of Louis Buonaparte, whom his brother created King of Holland, and afterwards deposed. To this person, at once his step-daughter and sister-in-law, Buonaparte was so tenderly attached as to give room for scandal, notwithstanding the propinquity of this double connection. She had been created by Louis, Duchess of St Leu, at the request, it was believed, of the Emperor Alexander, who had magnanimously extended his protection to several of the fallen house of Buonaparte. At Nanterre, Neuilly, and St Leu, meetings of the principal conspirators were held; and her confidential friend, Madame Hamelin, is said to have assisted in concealing the agents whom Buonaparte sent from Elba. The Duchess of Bassano, wife of that Maret, Duke of Bassano, who was considered for some time as Buonaparte's favourite counsellor; with the Duchess of Montebello, (wife of Marechal Lanne,) and other ladies, whose rank at the royal court was inferior to that which they had held at the emperor's, were engaged in the plot. Seductions of every species were used to draw the discontented within the vortex of conspiracy; nor was it safe to become possessed of the secret without joining their measures. It is said that such a confidence was fatal to General Quesnel, who, having repulsed with indignation the treasonable proposals made to him at one of these societies, was soon afterwards assassinated and flung into the Seine.

At the meetings held in the houses of these intriguing females, the whole artillery of conspiracy was forged and put in order, from the political lie, which does its work if believed but for an hour, to the political song or squib, which, like the fire-work from which it derives its name, expresses

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love of frolic or of mischief, according to the nature of the materials amongst which it is thrown. From these places of rendezvous the agents of the plot sallied out upon their respective rounds, furnished with every lure that could rouse the suspicious landholder, attract the idle Parisian, seduce the *Ideologue*, who longed to try the experiments of his Utopian theories upon real government, and above all, secure the military, from the officer, before whose eyes truncheons, coronets, and even crowns, were disposed in ideal prospect, to the grenadier, whose hopes only aimed at blood, brandy, and free quarters.

The lower orders of the populace, particularly those inhabiting the two great suburbs of Saint Marçeau and Saint Antoine, were disposed to the cause from their natural restlessness and desire of change; from the apprehension that the king would discontinue the expensive buildings in which Buonaparte was wont to employ them; from a jacobinical dislike to the lawful title of Louis, joined to some tender aspirations after the happy days of liberty and equality; and lastly, from the disposition which the lees of society every where manifest to get rid of the law, their natural curb and enemy. The influence of Richard Lenoir was particularly useful to the conspirators. He was a wealthy cotton-manufacturer, who combined and disciplined no less than three thousand workmen in his employment, so as to be ready at the first signal of the conspirators. Le Noir was called by the royalists Santerre the Second; being said to aspire, like that celebrated suburbian brewer, to become a general of Sans Culottes. He was bound to Buonaparte's interest by his daughter having married General Lefebre Desnouettes, who was not the less the favourite of Napoleon that he had broken his parole, and fled from England when a prisoner of war. Thus agitated like a lake by a subterranean earthquake, revolutionary movements began to shew themselves amongst the populace. At times, under pretence of scarcity of bread or employment, tumultuous groups assembled on the terrace of the Tuilleries, with clamours which reminded the Duchess D'Angouleme of those which preceded the imprisonment and death of her parents. The police dispersed them for the moment; but, if any arrests were made, it was only of such wretches as shouted when they heard others shout, and no efforts were made to ascertain the real cause of symptoms so alarming.

The police of Paris was at this time under the direction of Mons. D'André, formerly a financier. His loyalty does not seem to have been doubted, but his prudence and activity are very questionable; nor does he seem ever to have been completely master either of the duties of his office, or the tools by which it was to be performed. These tools, in other words, the subordinate agents and officers and clerks, the whole machinery as it were of the police, had remained unchanged since that dreadful power was administered by Savary, Buonaparte's head spy and confidential kidnapper. This body, as well as the army, felt that their honourable occupation was declined in emolument and importance since the fall of Buonaparte, and looked back with regret to the days when they were employed in agencies, dark, secret, and well-recompensed, unknown to a peaceful and constitutional administration. Like evil spirits employed by the spells of a benevolent enchanter, these police-officers seem to have served the king grudgingly and unwillingly; to have neglected their duty, when that could be done with impu-

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nity; and to have shewn that they had lost their activity and omniscience, so soon as embarked in the service of legitimate monarchy.

Under the connivance, therefore, if not with the approbation of the police, conspiracy assumed a more open and daring aspect. Several houses of dubious fame, but especially the Caffé Montanssier, in the Palais Royale, were chosen as places of rendezvous for the subordinate satellites of the cause, where the toasts given, the songs sung, the tunes performed, and the language held, all bore allusion to Buonaparte's glories, his regretted absence, and his desired return. To express their hopes that this event would take place in the spring, the conspirators adopted for their symbol the violet; and afterwards applied to Buonaparte himself the name of Corporal Violet. The flower and the colour were publicly worn as a party distinction, before it would seem the court had taken the least alarm; and the health of Buonaparte, under the name of Corporal Violet, or Jean d'Epée, was pledged by many a royalist without suspicion of the concealed meaning.

Paris was the centre of the conspiracy; but its ramifications extended through France. Clubs were formed in the chief provincial towns. Regular correspondences were established between them and the capital; an intercourse much favoured, it has been asserted, by Lavallette, who, having been long director-general of the posts under Buonaparte, retained considerable influence over the subordinate agents of that department, none of whom had been displaced upon the king's return. It appears from the evidence of Mons. Ferrand, director-general under the king, that the couriers, who, like the soldiers and police-officers, had found more advantage under the imperial than under the royal government, were several of them in the interest of their old master. And it is averred, that the correspondence relating to the conspiracy was carried on through the royal post-office, contained in letters sealed with the king's seal, and dispatched by public messengers wearing his livery.

Such open demonstrations of treasonable practices did not escape the observation of the royalists, and they appear to have been communicated to the ministers from different quarters. But each of these official personages seems scrupulously to have entrenched himself within the routine of his own particular department, so that what was only of general import to the whole, was not considered as the business of any one in particular. Thus, when the stunning catastrophe had happened, each endeavoured to shift the blame from himself, like the domestics in a large and ill-regulated family; and although all acknowledged that gross negligence had existed elsewhere, no one admitted that the fault lay with himself. This general infatuation surprises us upon retrospect; but Heaven, who frequently punishes mankind by the indulgence of their own foolish or wicked desires, had decreed that peace was to be restored to Europe by the extermination of that army to whom peace was a state so odious; and for that purpose it was necessary that they should be successful in their desperate attempt to dethrone their peaceful and constitutional sovereign, and to reinstate the despot who was soon to lead them to the completion of their destiny, and, it may be presumed, of his own.

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CHAP. IX.

Buonaparte embarks at Elba—And lands in France—And marches to Gap.—Suspicions of Treachery in the War Department.—Labedoyere joins Buonaparte with his Regiment.—Revolt of the Troops at Grenoble.—Measures of the Royal Party.—Soult is displaced from the Ministry.—The Treason of Lefebre Desnouettes, and Lallemand is discovered, and prevented.—Defection of the Troops under Macdonald.—Decrees of Lyons.—Buonaparte's progress to Auxerre.—His Interview with the Vicar-General.—Ney is appointed to command against Buonaparte.—He deserts and joins him.—The King visits the Chamber of Deputies.—Their Enthusiasm in the Royal Cause.—A Camp formed at Melun—But its Fidelity is doubted.—The King leaves Paris—Is expelled from Lisle—And compelled to Retreat to Ghent.—Disasters of his Followers.—Defection of the Army at Melun.—State of Affairs at Paris.—Buonaparte enters the Capital and completes the Revolution.—Fickleness of the People and their Leaders.

ALL was now prepared in France, and waited but the presence of the head of the conspiracy. It is said, that for some time previous to his taking the last desperate step a gloom was observed to hang upon Buonaparte's mind. He shunned society, was solitary and moody, relinquished his usual exercises and amusements, and seemed to brood over some dark and important thoughts. That he deeply considered the consequence to others of the measure he was about to adopt, we cannot believe; but it was fraught with such personal risk and danger as might well have startled him. If he failed in making the desired impression on the mind of the French soldiers and the people, he could hardly expect to avoid death; and if he succeeded, he had still to oppose the force of a lately subdued and divided nation against the united strength of Europe, grown wise by experience, and familiar at once with the road to Paris and with the safest path to peace through the temple of victory. The die, however, was cast, and it was no longer time to draw back.

Some previous steps had been cautiously ventured upon. Three hundred of Buonaparte's old guard had been landed at Frejus, under the character of disbanded soldiers. It was by means of these men that the allegiance of the military was corrupted and seduced, and their minds prepared for what was to ensue. We cannot suppose that such a number of persons were positively entrusted with the secret, but every one of them was prepared to sound forth the praises of the emperor in his exile, and all entertained and disseminated the persuasion that he would soon appear to reclaim his rights.

On Sunday, 26th February, the troops who had followed Buonaparte to the is- *Feb.* 26.

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land of Elba received orders to embark. That the imprudence of the treaty of Fontainbleau might be complete, the mimic emperor had been left in possession of a small flotilla that he might have another chance of becoming master of a real one. The vessels were, a brig called the Inconstant, some zebecks and row-boats, in all seven transports, on board of which nine hundred soldiers were embarked. The final resolution was kept so secret, that even Bertrand was a stranger to it until an hour before its being carried into execution. The officers were most of them engaged at a ball given by Pauline Borghese, the sister of Buonaparte, and only left it to go on board the little squadron. The general officers who attended Buonaparte, were Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne, together with the director of the mines, Monsieur Porrs de Cette, who had contributed largely to the expence of the expedition. A proclamation from General Lapi, calling *himself* governor of the island of Elba, first announced to the inhabitants that their temporary emperor was recalled by Providence to a wider career of glory.

Sir Niel Campbell, appointed by the British government to reside in the isle of Elba at the court of Buonaparte, was absent on a short expedition to the coast of Italy, a circumstance which doubtless had some share in determining the moment of the embarkation; for although the British officer had neither the authority nor the efficient means to prevent Buonaparte and his guards from going whenever they thought fit, yet his absence might be represented as a connivance on the part of England at the step which the ex-emperor of France had adopted, and no means of delusion were now to be omitted. When, on its return, the English sloop of war Partridge, in which Sir Niel Campbell was, approached the isle, the appearance of the national guard on the batteries, instead of the helmetted grenadiers of the imperial guard, at once apprised the British resident of what had happened. When he landed, he found the mother and sister of Buonaparte in a well-painted agony of anxiety about the fate of their emperor, of whom they affected to know nothing, except that he had steered towards the coast of Barbary. They appeared extremely desirous to detain Sir Niel Campbell on shore. Resisting their entreaties, and repelling the more pressing arguments of the governor, who seemed somewhat disposed to use force to prevent him from reimbarking, Sir Niel Campbell regained his vessel, and set sail in pursuit of the adventurer. But it was too late; they only attained a distant sight of the flotilla, after Buonaparte and his forces had landed.

In their passage the adventurers made a narrow escape, as they fell in with a royal French frigate. The soldiers on board of the Inconstant were commanded to put off their caps and lie down upon the deck, while the captain of the brig exchanged some questions of ordinary civility with the captain of the frigate, to whom he chanced to be known. This done, each vessel followed her own course, and Buonaparte, on the 1st of March, found himself once more on the coast of France, off Frejus, in the gulf of St Juan. Here, in token of his resumed pretensions to the throne of France, he caused his attendants and soldiers assume the tri-coloured cockade, and throw into the sea those which they had worn in Elba. This was done with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*; and under these colours and auspices they commenced their disembarkation.

It seemed essential to the success of an enterprise, which rested entirely

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on popular opinion, that all its first steps should be prosperous; but this was not the case: A party of twenty-five men, disembarked as a forlorn hope to possess themselves of Antibes, were arrested by General Corsin, the commandant of the place. The Elbese officer, in an attempt to escape, precipitated himself into the ditch of the fort, and broke his back. Such another example of fidelity to the Bourbons as that of Corsin, would have entirely ruined the expedition of the Emperor of Elba, but he hastened to seek out men with minds better prepared to receive him. The general disembarkment took place at Cannes, about five in the afternoon, and the adventurers instantly commenced their march, with a band of scarce a thousand men, into the heart of a kingdom, from which their leader had been so lately expelled with execration, and where his rival enjoyed in undisturbed peace a hereditary throne. The people of the country looked on them with doubtful and wondering eyes, fearful alike to hail them as friends, or to resist them as invaders; for if, on the one hand, appearances seemed to declare the attempt desperate, on the other, the very fact of its being adventured, in despite of these appearances, shewed that Buonaparte had some secret grounds for confidence. In their first marches they were avoided by all who had property or reputation to risk. No proprietors appeared, no clergy, no public functionaries. Some of the lower order of peasants assembled and shouted *Vive l'Empereur*, won by the daring and romantic circumstances of the undertaking; but there was nothing which seemed to give the enterprize the solidity of well-grounded hope. From Cannes they marched to Grasse without halting, and leaving at Grasse six field-pieces, which retarded their march, pressed forward to Cerenon, where they made a halt on the evening of the 2d of March, after a march of twenty leagues. The marches of the two succeeding days brought Napoleon into Dauphiné, called the cradle of the revolution, and of all the provinces of France most partial to its tenets and its heroes. Here the resort to Buonaparte became more general, and the acclamations of welcome more decided. In the district of the Lower Alps, as the *Moniteur* afterwards informed the public, the peasants thronged from every quarter, and testified their joy with an energy which left no doubt of its sincerity. Still, however, those who hailed the march with acclamations, were persons of the lowest ranks. All who had anything to hazard stood aloof and waited the event.

Buonaparte was fast approaching a point where he must come into collision with a considerable body of troops; for the government, long and late in taking the alarm, had at length received intelligence, or rather had listened to that which facts forced upon them, and were adopting measures to defeat his enterprise, and directing forces against the invader.

Among all the wonderful circumstances attending this singular revolution, the stupid insensibility of the royal ministers to the imminent danger in which they were involved, is by far the most remarkable. Repeated intimations of the conspiracy (a conspiracy embracing so wide a circle could hardly be kept secret) had been offered to the government. Yet while the opposite faction were so well informed, that a public journal (*Le Naine Jaune*) actually alluded enigmatically to Buonaparte's landing at Cannes* on the very day when it took place,

* It was thus expressed, "Our correspondent writes to-day with a pen made of cane (*plume de Canne,*) to-morrow he will write with a goose-quill."

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repeated informations dispatched to the Abbé Montesquieu by the Marquis de Bouthillier, prefect of the department of Var, had no force to compel the attention of the minister in whose cabinet the dispatches were found unopened. In the mean while, large bodies of troops had received orders from Soult, the minister at war, to move towards Grenoble. In the defence which this officer afterwards published, he allows that this circumstance, joined with the subsequent defection of those troops, which seemed, as it were, thrown into Buonaparte's way on purpose that they might join him, must necessarily excite doubts on the purity of his intentions. But he alleges that the cause of these movements was a request from Talleyrand, then representative of France at the Congress, that an army of 30,000 or40,000 men should be formed in the south, between Lyons and Chamberri, in order that the kingdom's state of military preparation might authorise the high language he had begun to hold to the other powers. If this excuse was more than a mere pretext, Soult unintentionally served Buonaparte as effectually as if he had been in the secret of the conspiracy; for the number, the appointments, and, above all, the spirit, both of soldiers and officers, were such as exactly suited his purposes. The same day brought to Paris an account of these military dispositions, with the astounding intelligence that Buonaparte had landed at Cannes. All, therefore, rested on the temper of these troops. If zealous in the royal cause, they were ten times more than sufficient to crush Buonaparte's project in the bud; if they proved disloyal, they might afford him almost the certain means of accomplishing it with safety. There was a strong garrison at Grenoble, which Buonaparte now approached. All seemed to turn upon the manner in which these troops should conduct themselves.

The commandant of Grenoble was General Marchand, a loyal and brave man. The Mareschal-de-camp Des Villiers, who commanded in the neighbouring town of Chamberri, had justly the same character. His force had been augmented on the 7th of March by the junction of the seventh regiment of the line, under their colonel, La Bedoyere. This man had scarce attained the age of twenty-nine; he was distinguished for personal grace and military accomplishment. His birth was noble; and the romantic misfortunes of some of his ancestors had already furnished a subject for a fictitious narrative,* to which his own story might make a melancholy sequel. Married to a lady of the family of Damas, distinguished for nobility alike and loyalty, La Bedoyere had availed himself of their interest to obtain the command which he now held in the army, and his wife's relations had become guarantees to the king for the loyalty of their relative. With all these motives for maintaining his allegiance, La Bedoyere had engaged frankly and deeply in the conspiracy, seduced by the military talents of Buonaparte, and the distinctions which he had formerly received from him. He entered into the treason with all the boiling audacity of his character, and came prepared to be the first in the path of apostacy. He had secretly brought with his regiment, when it marched from Chamberri, one of those eagles, which, like that of Marius worshipped by Catiline, had been reverently preserved to be, on some fitting occa-

* See a romance by Arnaud de Baculier, entitled "Le Epoux Malheureux, ou L'Histoire de Monsieur et Mademoiselle La Bedoyere," printed at the Hague in 1773.

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sion, the type and banner of revolt and civil war.* He was also provided with national cockades, which were concealed within the hollow of the drums. Buonaparte had held repeated communications with this officer by means of Cambrone, and all was prepared for the part he was to play on this important occasion.

The first meeting betwixt Buonaparte and the soldiers of Louis took place near the village of Mure, where the outposts of the garrison of Grenoble were posted. The adventurer advanced towards them, accompanied only by an aid-de-camp, and two or three officers; the soldiers kept their ranks, but seemed irresolute. "He that would slay his emperor," said Napoleon, advancing and opening his bosom, "let him now act his pleasure." The appeal was irresistible—the soldiers threw down their arms, crowded around the general who had led them so often to victory, and shouted, with one voice, *Vive l'Empereur!* This scene was doubtless so prepared as to ensure the probability of its passing with safety to Buonaparte's person; but, allowing all possible precautions to have been taken by the disaffected officers in seducing men of kindred feelings, so many chances might have deranged their calculations, that Napoleon must not be denied the credit of having gone through this trying scene with venturous courage and decision. The soldiers instantly united their ranks with those of Elba, and continued to advance towards Grenoble, whence fresh reinforcements had already sallied to join them.

Des Villiers, commandant of Chamberri, had reached Grenoble on the morning of the 7th, with his brigade of four battalions, and was disposing his troops for the defence of the place, when two battalions of the 7th regiment, commanded by La Bedoyere, left the town without orders, and took the road for Gap, where Napoleon was quartered. No sooner were they beyond the gates, than they displayed the eagle, mounted the tri-coloured cockades, fired their pieces in the air, and shouted, *Vive l'Empereur!* Des Villiers pursued and overtook them, compelling such stragglers as he met to return to the town. At the head of the regiment he found Colonel La Bedoyere, leading it on with his sword drawn. He urged him to return, in the name of his family, king, country, and honour. The infatuated young man only replied by asserting his determination to join the emperor; and Des Villiers, after having discharged his duty to the uttermost, was compelled to return alone to Grenoble. General Marchand attempted in vain to find support among the remaining soldiery, for the wavering were determined, and the timid confirmed, by the decided step of La Bedoyere. Buonaparte was already in the suburbs; the gate of Bonne was forced open to make way for him, the keys having been secured by the commandant;—he entered the place amid the shouts of the soldiers and the rabble; the garrison destined to oppose him became his own troops, and General Marchand his prisoner. Ashamed, however, to treat him harshly, and sensible of the advantage his cause would derive from a shew of clemency, he dismissed Gen. March-

* The classical reader cannot have forgotten the passage in Cicero's Oration against Catiline, in which this eagle is mentioned, "*Sciam a quo aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi, ac tuis omnibus perniciosam esse confido et funestam futuram; cui domi tuæ sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit, sciam esse præmissam? Tu ut illa diutius carere possis, quam venerari, ad cædem proficiscens, solebas? a cujus altaribus sæpe istam dexteram impiam ad necem civium transtulisti?*"

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and with a compliment to his fidelity. The magistrates urged the hero of the day to take up his abode in the house of the mayor, but he conceived he owed that distinction to an inn called the Three Dolphins, the master of which, Labarre, had served formerly in his corps of guards. In this place the members of the conspiracy had held many private meetings; and, in the month of January preceding, it was said Bertrand had been his guest, disguised as a waggoner, upon a secret expedition from the Isle of Elba. Grenoble, thus fallen, placed him at the head of a small army of nearly three thousand men of all arms, with a considerable train of artillery, and corresponding magazines of ammunition, which, in the opinion of many, had been deposited in that town in order that they might augment his resources.

All, meanwhile, was bustle and confusion at Paris. The first news of Buonaparte's arrival on the coast of Provence, reached Paris the day before he occupied Grenoble, and like a distant peal of thunder in a serene day, rather excited surprise and curiosity than apprehension. But when it was known that he had traversed the country with his handful of men without semblance of opposition, mens' minds became agitated with the apprehension of some strange and combined treason. That the Bourbons might not be wanting to their own cause, Monsieur, with the Duke of Orleans, set instantly out for Lyons, to make head against the invader in the south, and the Duke D'Angouleme, who was at Bourdeaux, had instructions to repair to Nismes. Meanwhile, the spirit of the better orders of the legislative bodies, and of the national guards, seemed to be roused, and to express itself decidedly in favour of Louis XVIII. The Count de Viomenil, a royalist, and the Count de Latour-Maubourg, a constitutionalist, each enrolled a corps of royal volunteers, which were speedily filled up. The ancient noblesse hastened to offer their services to augment the household troops; and the temporary enthusiasm in favour of the Bourbons rose so high, that a female exclaimed on the staircase of the Tuilleries, as the king shewed himself to the assembled multitude, "If Louis has not men enough to fight for him, let him summon to arms the widows and childless mothers whom the usurper has rendered miserable." An appeal, drawn up by Benjamin Constant, was remarkable for the eloquence which it breathed, as well as for the subsequent conduct of the author. It placed in the most striking light the contrast between the lawful government of a constitutional monarch, and the usurpation of an Attila, or Genghis, who governed only by the sword of his Mamelukes. It reminded France of the general detestation with which Buonaparte had been expelled, and proclaimed them to be the scorn of Europe, should they again stretch their hands voluntarily to the shackles which they had burst and hurled from them. All Frenchmen were summoned to arms, more especially those to whom liberty was dear; for in the triumph of Buonaparte it must find its grave forever.—"With Louis," said the addr[illegible] "was peace and happiness;—with Buonaparte, war, misery, and desolation."

It was resolved to form a camp at Melun for the protection of the capital. Meanwhile, Buonaparte was declared an outlaw by the royal proclamation; addresses poured in to the king from every quarter; the diplomatic body of ambassadors and envoys of foreign powers hastened to assure him of the amity and friendly disposition of their sovereigns; and the most animating proclamations called on the people and army to rally around the sovereign. Distrust, however, speedi

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ly followed on learning the defection at Grenoble, and Soult, the minister at war, was its first object. It was remarked, that the arrangement of the troops in the south had been such as had completely answered Buonaparte's plan. It was remembered that Soult had precipitated the king upon the affair of Excelman, which his predecessor had hushed up, and that many of his words and actions were particularly calculated to disgust the officers on half-pay, to whom, when they became clamorous in their petitions, he used to recommend to go and drown themselves. Yet now, one of the same minister's favourite resources was to call out these very half-pay officers, as if, having first rendered them the king's enemies by his conduct, he was determined they should not want the means and opportunity of acting effectually to his ruin. Having heard that there was a design to impeach him before the Chamber of Deputies, Soult took the measure of resigning his situation of minister, and offered his sword to the king, with the portfolio of his office. Louis accepted his resignation with apparent reluctance, for it might have been dangerous to express doubts of the fidelity of a popular general at this trying crisis, and returned his sword with expressions of confidence, to which the marshal probably listened with haughty indifference and contempt. The port-folio of the war-minister was given to Clerk, (called Duke of Feltré) a more worthy man, though less known as a soldier than his predecessor. To accept a situation so responsible at a moment of such danger, and on such brief warning, was in itself an act of loyal devotion, with which every action of the new minister corresponded. Daily instances now occurred to shew the danger of the task he had undertaken.

Measures had been concerted among the conspirators that the troops in the north of France might be induced to declare for Buonaparte, whilst those in Dauphiné joined his standard. The principal agents in this quarter were the dishonoured Lefebre Desnouettes, (known in England by his breach of parole) and General Allemand, with his brother. Had this part of the scheme succeeded like the others, the person of Louis must have fallen into the power of his enemy, since his retreat to Belgium, which he afterwards accomplished with difficulty, would have been totally intercepted. On the 10th of March, Lefebre, arriving from Lisle at Cambray, announced to his regiment of chasseurs the royal orders that they should advance to Compeigne. Various occurrences on the route tended to excite the suspicions of Baron Lyons, the major, and other officers; and on their arrival at Compeigne, they compelled their commanding officer to throw off the mask, and announce his intention to lead them over to the emperor. The officers refused to listen to his arguments, and Lefebre was obliged to make a hasty escape from the arrest with which they threatened him. The plan of General Allemand corresponded with that of Lefebre. Six thousand men of the garrison of Lisle were put in motion by forged orders, under pretext that there was an insurrection at Paris. This part of the conspiracy was deranged by the accidental arrival of Marechal Mortier, who, meeting the troops on the march, detected and defeated the conspiracy. The two Allemands fled, but were taken by the police. To have executed them instantly as traitors, might have struck terror into such as wavered in their allegiance; but the ministers dared not venture on a measure of such energy.

Meanwhile the enemy, although the northern conspiracy had failed, became more formidable every day.

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When Monsieur and the Duke of Orleans arrived at Lyons, where they were joined by Marechal Macdonald, they used every effort to awaken a spirit of loyalty among the troops and people. The national guard seemed favourably disposed, but the mob of the large suburb of La Guillotiere, where the lower order of manufacturers dwelt, openly raised the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*. The troops of the line were mournful and silent; and to the personal appeals which Monsieur made to individuals among them, they answered plainly, that they would not fight against their ancient commander. "You, at least," said Monsieur, addressing himself to a soldier, scarred with marks of combat, and wearing three badges of military distinction,—"You, at least, as becomes a brave Frenchman, will cry *Vive le Roi!*" "I will not," answered the veteran sternly,—"not a soldier here will fight against their father.—I will cry *Vive l'Empereur!*" While matters were in this state, the advanced guard of the enemy approached the suburbs. Marechal Macdonald marched against them with two battalions, and occupied the bridge which divides the city from the suburb La Guillotiere. But on the advance of Napoleon, Macdonald's troops broke their ranks, and deserted their leader, so soon as they beheld the well-known eagles and the tri-coloured cockades of Buonaparte's followers. After exerting every effort to bring back his soldiers to better sentiments, and having very nearly become their prisoner in the attempt, the marechal carried back news to the princes that all was lost. The temper of the troops which remained in the city was the same, or even worse, than that of the battalions which Macdonald had led forward, and Monsieur had no alternative but a speedy and almost a solitary flight. The ancient capital of the Gauls, with its wealth, population, military stores, and materials of every kind, was abandoned to the invader, who entered amid the shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, and might now be said, for the first time, to head an army, whose numerical strength, though it did not exceed seven thousand men, bore some proportion to his high pretensions. In public opinion he was yet more formidable, since the princes of the house of Bourbon, after their utmost efforts, having been completely foiled, saw themselves obliged to retr at before him. All hope was now over that the invader could be destroyed by a single blow, and the most sanguine royalists saw before them the bloody and doubtful prospect of a civil war. Macon, Chalons, Dijon, and almost all Burgundy followed the example of Lyons, and declared for the emperor. On the other hand, Provence, animated with the same spirit which pervaded the town of Marseilles, raised troops in the royal name; and the south of France, influenced by the example of Bourdeaux, seemed to espouse the same cause.

At Lyons Buonaparte made a pause, and was joined by some of the civilians of his party, while he received communications and assurances of fidelity from others. In the course of his rapid march, his guards had dispersed an address, in their own name, to their ancient companions in arms, and others, in the name of their master, addressed to the army and to the people. They were of a martial character,—spoke of recovering the glory of France, and promised that victory should march at the charging step, and the eagle, with the national colours, fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre Dame. It was now necessary to give to his cause such a colour as should have a shade of civil right as well as of military power. He commenced the organi-

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zation of his government and administration. Cambaceres was named minister of justice; Carnot, of the interior; Fouché, of the police; and Davoust, minister at war. Decrees upon decrees issued forth with a rapidity which shewed how Buonaparte had employed those studious hours at Elba, which he was supposed to have dedicated to the composition of his Memoirs. They ran in the name of Napoleon, by the grace of God, Emperor of France, and were dated on the 13th of March, although not promulgated until the 21st of that month. The first of these decrees abrogated all changes in the courts of justice and tribunals which had taken place during the absence of Napoleon. The second displaced all officers belonging to the class of emigrants, and introduced into the army by the king. The third suppressed the order of St Louis, the white flag and cockade, and other royal emblems, and restored the three-coloured banner, and the imperial symbols of Buonaparte's authority. The same decree abolished the Swiss guard and the household troops of the king. The fourth sequestered the effects of the Bourbons. And a similar ordinance sequestered the restored property of emigrant families, and was so artfully worded as to represent great changes of property having taken place in this manner. The fifth decree of Lyons suppressed the ancient nobility and feudal titles, and formally confirmed proprietors of national domains in their possessions. The sixth declared sentence of banishment against all emigrants not erased from the list previous to the accession of the Bourbons, to which was added confiscation of their property. The seventh respected the Legion of Honour, and restored that order in every respect as it had existed under the emperor, uniting to its funds the confiscated revenues of the order of St Louis. The eighth and last decree was the most important of all. Under pretence that emigrants who had borne arms against France had been introduced into the body of the peers, and that the Chamber of Deputies had already sate for the legal time, it dissolved both Chambers, and convoked the Electoral Colleges of the Empire, in order that they might hold, in the ensuing month of May, an extraordinary assembly of the *Champ-de-Mai*. This convocation, for which the inventor found a name in the history of the ancient Franks, was to have two objects: First, to make such alterations and reformations in the constitution of the empire as circumstances should render advisable. Secondly, to assist at the coronation of the Empress and of the King of Rome.

We cannot pause to criticize these various enactments. In general, however, it may be remarked, that they were admirably calculated to serve Napoleon's cause. They flattered the army, and at the same time heated their resentment against the emigrants, by insinuating that they had been sacrificed by Louis to the interest of these his followers. They held out to the republicans a speedy prospect of confiscations, proscriptions, and revolutions of government; while the imperialists were gratified with a view of ample funds for pensions, offices, and honorary decorations. To the proprietors of national domains was promised security, to the Parisians, the spectacle of the *Champ-de-Mai*; and to all France, peace and tranquillity, since the arrival of the empress and her son, so confidently asserted to be at hand, must be considered as a pledge of the friendship of Austria. Russia was also said to be friendly to Napoleon, and the conduct of Alexander toward the members of Buonaparte's family was boldly appealed to as evidence of the fact. England, it

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was said, befriended him, else how could he have escaped from an isle surrounded by her naval force? Prussia, therefore, alone, might be hostile and unappeased; but, unsupported by the other belligerent powers, Prussia must remain passive, or would soon be reduced to reason. The very pleasure in mortifying one, at least, of the late victors of Paris, gave a zest and poignancy to the revolution, which the concurrence of the other great states would, according to Buonaparte, render easy and peaceful. Such news were carefully disseminated through France by Buonaparte's adherents. They preceded his march, and prepared the minds of men to receive him as their destined master.

On the 13th, Buonaparte recommenced his journey, and, advancing through Maçon, Chalons, and Dijon, he reached Auxerre on the 17th March. His own mode of travelling rather resembled that of a prince, who, weary of the fatigue of state, wishes to extricate himself as much as possible from its trammels, than that of an adventurer coming at the head of an army of insurgents to snatch a crown from the head of a lawful monarch who wore it. He travelled several hours in advance of his army, often without any guard, or, at most, attended only by a few Polish lancers. The country through which he journied was favourable to his pretensions. It had been severely treated by the allies during the military manœuvres of the last campaign, and the dislike of the suffering inhabitants extended itself to the family who had mounted the throne by the influence of these strangers. When, therefore, they saw the late emperor among them alone, without guards, enquiring, with his usual appearance of active interest, into the extent of their losses, and making liberal promises to repair them, it is no wonder that they should rather remember the battles he had fought in their behalf against the foreigners, than think on the probability that his presence among them might be the precursor of a second invasion.

The revolutionary fever preceded Buonaparte like an epidemic disorder. The 14th regiment of lancers, quartered at Auxerre, trampled under foot the white cockade at the first signal; the sixth regiment of lancers declared also for Napoleon, and, without waiting for orders, drove a few soldiers of the household troops from Montereau, and secured that important post, which commands the passage of the Seine. The infectious disorder did not, however, reach the clergy. The Abbé Viart, vicar-general of the cathedral of Auxerre, had a remarkable interview with Buonaparte at that place. "You priests," said Buonaparte, "are all factious." "I know none of this diocese," answered the vicar-general, "who deserve such a reproach." "The peasants detest you." "If you will enquire among the superior classes of society, you will find we possess their confidence and esteem." "You speak of nothing but tithes." "It is, perhaps, the first time," was the reply, "that the word has been mentioned here, and it does not now come from the mouth of a priest." "Of a priest!" said Buonaparte; "it was I who established the fortune of the priesthood." "The benefit," replied Viart, "should not be forgotten, however inadequate that fortune has proved." "They have as ample provision as in other states of Europe," rejoined Napoleon. "In other states," replied Viart, "their appointments may be aided by local resources; in France, as is well known, they cannot." "Priests ought to have no more; the gospel prescribes that they detach their thoughts from worldly things." "It prescribes the same self-denial to all men," replied

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the Abbé, firmly; "but the clergy would not complain of their poverty, did it not impede their usefulness among the rude common people, who contemn their indigence." "Enough, enough," said Buonaparte; "retire." At this angry expression, which he accompanied with a stamp, the vicar-general signed the cross, and, saying "Blessed be his name who humbleth us," left the apartment. Buonaparte was speedily consoled for the inflexibility of the churchman by a most remarkable instance of defection which took place ere he left Auxerre.

When Louis cast his eyes around him for a general whose interest in the hearts of the soldiers might be opposed to that of Buonaparte, the name of Ney had not escaped him. This officer, bred to the trade of a cooper in the little village of Sarre Louis, had elevated himself, by his desperate bravery and military skill, to the rank of Mareschal, Duke, and Prince of Buonaparte's empire. He learned the rudiments of war as a partisan in a regiment of hussars, and retained, through his whole career, a tincture of that wild service. He was licentious in every particular, but brave to the most determined degree, active, skilful, unwearied, and ardent, and indisputably the best general of light troops in the French service. His name appears in the most brilliant campaigns of the revolution; and in Russia his gallantry preserved the reliques of Napoleon's army during their disastrous retreat, particularly at the battle of Krasnoe. On that occasion he forced his way, with a handful of men, through such disproportioned force of the Russians, that he appeared before Buonaparte when all had given him up for lost. Napoleon threw his arms around his neck, and exclaimed, that he no longer regretted his losses, since fortune had preserved his dear cousin, the undaunted Duke of Elchingen. Since the accession of the Bourbons, Ney had resided chiefly at his country seat of Coudreaux, and seemed estranged from the court, though it was much frequented by his wife.* Upon the landing of Buonaparte, Ney was summoned to Paris by an aid-de-camp of the minister of war. On the 7th March he had a personal interview with Louis, and expressed himself in the strongest terms of devotion and fidelity. The Prince de Poix, who was present at the interview, deposed upon the Marechal's trial, that, in answer to the king's expression that he relied on his devoted faith, Ney stooped, and kissed with emotion the hand which Louis held out to him, exclaiming, "I hope to bring him to your majesty in a cage of iron."† His destination was to command an army of reserve, which, it was imagined, his interest with the troops might render wor-

* Mademoiselle Ney was the second daughter of Mademoiselle Auguié, waiting-woman to Marie Antoinette, and so faithful to her mistress that she precipitated herself from a high window upon hearing of the queen's execution, and died in consequence. But she was also the niece of a certain Mademoiselle de Compans, who kept a boarding-school near St Cloud, an institution favourable, it was said, both to the politics and pleasures of Buonaparte.

† Ney, upon his trial, endeavoured to explain away this phrase. He admitted he had said something about an iron cage, but only meant that Buonaparte deserved such a reward for his temerity. But it was a favourite expression with the Marechal. He said to Monsieur Dranges de Bourcia, the sub-prefect of Poligny, that Buonaparte should be attacked like a wild animal, and brought in a cage of iron to Paris. "A tumbril would do better," said the sub-prefect. "By no means," answered Ney, "you do not understand the Parisians; they must have a *sight* of him through the bars."

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thy of trust, for the purpose of seconding the efforts of Monsieur, who had just departed from Lyons. For this purpose, he went to Besançon, where, on the 11th March, he learned the occupation of Lyons by Buonaparte, and the defection of the troops stationed in that city. He continued to assemble troops from the various neighbouring garrisons, as if to assume a position for attacking Buonaparte on flank and rear when he should move forward upon Paris. To those who objected the bad disposition of the soldiers, and remarked that he would have difficulty in inducing them to fight, Ney answered determinedly, "They *shall* fight; I will take a musket from a grenadier and begin the action myself;—I will run my sword to the hilt in the first who hesitates to follow my example." To the minister at war he wrote, that all were dazzled by the activity and rapid progress of the invader; that the invader was favoured by the common people and the soldiers, but that the officers and civil authorities were loyal, and he still hoped "to see a fortunate close of this mad enterprise." In the night between the 13th and 14th, he received in private an emissary from Buonaparte, with a letter, in Bertrand's hand-writing, summoning him as "the bravest of the brave," a name which Buonaparte sometimes gave to Ney, to join the imperial standard. On his trial he affirmed, that this was his first communication with Buonaparte since his exile; but it is certain that he had formerly represented his return as an event long arranged by himself and the other marechals. At any rate, if, hitherto, he had served the king with good faith, his fidelity gave way exactly five days after he had parted from Louis with professions of such profound devotion. On the morning of the 14th, he communicated to Generals Bourmont and Lecourbe his intention to join Buonaparte. It was in vain that these officers warmly urged him to remain stedfast in his duty; his resolution was formed. An order of the day, or proclamation, informed the soldiers under his command, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever, and that the marechal, who had often led them to victory, was now about to march them to join the immortal phalanx which the emperor was conducting to Paris, there to establish for ever the happiness of France. This proclamation was received by the soldiers with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*; Buonaparte's colours and standard were instantly displayed, and his adherents took the license of pillaging several houses in the place. But the superior officers regarded the conduct of Ney as an act of gross dishonour and treachery. Bourmont, Lecourbe, the Marquis de la Genetiere, and others, even his own aid-de-camp, the Baron Clouet, left the army in disgust. Another officer of rank gave a yet stronger testimony against this act of unparalleled treason. He came before Ney, and thus addressed him: "It is easier for a man of honour to break iron than to break his word;" then snapping his sword asunder, he threw it at the marechal's feet. "To prove what I say, there lie the fragments of the sword with which I came to fight under your orders." He then turned his back on the marechal, and left the town. Ney, unmoved by the scorn thus poured on him, proceeded to carry his treachery into effect, and joined Buonaparte, who received him with open arms. His defection did incalculable mischief to the king's cause, by showing that the very highest rank in the army was infected by the same spirit of treason which possessed the common soldiers.

All was now apprehension at Paris. False intelligence, communicated by the telegraph, had announced the destruction of Buonaparte before Lyons,

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This served for the moment to paralize the efforts of the royalists, when every moment was precious, and, when discovered, it spread discouragement, by shewing that the public channels of intelligence were in possession of the enemy. The return of Monsieur, with the melancholy intelligence of the occupation of Lyons, at once dispersed the vain hopes which this annunciation had spread through the royalists, and which rendered the real calamity doubly astounding. The last stake for the kingdom was now to be played: The king attended the sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on the 16th of March, where he was received with lively tokens of respect and affection. He reminded them of his labours for the benefit of France; of the honourable peace which he had procured for her when resistance was no longer available. "I fear not," he said, "for myself. What can befall me better at the age of sixty than death in defence of my kingdom! It is for France I fear, to which he, who is now approaching, brings the scourge both of civil and foreign war. Let us rally around our constitutional charter, which I here swear to maintain. Let the concurrence of the chambers give authority and impulse to our just defence, and the termination of the war will shew what a great nation, loyal to its monarch and laws, can do for their protection." This touching appeal, rendered yet more affecting by the benevolent looks and impressive delivery of the aged monarch, was received with shouts of "Long live the king,—we are his for life and death!" Monsieur, in his own name, and that of the princes of his house, swore fidelity to the king and the charter; and the brothers threw themselves into each other's arms as he concluded the oath. The hall echoed with the most enthusiastic acclamations, and it seemed impossible but that such bursts of loyalty must have been followed by the most active and zealous exertions. Laws were hastily passed for the satisfaction of such grievances as the army had complained of; for calling out the population to arms; for recompensing those who should effectually serve the king; for pardoning those whom the invader had deluded; and for declaring the irrevocability of the national domains, and affording security against the re-establishment of tithes or feudal services. These were wise and provident measures, so far as they went to organise resistance to the immediate danger: but in so far as they were calculated to obviate the suspicions of the soldiers and proprietors of national domains, they were impolitic, since the application of such remedies seemed to acknowledge that ground had actually existed for the calumnies by which those suspicions had been excited.

Louis next reviewed the garrison of Paris. The troops of the line, amounting to 6000 men, received him in silence indeed, but with respect. They were ordered to march upon Melun, and a part of the national guard was embodied with them. Other troops were assembled at the same point, and the royal army, in point of numbers, appeared to double that which was marching toward Paris under Buonaparte; but the afflicting news of the treachery of Ney, shewed how little dependence could be placed on the regular troops. The point of confiding in them, was the subject of a warm discussion at a general council held in the Tuilleries, in which the presence of the king did not prevent the generals and nobles present from using the most intemperate language towards each other. Louis retired in despair, well aware that this disunion shewed of itself the fallen state of his fortunes. He now made preparations for retiring from his capital, without

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even awaiting the issue of the meeting betwixt Buonaparte's army and the troops at Melun. What indeed could be expected from them, after the successive revolts of Grenoble, Lyons, and Lons le Saulnier!

The king departed from Paris at one o'clock on the morning of the 20th. The national guard thronged around him, and asked permission to spend their lives in his defence. Tears and sobs burst from the crowd, who, even at this hour, surrounded his carriage. "Dry your tears, my friends," said the good monarch, "I will soon return to you!" Escorted by his household troops, and attended by his family, he took the road to Lisle.

In the morning, a proclamation, placarded through the city, informed the Parisians that the king was gone to seek, in another part of his kingdom, not better subjects than they, but such as were more favourably situated to serve his cause. The session of the two chambers was declared to be closed until the king should announce to them his provisional seat of government.

The misfortunes which had attended Louis during the greater part of his life, continued to pursue his journey. Every where he was received by the citizens with shouts of welcome, but with sullen silence by the armed soldiery, who alone could effectually have assisted him. The household troops marched by Amiens, while Louis himself hastened to secure Lisle, the strongest fortified town in France, by possession of which he could have opened the gates of the kingdom to his foreign auxiliaries, or formed a place of arms, while he assembled around him the more faithful part of his subjects. This plan was defeated by the conduct of Mortier, who, while maintaining a seeming allegiance to the king, contrived to serve most effectually the cause of his old master. The garrison of Lisle had shortly before declared for the emperor, under D'Erlon, (president of the court-martial by whom Excelman was acquitted), and had actually left the city in order to march to join him. The disposition of the inhabitants, and of the adjacent country, was excellent, and there was no doubt that the king might have maintained this last asylum within the French territory, if Marechal Mortier had not caused these revolted troops of the line to re-enter the city. He had no sooner done so, than he informed the king that he could not be responsible for their fidelity. After Louis had spent some hours in vainly attempting to conciliate the soldiery, Mortier at length insisted on his quitting Lisle, himself escorting him to the gates, to save him, he pretended, from the fury of the soldiers, excited by the report that the Duke of Berri was on the point of arriving with the household troops to possess himself of the city. The unfortunate monarch, thus compelled to a second exile, departed to Ostend, and from thence to Ghent, where he established his banished court. The Duke of Berri, with the household troops, and many volunteers who had joined them, pursued a march which every instant rendered more perilous, from the revolt of the various garrisons in French Flanders. This unfortunate band of loyalists included boys who bore arms for the first time, and old men whom zeal had summoned forth, though almost unfit for service. The orders of march transmitted to them by the king were intercepted by the enemy, and while uncertain in what direction to proceed, they were closely pursued and harassed by a body of light cavalry under Gaillebois, colonel of that 14th regiment of lancers which revolted near Montereau, an officer whom the Duke of Berri had loaded with favours.

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Many of the household troops were involved in a morass, where some perished; and at length when they arrived at Bethune, the Duke of Berri, whether fearful of bringing on the king an expense which he was ill able to support, or seeing some reluctance on the part of the household troops to move beyond the frontier, or for some unexplained reason, disbanded them, and recommended that they should return to their homes. This was no easy matter, and in the attempt some of these unhappy stragglers were slain, and almost all were plundered and insulted. Such were the melancholy circumstances which attended the flight of the king from his capital. He had no sooner left Lisle, than an order from Davoust, Buonaparte's minister at war, arrived for his arrest, and that of his family. The Duke of Orleans was yet in Lisle, but Mortier, in some measure, atoned for his preceding conduct, by suppressing the order until his royal highness had left the place.

Mean time Paris expected her new master. The most profound, but gloomy tranquillity marked the morning after the king's departure. Even the most zealous Buonapartists did not attempt to insult, by their triumph, the general sensation of awe and sorrow. All waited the issue of the meeting of the armies at Melun, which was not long dubious.

Marechal Macdonald commanded the troops of Melun in chief, under the directions of the Duke of Berri. On the 20th they were drawn out in order of battle to oppose Buonaparte, who was reported to be advancing from Fontainbleau. The general officers of the royal army were faithful, and used every means to keep their soldiers in the same sentiments. There was a long pause of anxious expectation, while the troops, drawn out under arms, awaited the appearance of the hostile van-guard. The silence was only interrupted by the regimental bands of music, which occasionally played the airs of "*O Richard*,"—"*Henri Quatre*,"—"*La Belle Gabrielle*," and other pieces consecrated to the royal cause, but which excited no corresponding feeling in the minds of the soldiers. At length, about 12 o'clock, a party of cavalry appeared escorting an open carriage, and in a moment Buonaparte was among the ranks which had been drawn out to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, and embracing their ancient comrades, implored them to unite the French army once more, under the authority of the emperor. The effect produced was instantaneous and electrical: All dropped their arms,—all left their ranks,—all shouted *Vive Napoleon!* and the superior officers, who remained loyal, were compelled to provide for their safety by a hasty flight. Thus Buonaparte a third time drew over to his standard the troops collected to oppose him; and the army of Melun, like those of Grenoble and Lyons, appeared only to have been formed for the purpose of affording him reinforcements.

In the meanwhile, the pause of consternation at Paris began to give way to tumult. Lavalette, who had for some days remained concealed in the hotel of the Duchess de St Leu, made his appearance at the post-office, and superseding the superintendant placed there by the king, took upon him, without opposition, the office of director of that important department, which he had formerly enjoyed under Buonaparte. He made use of the power thus acquired to intercept all the journals which contained the king's proclamation, and to dispatch an official intimation to the cities and departments, that Napoleon was in quiet and undisturbed posses-

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don of his former authority. Lavallette also held an immediate communication with Buonaparte, now at Fontainbleau, and received from him advice to be intimated to his friends in Paris, that all had succeeded so much to his wish, that there was no occasion for the insurrection in the capital, for which preparations had been in forwardness.

The spirit of resentment and despair acting on the more zealous royalists, joined to the triumphant hopes of the opposite faction, threatened, notwithstanding the communication of Buonaparte's pleasure, an explosion which might have proved fatal to the capital. Numerous groupes assembled in the streets. The mob of the suburbs of Saint Antoine and Saint Marçeau put themselves in motion, and in a manner besieged the Tuilleries. Scuffles, not without bloodshed, passed between parties of royalists and imperialists. The steadiness of the national guard, who doubled and trebled their sentinels upon every post, on this as on other occasions both before and after, saved Paris from a great convulsion. The accesses to the Tuilleries were filled with tumultuous groupes, and the sentinels could scarce prevent them from forcing the gate of the Place de Carousel, which occupies the front of the palace. Amidst these alarming symptoms, General Excelman, whose oath to serve the king for ever, (p. 136.) had scarce dried on his lips, appeared at the head of a body of soldiers, relieved the national guard at the Tuilleries, and entering the palace, took down the white flag which had floated over the dome since the restoration of the Bourbons, and replaced it by the three-coloured banner.

It was late in the evening ere Napoleon himself entered, to assume possession of the vacant palace and unswayed sceptre. He entered in the same carriage which he had brought with him from Elba, and at nine o'clock alighted at the Tuilleries, a journey of eighteen days having brought him from Cannes to Paris, and achieved a revolution more remarkable, because less to be expected, than any of the extraordinary events which have distinguished the history of revolutionary France. The court was filled with his ancient courtiers, who crowded around so closely, that he was obliged to call out, "My friends, you stifle me;" and some of his aides-de-camp were actually obliged to carry him in their arms up the grand stair-case and into the royal apartments, where he was welcomed by his sisters Hortensia and Julia, and other members of the conspiracy, now assembled to gratulate its success, and gather the harvest of their labours.

No sooner was Buonaparte once more possessed of political power, than it seemed, from the subservience of all around, as absolute as if he had never been deprived of it. The ready and unscrupulous versatility with which almost all the men in public authority renewed to Napoleon the vows they had so lately made to Louis, is one of the most degrading features of these memorable transactions, and inspires us almost with a contempt of human nature. It is thus described by Chateaubriant, the most eloquent of the French modern writers: "Buonaparte, placed, by a strange fatality, between the coasts of France and Italy, has appeared, like Genseric, at the point to which he was called by the anger of God. He came, the hope of all those who had committed, and of all those who meditated to commit, crimes;—he came, and he succeeded. Men, loaded with the king's bounties, and decorated with his honours, kissed in the morning that royal hand which they betrayed in the evening. Re-

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bellious subjects, bad Frenchmen, false chevaliers! scarcely had the oaths which they had proffered to you, expired on their lips, when they went, bearing the lily on their breasts, to swear perjury, if I may so speak, to him who had so often proved himself a disloyal traitor and a felon."

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CHAP. X.

The Cities and Provinces of France declare for Buonaparte.—Failure of the Duke of Bourbon's Enterprize in La Vendee.—Duchess of Angouleme driven from Bourdeaux.—Duke of Angouleme compelled to surrender in the South.—Buonaparte proposes Peace to the Allies.—Declaration of the Congress at Vienna.—Treaty of Alliance between Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain.—Message of the Prince Regent to the House of Commons, and Debate which followed thereupon.—Motion respecting Buonaparte's Escape from Elba—And Debate which ensued.—Mr Whitbread's Motion against War with France, and the Debate.—Debate on the Treaty of Alliance.—Mr Whitbread's Amendment.

THE occupation of Paris has, during all revolutionary changes, decided the fate of France. No country so little possesses the wish or the power of holding different opinions from those which emanate from the capital. At the instigation of treacherous magistrates, or under fear of their garrisons, or by the acclamation of the mob, the principal cities of France declared successively their adhesion to Buonaparte. In some cities, and particularly in Orleans, where General Gouvion de St Cyr acted for the king, and General Pajol for Buonaparte, the two parties alternately obtained the superiority, and the walls were covered at the same time with royal and imperial proclamations; but the Buonapartists evinced most energy, and possessed most military strength; and therefore, in this and all other instances, finally triumphed.

The Duke of Bourbon had gone to La Vendee, in hopes to levy a royalist army in that faithful province. But owing, as has been asserted, to the previous measures of Marechal Soult, while minister at war and governor of this department, La Vendee was filled with soldiers attached to Buonaparte, so judiciously posted as effectually to prevent any immediate rising of the inhabitants, and the Duke of Bourbon saw himself under the necessity of abandoning his enterprise.

He sailed from Nantes, accompanied by about forty officers, and the town was instantly afterwards occupied by Gen. Morand, an aid-de-camp of Buonaparte, who published a most violent proclamation against the Bourbons and their adherents. *March 26.*

In the south, the cause of the Bourbons seemed to have been best supported, and the conduct of the Duchess of Angouleme, in particular, was worthy the descendant of a long line of monarchs. This princess, with her

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husband, was on a progress through the south of France, when they were surprised by the intelligence of Buonaparte's disembarkation. The Duke of Angouleme hastened to avail himself of the zeal which the inhabitants of Provence, and particularly of Marseilles, testified for the royal cause; while the duchess remained to encourage the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who had so early declared for the Bourbons in the preceding campaign. The inhabitants and national guard of that city, under the direction of Lynch, their loyal and faithful mayor, showed the best possible disposition; and the princess stood forth among them, like one of those heroic women of the age of chivalry, whose looks and words were able in moments of peril to give double edge to men's swords, and double constancy to their hearts. If shouts and vows of fidelity could have been a warrant for the faith of Frenchmen, it was impossible that this high-minded princess should have been forced to give way. But the troops which formed the garrison of Bourdeaux caught the contagion of revolt. General Decaen, who possessed the batteries which commanded the city, declared himself for the usurper; while Clausel advanced to the gates with a considerable force in the same cause. The duchess made a last effort, assembled around her the officers, and laid their duty before them in the most touching and pathetic manner. But when she saw their coldness, and heard their faultering excuses, she turned from them in disdain,—"You fear," she said—"I pity you, and release you from your oaths." On the 30th March, she arrived at the little port of Poillac, to embark on board an English frigate, and the following minute circumstances of her departure are given by an eye-witness.* "She had three or four carriages along with her, filled with her attendants, and was escorted by a party of the national guards. Their entry into Poillac formed a very mournful procession; she herself looked deadly pale, although seemingly calm and collected. We saw many of the officers of the national guard crowding round her with tears in their eyes. There was a little chapel close to where we were lodged, and while the other ladies went down to the frigate to prepare for the embarkation, we heard that the duchess herself had gone to mass. After we imagined that the service would be nearly concluded, two of the ladies of our party entered the chapel, and placed themselves near to where they knew she would pass. As she came near them, observing that they were English, and much affected, she held out her hand to them; one of them said, 'Oh, go to our England, you will be cherished there.' 'Yes, yes,' replied she; 'I am now going to your country;' and when they expressed a wish that this storm would be quickly over, and that when she again returned to France, it would be for lasting happiness, the duchess replied, with an expression which was almost cheerful, 'Indeed, I hope so.' This was the last time that any of us saw her. There was then in her expression a look of sweet and tranquil suffering, which was irresistibly affecting."—Lynch and other loyalists took the same opportunity of escaping from the tyranny of Buonaparte. Bourdeaux was instantly occupied by General Clausel, whose arrival, in despite of the scenes which had preceded it, was welcomed with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!*

Toulouse soon shared the fate of

* Travels in France during the years 1814-15. Edin. 1816. Vol. ii. p. 107.

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Bourdeaux. On the evening of the 3d of April, the citizens had celebrated, with apparent enthusiasm, an ephemeral success of the Duke of Angouleme. At break of day on the 4th, they saw, to their astonishment, the cannon of the ramparts turned upon the town, the artillery-men under arms with lighted matches, and heard the emperor proclaimed by the acclamations of the soldiery. The citizens of Toulouse offered no resistance, but submitted quietly to the usurper.

The Duke of Angouleme did not prove more fortunate than his heroic consort. At first, some glimpse of success seemed to shine on his arms. Some regiments expressed a disposition to remain faithful to the king; and there was a general disposition among the national guards to be forward in the royal cause.

The little army which the Duke d'Angouleme had thus assembled, amounted to nearly six thousand men, and their first enterprize was successful. They routed *April* 2. a considerable body of Buonapartists at the passage of the river Drome, and took cannon, colours, and about eight hundred prisoners, and obtained possession of the course of the Isere.

The revolt, however, continued around them, and many of the troops of the line went over to the enemy. Generals Grouchy and Piré advanced upon the duke from different points. He received intelligence of the fate of Bourdeaux and Toulouse, and that Montpellier and Nismes had, in like manner, fallen. Under those circumstances, the duke opened a negociation, by which he agreed to dismiss his army, and lay down his arms, on condition that his officers and soldiers should not be molested. For himself, he stipulated that he should be safely escorted to Cette, there to embark for Spain. This convention was concluded with General Gilly; but Grouchy refused to give it his sanction, and the Duke of Angouleme was detained until Buonaparte's pleasure was known. Napoleon was not sorry to have this opportunity to make an imposing show of generosity. He commanded Grouchy to dismiss the duke, upon his granting his promise to use his endeavours to procure recovery of the crown jewels, which the king had carried with him to Ghent. He embarked at Cette, as had been agreed upon, to sail for Barcelona, and was the last of the royal family of France who left the kingdom. *April* 16.

The stand made by the Duke of Angouleme might have been more successful, but for the treachery of Massena, who conducted himself so, as effectually to prevent the spirit of loyalty, expressed by the great seaports of Toulon and Marseilles, from having any beneficial effect on the king's cause. Marseilles had been so zealous for the king as to put a price, by proclamation, on the head of Buonaparte; and the wealth, as well as the population of this great sea-port, might have given a vigorous impulse to the royal cause. But Massena contrived to thwart their measures, and check their enthusiasm, until it subsided under the discouraging news which arrived from every quarter, as well as under fear of the garrison. He discouraged all attempts to embody the royalists, or organize the national guard; and thus contrived that, in those cities, as well as elsewhere, no party should be in arms, except the troops of the line, whose disposition was the same there, as through all France. Both Marseilles and Toulon were surrendered after the Duke of An- *April* 11, 12.

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gouleme's capitulation, and the conquest of France was, for the present, absolute and complete. We must now consider the effect which those wonderful tidings produced upon the sovereigns and the nations of Europe.

Buonaparte's apprehensions on this account were visible, from the great pains which he took to assure the people of France that there was no occasion to fear foreign war. At first his friends and creatures confidently averred, that the emperor had brought with him a truce, concluded with all the nations in Europe, for twenty years. Afterwards he had recourse to other averments. He at one time affirmed, that Austria was sending his wife and child to Paris, and even named the day of their arrival, and directed the ceremonies of their reception. At another time, Ney had directions to traverse the north of France, and impress on the people a belief, that Maria Louisa and her son were detained at Vienna only as pledges for Buonaparte's sincerely keeping a promise, which he had made to his father-in-law, to bestow a free constitution on the French. To such bare-faced imposture was he reduced, rather than admit that in his return the French were to reap the dreadful harvest of a new invasion.

In the mean while, he used such exertions as were in his power to procure peace, or at least to show that he desired it. Although the cession of Belgium had been a point of grievous accusation brought against the Bourbons, both by his creatures, and in his own proclamation, Buonaparte hesitated not to offer to the allied sovereigns his willingness to submit to the treaty of Paris. He sent a letter to this purpose to each principal court of Europe, acquainting the potentates with his restoration, as the unanimous act of the French people, and expressing his desire to maintain peace on the same principles as it had been settled with the Bourbons. These pacific overtures were, in general, referred to the Congress by the sovereigns to whom they were addressed, and it was the unanimous opinion of that assembly, that no answer should be returned to them.

The allied powers had too strong a recollection of the mode in which Buonaparte had formerly exercised his authority, to connive for an instant at his resuming it. The news of his disembarkation at Cannes had no sooner reached Vienna, than the representatives of the powers assembled in the European Congress sent forth the following denunciation of his person and purposes.

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

"The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that,

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firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of revolution.

"And although entirely persuaded, that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France, and to the French nation, or to any other government, that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it."

This manifesto was instantly followed by a treaty betwixt Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, renewing and confirming the league entered into at Chaumont. The 1st article declared the resolution of the high contracting parties to maintain and enforce the treaty of Paris, which secluded Buonaparte from the throne of France, and to enforce the decree of outlawry issued against him as above mentioned. 2. Each of the contracting parties agreed to keep constantly in the field an army of 150,000 men complete, with the due proportion of cavalry and artillery. 3. They agreed not to lay down their arms but by common consent, or when the purpose of the war should have been attained, or until Buonaparte should be rendered incapable of disturbing the peace of Europe. After other subordinate articles, the 7th provided, that the other powers of Europe should be invited to accede to the treaty; and the 8th, that the King of France should be particularly called upon to become a party to the league. A separate article provided, that the King of Great Britain should have the option of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying instead at the rate of 30*l.* sterling per annum for each cavalry soldier, and 20*l.* per annum for each infantry soldier, which should be wanting to make up his complement. To this treaty a declaration was subjoined, when it was ratified by the Prince Regent, referring to the eighth article of the treaty, and declaring that it should not be understood as binding his Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war with the view of forcibly imposing on France any particular government. The other contracting powers agreed to accept of the accession of his Royal Highness, under this explanation and limitation.

This treaty was laid before both Houses of the British Parliament, with a message from the Prince, expressing his reliance on their support in such measures as he should find it necessary to adopt in concert with his allies. The debates which took place on this occasion form at once an important part of our parliamentary history, and the best commentary upon the measures of the allies. But it is previously necessary to mention what took place in parliament upon the first news of Buonaparte's re-appearance on the scene.

Upon the 7th of April the Prince Regent sent a message to the House of *April 7.*

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Commons, stating, "that events have taken place in a neighbouring kingdom, in direct contravention of the engagements made in the treaty of Fontainbleau, not only with reference to that treaty, but as far as it formed the basis of the treaty of Paris; necessarily and naturally implying, as the contravention of all treaties must, a justifiable cause of war." Lord Castlereagh moved the House to accede to an address, in reply to the message, declaratory of their determination to enable his Royal Highness, in conjunction with his allies, to adopt such measures as circumstances might render imperative for the general tranquillity of Europe. His lordship went at some length into a vindication of the treaty of Fontainbleau, from the too obvious charge that it granted Buonaparte an asylum and powers which were liable to abuse, and by means of which he had been enabled to succeed in his late attempt. "Generosity," he admitted, "certainly was the prevailing feature which marked the policy of the allies towards France, and whatever calamities may arise to the world from the transactions in question, I, for one, shall never lament, that the powers who marched to the gates of Paris, did act on that generous principle, and thereby showed their deference to the rights and feelings of the people. That principle is one, of which, I am convinced, a British Parliament will always express its approbation. It is the only great, and strong, and true one; and Parliament has never omitted any occasion, where it could be recognized and supported, of so doing. I am sure, I shall not have to regret, on account of the display of any contrary feeling in this House, that if there was an error in the conduct of the allies towards France, it was on the side of generosity. The exercise of that principle is due to all countries, until they do something which forbids it—until they prevent their opponents from being generous to them, without risking the imputation of being unjust and ruinous to themselves. If, therefore, any blame be imputable in this transaction, I feel confident that it is to be found on the right side: for whatever may hereafter be the relative situation of France and the rest of Europe, the former can never assert, that the allies harboured an intention of acting ungenerously by her." Allowing full weight to these observations, it remains to be shewn whether the allied powers stood in a situation which entitled them to risk any solid advantage, or neglect any feasible precaution, in order to aspire to the praise of magnanimity—whether, in short, before being generous to France or to Buonaparte, they ought not to have been just to Europe and themselves. Lord Castlereagh was more fortunate in exculpating his own accession to the treaty of Fontainbleau, than in justifying its general wisdom and prudence, unless as grounded on the plea of necessity. He stated the treaty to have been made with Napoleon before his own arrival at Paris. "Seeing," said Lord Castlereagh, "the obvious danger of placing a person, who had so lately wielded the power of France, so immediately in the neighbourhood of his former empire, and also in the neighbourhood of another part of Europe, which might be influenced by sentiments favourable to him, I thought it my duty to make every opposition in my power to the arrangement. But, on a further examination of the subject, the difficulty of finding a situation, at once free from the dangers I apprehended, and, at the same time, answering the character which Buonaparte stipulated for in his negociation, induced me to withdraw my opposition; making, however, some al-

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teration in the details. The plain fact was, that the question among the allied powers, relative to this point, was not decided under the circumstance of Buonaparte being within their grasp; for such was not the case; he was not so circumstanced, but was placed in a situation and with a force immediately about his person, which was entitled to serious consideration; and when combined with other troops, then scattered about the country, and his opportunities of uniting them with those of Marshal Soult, and other generals in the south of France, it became a matter of expediency to calculate his means of prolonging the warfare, and to consider the alternative which might prevent such an event. This was the plain fact which led to his term of security."

On the subject of Buonaparte's escape from Elba, Lord Castlereagh stated, that "when the island was secured to him by treaty, it was of course done with as much exercise of personal liberty as became the compact: it was never in the contemplation of the parties that he should be a prisoner within any settlement; that he should be the compulsory inmate of any tower, or fortress, or citadel—they never meant that he should be so placed, or that he should be deprived of sea excursions in the vicinity of the island, for fair purposes of recreation. The allied powers who concurred in the treaty of Fontainbleau never intended to exercise a police, or any system of *espionage*, either within or without the residence which they had ceded to him; it was never in their contemplation to establish a naval police to hem him in, or prevent this man's committing himself, as he has done, to his fortunes; in fact, if they were so inclined, they were without the means of enforcing such a system, for the best authorities were of opinion that it was absolutely and physically impossible to draw a line of circumvallation around Elba: and for this very conclusive reason, that, considering the variation of weather, and a variety of other circumstances, which could not be controlled, the whole British navy would be inadequate for such a purpose. If this force had been actually there, they could not have circumscribed Buonaparte in the manner in which some persons expected he should have been, without a violation of the treaty which had been granted. By this he was invested with the entire sovereignty of the island; he was also assigned a sort of naval equipment, certainly upon a small scale, but one which allotted him a flag, and which it was not extraordinary to meet on the neighbouring sea; one of his vessels was constantly seen for ordinary purposes in several of the ports of the Mediterranean. The British officer commanding on that station had not the power of visiting these vessels whenever they were occasionally met. Had he known that Buonaparte was on board with an armed equipment, he would have exercised that right, there can be no doubt, and would have been justified in doing so; but he was not authorized, nor would it have been consistent with the treaty, to have empowered him on all occasions to use a right of visitation with a flag of this description. But I repeat, that our government never undertook to establish a police at Elba. Colonel Campbell was certainly there for the purpose of occasionally communicating with our government upon such matters as might pass under his observation, both there and in Italy, where at that time we had no accredited agent; he was there at first merely as one of the conductors according to the treaty, and I afterwards suffered him to remain between that

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island and Leghorn, for the purpose I have mentioned; but nothing more was ever contemplated. It would have been out of Colonel Campbell's power to have attempted any thing further; he could not have done it; for the fact was, that although at first treated with familiarity by Buonaparte, his visits were subsequently disapproved of, and it was even hinted that if they were repeated, he should withdraw from the island; latterly he found the greatest difficulty in obtaining an interview with Buonaparte, so completely did the latter surround himself with imperial etiquette. Of the inefficacy of any thing which Colonel Campbell could have done, were he on the spot to have attempted the experiment, I need only mention the following fact: a number of vessels from all nations were in the habit of arriving for trading purposes in the three principal ports of this island; on the part of the English ships, a Mr Ritchie resided there as a sort of vice-consul, to see that our ships wanted nothing that was necessary for them: the moment when Buonaparte prepared to carry his plan into execution, he placed this Mr Ritchie under the *surveillance* of two *gens d'armes*. Mr Grattan, jun. who happened to be on the island, and who conveyed the earliest intelligence of the event to the nearest public agent of this country, was also taken into custody, and there can be no doubt, that Colonel Campbell would have encountered a similar restraint; his presence, therefore, would have had no effect in preventing the escape of Buonaparte, or in transmitting any intelligence of that event sooner than it reached us in the ordinary course. It is also a remarkable and almost incredible circumstance, and one of the truth of which I have every reason to be satisfied, that so completely within his own bosom did Buonaparte carry the plan he meditated, that his confidential companion, Bertrand, was wholly unapprised of his intentions, until the very hour in which he received the order for his embarkation." His lordship proceeded to state, that France had vessels cruizing off Elba, Corsica, and Leghorn, to keep a watch upon Buonaparte's motions; that Admiral Hallowell, and Lord Exmouth had orders to frustrate any attempts he might make at a descent; that in his passage from Elba to Cannes, Buonaparte was actually chased by the Partridge, which was crossing with Colonel Campbell; and that, on the whole, no circumstance of precaution had been omitted which the faith due to the treaty of Fontainbleau permitted to be observed.

Lord Castlereagh proceeded to examine an allegation made to extenuate Buonaparte's infraction of the treaty, namely, that the stipulated pension had not been faithfully remitted to him. His lordship stated, "that on such a rumour reaching his ears he had remonstrated with the court of France; and although they alleged, first, that Buonaparte was not entitled to his pension till the lapse of the year, and, secondly, that he had manifested a spirit of infringement of the treaty, he (Lord Castlereagh) had nevertheless insisted that Buonaparte should be supplied in the interim with such aid as might prevent the necessity of his selling provisions or cannon, to which he was said to be reduced."

Having premised these circumstances, he stated, "that the line of conduct which the country had to pursue was, for the present, of a nature merely precautionary. Buonaparte's restoration had been exclusively the work of the military, who, accustomed to seek their fortune by rapine and plunder, and to look forward to war with the hopes of promotion and reward, were natural enemies

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of a peaceful sovereign. The danger from such a state of things was apparent. But he agreed that Britain ought neither to urge the continental powers to war, if they were indisposed to it, or to suffer herself to be precipitated into it by their ardour. He therefore only proposed, that the Prince Regent should be supported in entering into such a concert with his allies as might best provide for the general security of Europe, and that the House should afford him the requisite supplies for augmentation of the national force by sea and land."

A very large majority of the House of Commons, including Mr Ponsonby and some other leading members of the opposition, expressed their approbation of the precautionary measures proposed. But the sentiment was not unanimous. Sir Francis Burdett saw nothing in the armament proposed but the intention of imposing a government on an independent people against their will—a war for the benefit of the Bourbons. "Was it not plain," he asked, "that Buonaparte was the ruler of the French people's choice? The step he had taken had very absurdly been called the invasion of France. But who ever heard of a single man invading a nation of thirty millions of inhabitants, and gaining the sovereignty of that nation against its will? The fact was, that the nation wished for him, and had in a great degree wished for him from their dislike of the government which he superseded. There was not a man in France who did not see a new order of things rising up under the Bourbons, and who did not fear that property was insecure. The government of Louis did not act up to the principles of that constitution which his brother had accepted for him before his return. He repeated, that he was desirous not to speak harshly of the Bourbons; but it was their own conduct alone which had deprived them of the throne. That conduct had been most hostile to liberty, as indeed had also been the conduct of the assembled sovereigns at Vienna, who had themselves subverted the principles on which they originally took their stand; and who on that account did not possess the same power which they had formerly wielded against the emperor of France with so much success. With respect to the 'dreadful note of preparation' now sounded, he repeated, that if he could consider it as only for defence—for resistance against aggression—he would concur in the address before the House. But by what he could collect from the ambiguous expressions of the noble lord, there existed a strong desire in the British government, if the elements of war could be found in Europe, to recur to that detestable principle—the re-establishment of what were called legitimate sovereigns; as if nations belonged irrevocably to certain families—a principle which it was still more reprehensible to maintain in a country, the sovereign of which held his throne alone by the will of the people; and who, if the principle thus asserted were correct, was a greater usurper than Buonaparte. He would therefore vote," he said, "against the address, as the first step for plunging the nation into a struggle, which, he was persuaded, would be as unsuccessful in its event, as unjust in its principle."

Mr Whitbread seemed to form similar conclusions. He also supposed Buonaparte to be Emperor of France by the choice of the people, as well as of the soldiers. He requested the House to contrast the decree abolishing the slave-trade, which the emperor had instantly passed upon his return to Paris, with the volume of diplomacy in which Louis le Desiré

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declared that act of humanity could not be conceded. He declared that Lords Cathcart, Clancarty, and Stewart, as well as the Duke of Wellington, merited impeachment for having subscribed the declaration of the Congress against Buonaparte, which he pronounced inconsistent with the law of nations, and hostile to every principle of social order. He adverted to the state of Saxony, of Italy, of Genoa; and, without opposing the address in whole, proposed as an amendment, "that the Prince Regent should be implored to secure to the country the blessings of peace, so long as it could be maintained consistently with the honour of the country and the faith due to our allies."—The amendment was rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty to thirty-seven votes.

April 20. The gentlemen of the opposition, notwithstanding what had been said by Lord Castlereagh in vindication of the conduct of government, were determined not to lose the advantage given them by the escape of Buonaparte, as affording grounds of criminating the ministers. The Hon. Mr Abercrombie brought forward a motion for enquiring into the precautions taken by ministers to prevent Buonaparte's departure from Elba. "The treaty of Fontainbleau," according to the learned and honourable member, "had neither proceeded from mistaken magnanimity on the part of the allies, nor was it the fruit of absolute necessity. Though the allied sovereigns possessed strength sufficient in the long-run to overpower Buonaparte, yet his resources were not yet exhausted, and they deemed it wiser to induce him to an early surrender by the grant of favourable terms, than to encounter the risk and the evils of a protracted contest. But the admitted fact that Buonaparte, at the lowest ebb of his fortunes, possessed strength sufficient to extort such advantageous terms, ought to have begot a reasonable suspicion that he would adhere to it no longer than served his convenience. The spirit of the treaty comprehended not merely the point of abdication, but inferred that he should take no steps to resume the power which he had resigned." The speaker therefore contended, that there arose out of the treaty a right to watch Buonaparte with the most scrupulous jealousy. On the other hand, he insisted that the points of the treaty conceived in his favour should have been fully and faithfully executed, and no pretext should have been afforded to Buonaparte for infringing it on his side. The court of France ought to have been ashamed to resort to the technical objection, that his pension was not due until the year elapsed,—an objection, by the way, which we cannot consider as well-founded. Buonaparte's pension was of the nature of an alimentary allowance, and each term's payment ought to have been made in advance, since otherwise the person to whom such allowance is assigned might have difficulty in subsisting until the term of payment arrived. Mr Abercrombie saw no authority by which Buonaparte ought to have been deprived of the society of his wife and child. There had also been a non-performance of the stipulation which conferred on Maria Louisa and her son the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. He proceeded to mention a report, that a scheme had been in agitation at the Congress for removing Buonaparte from Elba, and placing him on Saint Helena or Saint Lucie. He concluded by stating, that he wholly disregarded the trash published by a person named Playfair, who pretended to have communicated to government Buonaparte's plan of es-

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cape, and even his cypher of correspondence, but believed, nevertheless, that government had received intelligence from various quarters, which ought to have excited their utmost vigilance."

The same line of reasoning was pursued and enforced by Mr Elliot, Mr Ponsonby, and Sir James Macintosh. The latter, in a very eloquent speech, gave a striking picture of the dangers incurred by Buonaparte's escape, and frankly admitted, that it instantly renewed the hostile relation betwixt that person and the sovereigns with whom he concluded the treaty of Fontainbleau. "Was it in the power," he said, "of eloquence to magnify the evil? Wars which had raged for 25 years throughout Europe; which had spread blood and desolation from Cadiz to Moscow, and from Naples to Copenhagen; which had wasted the means of human enjoyment, and destroyed the instruments of social improvement; which threatened to diffuse among the European nations the dissolute and ferocious habits of a predatory soldiery; at length, by one of those vicissitudes which bid defiance to the foresight of man, had been brought to a close, upon the whole happy beyond all reasonable expectation, with no violent shock to national independence, with some tolerable compromise between the opinions of the age and the reverence due to ancient institutions; with no too signal or mortifying triumph over the legitimate interests or avowable feelings of any numerous body of men, and above all, without those retaliations against nations or parties which beget new convulsions often as horrible as those which they close, and perpetuate revenge and hatred and blood from age to age. Europe seemed to breathe after her sufferings. In the midst of this fair prospect and of these consolatory hopes, Napoleon Buonaparte escaped from Elba; three small vessels reached the coast of Provence; their hopes are instantly dispelled, the work of our toil and fortitude is undone, the blood of Europe is spilt in vain—

Ibi omnis effusus labor!

We had now to commence a new career of peril, at least as formidable as that from which we had fondly hoped that we had been for ever delivered.

"Some insinuations had been thrown out of differences of opinion on his side of the House, respecting the evils of this escape. He utterly denied them. All agreed in lamenting the occurrence which rendered the renewal of war so probable, not to say certain. All his friends with whose opinions he was acquainted, were of opinion, that, in the theory of public law, the assumption of power by Napoleon had given to the allies a just cause of war against France. It was perfectly obvious that the abdication of Napoleon, and his perpetual renunciation of the supreme authority, was a condition, and the most important condition, on which the allies had granted peace to France. The convention of Fontainbleau, and the treaty of Paris, were equally parts of the great compact which re-established friendship between France and Europe. In consideration of the safer and more inoffensive state of France when separated from her terrible leader, confederated Europe had granted moderate and favourable terms of peace. As soon as France had violated this important condition by again submitting to the authority of Napoleon, the allies were doubtless released from their part of the compact, and reentered into their belligerent rights.

"By the dissolution of the treaty of Paris, war was in right renewed. It depended upon the prudence of

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the allies whether they should exercise their belligerent right, or seek security in negociation. Although it had been pleaded for Lord Castlereagh that he was not present when the treaty of Fontainbleau was concluded, Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart were in Paris at the time. Why were they (demanded Sir James) unprovided with instructions in such an emergency? or was this designed to exalt the noble secretary at the expence of his colleagues? He professed he could see no honourable explanation of it. He ridiculed the idea of not subjecting Buonaparte to a system of vigilance. The most serious question undoubtedly remained! Napoleon was an independent prince. It would be an insult to his dignity to watch his movements. It would be a violation of his independence to restrain them. They who had starved Norway into subjection—they who sanctioned the annihilation of Poland, and the subjugation of Venice—they whose hands were scarcely withdrawn from the instrument which transferred Genoa to a hated master—were suddenly seized with the most profound reverence for the independent sovereign of Elba, and shrunk with horror from the idea of saving the peace of Europe by preventing the departure of Napoleon Buonaparte from Porto Ferrajo! He must believe, that if the danger had been discussed at the Congress of Vienna, and if any paradoxical minister had made any scruples about the independence of Elba, his scruples would have been received with a general laugh. Count Nesselrode could quote the precedent of Stanislaus at Moscow. Prince Talleyrand would have been ready with that of Ferdinand at Valençay. The Congress would scarcely have avowed that all their respect for independence was monopolized by Napoleon. Buonaparte (he contended) was no further a sovereign than the treaty of Fontainbleau made him one; and that agreement (in its spirit) subjected him to every precaution which was manifestly necessary to security. It had been urged (he said) that he, and those on his side of the House, were only wise after the event, and as little foresaw that event as the ministers. Was it not, however, by their confidence in ministers that they were held to have forfeited their right of accusation? A robbery had been committed; the watchmen were asleep. The poor householders naturally complained of the negligence of their watchmen. The watchmen rather impudently answered, that the householders were asleep as well as they. The reply was final and fatal. The householders slept in perfect security, because they trusted in their watchmen being awake."

Lord Castlereagh, Mr Frederick Douglas, Mr Charles Grant, and others, defended the conduct of ministers. It was again stated, that Lord Castlereagh was separated from the armies when they marched on Paris; that the events which followed were too unexpected to admit of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Cathcart being authorised to act; and although it was not spoken about, there is little doubt that the British minister hardly anticipated that the other powers would have felt themselves at liberty to precipitate a treaty before his arrival. "Nothing," said Mr Grant, in a speech marked with equal eloquence and truth, "but a difference upon some essential principle, could have justified him in interposing to annul the engagements already contracted with Buonaparte. As to minor points, he might feel objections; and such it appears he did feel and express. But even if his objections had been much stronger than we have reason to believe they were, would it not have

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been a matter of extreme delicacy, upon his single opinion, to arrest the pacification? What would Europe, what would this country have felt, if, in that moment of exultation, the British minister had alone prevented the consummation so ardently desired; if he had taken upon himself, and on his nation, the odium of severity and vindictive resentment?" This, he urged, would have been at once shocking to the feelings of this country, then turned to moderation and lenity in an unwonted degree, and incurring the risk of driving to desperation an able general at the head of a veteran army of 40,000 men, who might yet have found resources of the most formidable description. He vindicated ministers from having placed their sole reliance on the precarious faith of Buonaparte. "Undoubtedly," continued the member, "if we relied mainly upon the good faith of that person, it was an unwarrantable and an unjustifiable reliance. But this was not the case: Our chief reliance was placed on the faith of the French people;—on the faith of the marshals and the army. Sir, I am not ashamed to confess that we have been deceived: In this confession there is no discredit; for who could have anticipated a perjury, a faithlessness so gross and detestable as that which has recently excited the astonishment and horror of Europe? Never, in the records of the world, was perjury so practised on system, and on so wide a scale. I defy any man, however versed in the annals of infamy, however familiar with examples of profligacy, to have calculated on such baseness and crime. I do not speak of the people of France, because I believe them to be completely passive. But is it not even now difficult to believe that such treachery, such cowardly meanness of feeling, should be found in a profession which, of all others, is peculiarly the profession of loyalty and chivalrous attachment—whose idol is honour? This example has a tendency to shake our confidence in the most ordinary principles of human action; and to rivet in our minds a conviction, that, for the future, society must be bound together by other ties than those of justice, of faith, and of mutual confidence. I trust, however, that, in spite of this atrocious exception, we may yet rely on the acknowledged principles that regulate the intercourse of nations. I trust we are not yet driven to the necessity of building national security and happiness on the miserable foundation of mutual distrust, suspicion, and hatred."

The impossibility of watching Buonaparte otherwise than by imprisoning him, was also insisted upon. For even supposing the island of Elba to be surrounded by our cruizers, still, though this might have prevented any general embarkation, or the attendance of his guards, no degree of vigilance could have impeded his escape individually; and from the whole history of his undertaking, it was plain that the assistance of his few hundred soldiers was not necessary, or even essential, to the execution of his plan; and, after all, the sea was not left so totally unguarded, but what his expedition had been nearly defeated by a British sloop of war.

On the subject of the alleged infractions of the treaty, the reply was complete. I. It was not the fault of the British ministers that Buonaparte's pension had not been regularly paid, as they were in no shape bound to guarantee it; while, notwithstanding, they had used their warm interference with the French government on Buonaparte's behalf, so soon as they heard of this subject of complaint. II. As to the empress and her son being forcibly detained from Buonaparte, the

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fact was, that Maria Louisa had refused to accompany him. III. The clause which proposed to invest Maria Louisa with the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, or an equivalent in their stead, was conceived in her favour, not in that of Buonaparte; and any arrangement concerning that stipulation respected her interest alone, seeing that the states were to be conferred on her in full sovereignty. IV. Lord Castlereagh positively denied that there had been any plan agitated at the Congress for removing Buonaparte from Elba, and expressed his belief that the only circumstance on which he had founded such an opinion, was an unauthorised and groundless paragraph in a newspaper. V. It was denied that information had reached ministers, in an authentic shape, that Buonaparte nourished any deliberate plan of escape; and therefore, had any additional precaution appeared practicable, they still could not be aware that there was any serious occasion for adopting it. The real and only security looked to as a guarantee for the protection of Europe against Buonaparte's future schemes of ambition, had been the general sentiment of the French people so lately and so unanimously expressed in favour of the legitimate monarch. And, upon the whole, the House were reminded, that the pretended infractions of treaty were a plea which Buonaparte had not set up for himself, till he had taken the hint from the discussions to which his late expedition had given rise in the House of Commons. He had, in the first instance, taken a course more dignified, at least better suited to his character, and put his proceeding on the broad ground, that having withdrawn from France for a temporary purpose, he now returned to claim his indubitable right to the throne of that country.

The motion of Mr Abercrombie being put to the vote, was lost by a majority of eighty-four. The debate had a wholesome effect on the public mind, which had been disturbed by many vague rumours and suspicions, now probed to the bottom, and their falsehood completely exposed.

What had hitherto past was but a skirmishing of the political parties. The main question of peace or war remained yet to be debated. Mr Whitbread endeavoured to bring it forward by a motion for an address, praying his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that he would be pleased to take measures for averting the calamities of a war, on the ground of the executive power of France being vested in any particular person. The honourable member founded chiefly upon the improvidence and injustice of engaging in war with France, merely because Buonaparte was at the head of the government; and he denied the right of the Prince Regent to interfere with the internal administration of France. He censured, in the warmest terms, the declaration of the allies against the person of Buonaparte, and declared the name of Wellington was sullied by being appended to that manifesto. It was replied to Mr Whitbread, and his supporters, that had those counsels been listened to, with which they had from time to time supplied the House, Buonaparte would at this moment have been, not merely on the throne of France, but master of the destinies of Europe. Lord Castlereagh urged, that not Buonaparte alone, but the French nation, were bound by the treaty of Fontainbleau, which they had so shamelessly broken. Since France had become a party to the gross fraud practised by Buonaparte in violating this contract, that nation must be prepared for the consequence of such conduct;

April 28.

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and Europe would have to contend, not merely with Buonaparte, but with France, for the security of its freedom and independence.—(*Hear, hear!*) France, then, must expect the visitation of war with all its calamities, if it rejected the means of preserving its own tranquillity and that of the world, by declining to discharge its duties; and that country must not be allowed to choose its field of action. No; instead of suffering the French to carry on war in Austria and Prussia, as heretofore, if they would not ally themselves with those troops which sought the deliverance of Europe and of France also, they must expect to experience in France itself the fruits of their own duplicity and imbecility. —(*Hear, hear! on the opposition benches*).—If the French would gratify those who benefit by war—if Europe should find that people so fond of war, they should have it, and on their own soil—they should enjoy the object of their preference, but they must be made to feel the consequences.—(*Hear, hear!*)—Europe had listened too long to such counsels as those of the honourable mover, which had too often paralyzed its efforts at various stages. But that honourable member, who had always manifested a disposition to lower the character of his own country, and who usually attacked with most bitterness those among our allies who were most intimately connected with it, had, as he (Lord C.) should on a proper occasion fully prove, rested his statements upon the most imperfect information, and promulgated the most groundless abuse."

Mr Pole Wellesley replied to the censure thrown out on this and a former occasion, on his illustrious brother, for having signed the declaration of the plenipotentiaries. He said, "that the honourable member, in the animadversions on the declaration of the 13th of March, repeated that night, had stated it as sanctioning the murder and assassination of Buonaparte, and he had lamented that the name of Wellington should have been disgraced by signing such a paper. He (Mr P.) happened to be with the Duke of Wellington when the report of the honourable gentleman's speech reached him; and never was a man so shocked as he then was, that one of his countrymen—one who had either known, seen, or heard of him—should have supposed that he signed a paper bearing such a construction, or that he could possibly give it such a construction. His only understanding was, that Buonaparte had forfeited all his political rights."

Mr Whitbread replied, that he still considered that it would have been more to the honour of the Duke of Wellington not to have signed the declaration, but he took the opportunity to pay that distinguished commander a well-merited tribute, which had in it something of prophecy. "The character of the Duke of Wellington," he said, "was part of the property of this country. Who was not proud of the name? No person had ever shown himself more willing to pay the tribute of applause which was due to his great actions than himself; and when he had so expressed himself, he hardly thought that his sincerity could be called in question. But was it because the Duke of Wellington had signed a declaration, that it bore a different construction from what it would have done, if he had not put his name to it? And if, in the hurry of business, he did not consider the meaning of this declaration with sufficient attention, was this not a subject of deep lamentation to this country? If, before this, any person had been asked, who would be the last man to sanction such doctrine—or if there was one man whom he would select from

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all mankind as the person who would be most inclined to give it his condemnation, he would have selected the Duke of Wellington. He would have conceived the Duke of Wellington to feel in this way—save Buonaparte for me, that he may command an army against me—(*Hear, hear!*) After having vanquished in succession all his captains—all his fame, all his glory, all his future renown, were centered in the life of Buonaparte—(*Hear, hear!*) But he had signed the declaration, and it had gone forth to the world. What did 'existence' mean, but physical existence? He was glad of the explanation of the right hon. gentleman, because if his (Mr Whitbread's) voice had reached the duke, it might also go out to the world that the Duke of Wellington declared, that the principle of assassination was detested by him, and had never met with his approbation."

Mr Whitbread's motion for the address was lost by a majority of two hundred and one, and the question of peace or war was thus incidentally decided. But it underwent a yet deeper and more general investigation, upon a message being sent to both Houses by the Prince Regent, laying before the House copies of the treaties which he had entered into with the other powers of Europe, for acting against the common enemy, and requesting assistance. We will endeavour to condense the arguments which were urged in this most important debate. The ministers, while they moved the Houses of Parliament to return an address, which should echo back the terms of the message, examined, as separate points of consideration, 1. The justice; and, 2 The expediency of the impending war.

The justice of the war they rested on Buonaparte's breach of the treaty of Fontainbleau, in defiance of which he had now reassumed the crown, which he hen abdicated. Even admitting, (which was, however, denied), that there had been, on the part of France, some partial infringement of the treaty towards Buonaparte, still, on no principle of political morality, was he thereby justified in breaking his faith to the allies, who were not even alleged to be parties to the pretended violation, and who ought to have been formally applied to for redress, before Buonaparte made these trivial acts of infringement an apology for a breach of the treaty on his part. But the truth was, that no such violation was complained of in any of Buonaparte's earlier proclamations; and he had no such justification in view when he left Elba. He had deliberately determined on the violation of the treaty of Fontainbleau, and had committed that violation, not in any minor or comparatively unimportant provision, but radically, and in its spirit and principle, without having to allege the least defalcation on the part of the allies. From the whole tenor of the transactions in April and May, 1814, the grounds on which Buonaparte abdicated could be clearly ascertained. The allies, before entering Paris, had declared their resolution not to treat with Buonaparte. When they occupied that city, they announced that his *decheance*, or forfeiture, was proclaimed to be the fundamental condition of peace with France, and in the treaties concluded on that occasion, it was expressly so named. On the recognition of this forfeiture in the treaty of Paris, the allies granted much better conditions to France, than would otherwise have been conceded From that of Fontainbleau, Buonaparte had himself taken life, liberty, and the sovereignty of Elba, with many other advantages. Both France and Buonaparte were, therefore, guilty of a breach of treaty, which rendered the justice of the treaty indubitable.

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The expediency of hostile measures was maintained with the same confidence. The peculiar character of Buonaparte was such as to render the war as necessary as it was just. His whole career had exhibited, during a melancholy course of long experience, the most insatiable ambition, combined with utter recklessness as to the means of gratifying it. By the treaty of Luneville, when he first became the instrument of French aggrandisement, he had extended the territories of France to what was presumptuously called her natural limits, the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, and the Ocean. But, by the same treaty, he had formerly recognized the Cisalpine, the Ligurian, the Batavian, the Helvetic republics. In the course of a few years, he had either actually incorporated these states with France, or placed them in a state of absolute dependence on her power. No degree of friendly adherence, no degree of servile submission, could conciliate his fidelity, or satiate his ambition. His treachery towards the royal family and kingdom of Spain, was a glaring proof of the ambition and faithlessness of his character. A singular document was also produced to show, that even in the utmost extremity of the campaign of 1814, when he was compelled to offer some apparent sacrifices at the conference of Chatillon, he was so far from really contemplating a general plan of peace and tranquillity, that he laid, in diplomatic fraud, the foundation of a breach of the engagements into which he affected to enter. The question respected the cession of the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria, the keys, by means of which France might, at any time, resume her unprovoked aggressions in Belgium, Germany, and Italy. Alarmed by the progress of General Blucher, and by his own critical situation betwixt the armies of Silesia and of Schwartzenberg, he directed Caulaincourt to conclude the treaty, but with the remarkable caution expressed in the following letter from Maret to that negociator, which was produced, and read by Lord Castlereagh. "The emperor desires that you would avoid explaining yourself clearly upon every thing which may relate to delivering up the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria, if you should be obliged to consent to those cessions; his majesty intending, even though he should have ratified the treaty, to be guided by the military situation of affairs:—wait till the last moment. The bad faith of the allies in respect to the capitulations of Dresden, Dantzic, and Gorcum, authorizes us to endeavour not to be duped. Refer, therefore, these questions to a military arrangement, as was done at Presburg, Vienna, and Tilsit. His majesty desires that you would not lose sight of the disposition which he will feel *not to deliver up those three keys of France*, if military events, on which he is willing still to rely, should permit him not to do so, *even if he should have signed the cession of all these provinces*. In a word, his majesty wishes to be able, after the treaty, to be guided by existing circumstances, to the last moment. He orders you to burn this letter as soon as you have read it."

Such was the character of Buonaparte before his abdication, the system of his government being to deny every thing which it was not for its interest to avow, and to grant whatever conditions were required to carry a necessary point, without giving itself the least trouble about fulfilling them afterwards. But even if exile had tamed his thirst for war, or amended his moral feeling, the circumstances under which he resumed the throne would hardly allow him

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to remain at peace. He had been replaced on the throne by those who desired a military government. He notoriously derived his authority from the sword—from that, in fact, by which he would endeavour to maintain that authority, and to secure the support of which, he would be obviously called upon to indulge in views of conquest and ambition. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the establishment of a popular or limited government in France, which would place the sword in its proper station, under the united and paternal sway of Louis XVIII., (whose restoration was therefore peculiarly desirable for the interest of the French people;) it was quite preposterous to look for such a government under its present ruler, with whom it was evident that the sword must be predominant. War was, therefore, a measure, not only of expedience, but absolute necessity, and it was better to face its dangers now, when the troops of the allies were ready for the field, and their courts united in their counsels, rather than at a more distant period, when they might be found disarmed and disunited.

The opposite side of the question was supported by Lord Grey, in a speech of great ingenuity; but his lordship avoided the question of the abstract justice of the war, which, therefore, he may in some degree be supposed to have conceded. He observed, "that a war must be necessary as well as just, and that these epithets were not to be used disjunctively. *Justum bellum quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus nisi in armis nulla relinquitur spes.* The violation of the treaty of Paris, his lordship seemed to think, was attended with no such immediate danger to Europe, as to call for the last remedy of kings, nor did he think the personal character of Buonaparte sufficient to vindicate our interference with the right which France had to chuse her own government. There was still ground to believe, that Buonaparte had reason to complain of the infringement of the treaty of Fontainbleau, and even to apprehend being forcibly removed from the asylum it had provided to him. The honourable member hesitated, therefore, to say, that he had violated, without provocation, the treaty of Fontainbleau. In that of Paris, Buonaparte's abdication was not specifically referred to, it being only stated, that certain advantageous conditions were granted to France, in consequence of the restoration of the Bourbons. The only consequence, then, of the breach of this treaty, was to give the allies authority and title to demand from France these additional securities, which they would have been in the right to exact, had the Bourbons never been restored.

Adverting to the inexpedience of the war, upon which he chiefly insisted, Lord Grey considered the character which had been given it by the declaration of the 13th of March, which seemed to unsheathe the private dagger, as well as the public sword, against our enemy, as contrary to the law of humanity and of nations. But supposing the war was to be waged in a legitimate manner, he disputed the prudence of putting it upon a footing so personal as to declare, that we would have neither truce nor peace with a man so powerful as Buonaparte. It was impossible to ensure success; and after such a declaration the consequences of defeat must necessarily be such extremity of humiliation, as deserved to be carefully weighed while considering the expedience of commencing war.

Lord Grey contended, that there was nothing in the present state of France, or in the circumstances of the rest of Europe, to encourage im-

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mediate resort to arms. He called on the House to remember, that, in the former part of the revolutionary war, we were perpetually buoyed up with the hope of disturbances in France, but had always found either that we had been deceived by false reports, or that our external attacks had united their internal factions. He quoted a letter from Marquis de Chabannes to the Compte de Blacas, which stated "that the clergy, the old noblesse, and the emigrants, were favourable to the Bourbons—but these are the classes of the least efficiency of the whole—and that then and now—first, the whole of the military, and secondly, all those persons who had acquired national property—(for whether justly or not, there was disseminated amongst them a sort of panic, which men where their property is concerned are so prone to, especially where the title to that property is in any way questionable)—had expressed themselves adverse to the government of the Bourbons." The uninterrupted march of Buonaparte, at the head of a force so trifling, plainly showed that there was a general disposition in his favour. It was plain the existing government of France had no distrust of the population, for they were calling out to arms the whole males, from the age of twenty to that of sixty. The measures adopted would bring forth 3000 battalions of seven hundred men each. It was contrary to the principles of nature to overcome the resistance of a nation, whose military energies were brought into complete action by measures so vigorous.

The power of the relative parties was, according to this statesman, very different from what they had been at the time of the capture of Paris. "Then there advanced against France on all sides at least 340,000 victorious troops, confident from success, opposed by 155,000 dispirited and worn-out troops, and that consequently France was attacked on all sides by the allies by more than double the number of troops which could possibly be opposed to them. And yet, whoever recollects," said his Lordship, "the alternative of hopes and fears, the ebbs and flows of opinion, and, by what a narrow accident success was at last obtained—that after the capture of Paris, when Buonaparte was suffering from the desertion and treachery of those on whom he depended—it was by a narrow accident the allies escaped destruction—even under the great General who has hitherto been so signally successful in all his undertakings, who would look with confidence to the renewal of hostilities under the present circumstances? Buonaparte, at his accession, found 150,000 men in a complete state of equipment—100,000 more were ready to be called out—and, in the course of two months exertions, we may consider his army, exclusive of garrisons and national guards, and 170,000 men of select companies of national guards, to amount to an available regular force of at least 300,000 men. If success was obtained with such difficulty under very different circumstances, what hopes can we possibly have that the same success will now attend our efforts? But can you now have the same means which you had last year? Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, have all, it is true, signed the treaty; but it does not appear that they can contribute any thing. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the three great powers, are to receive five millions by way of subsidy from this country. No statement has been made by the noble lord this night of what farther accession to the great powers we are to obtain from

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the minor states of Germany. If we obtain any such accession, it can only be on paying further subsidies. We know that the King of Wirtemberg and all the other minor powers are desirous of obtaining some of the golden eggs which the great goose of Europe has been laying for some time. With respect to Sweden, I apprehend that there may be some doubt of the willing disposition of that country. There may be also some doubt of its ability, from the accession which it of late so honourably obtained. (*Hear, hear!*) With respect to Spain, those who have seen what a Spanish army can do in defence of their own country, must laugh at any expectations of assistance from them. Portugal may give perhaps 20,000 men. But are these the only diminutions? Is the British army now what it then was? Is the Duke of Wellington now at the head of those brave companions in arms, who had such confidence in the man who had so often led them to victory? Is he any longer at the head of those invincible legions who have gained such immortal honour to their country? That army has been sent on most destructive and ill-conducted expeditions. The Duke of Wellington is not able at present to produce at most above 20,000 or 30,000 troops, and those of a very different description indeed, though animated with the same British spirit, from those he formerly commanded. We have not therefore the same British army. With respect to the minor powers of Germany, what is the case with Saxony, for instance? Can you again raise your standard at Leipsic, and call on those to join you who contributed so essentially to your former victories?" Prussia, Austria, and Russia, according to the orator, had enough to do to keep down Saxony, Italy, and Poland, their usurped acquisitions, and would go to the field with a suspicion that the very dangers they escaped from with respect to France, they would have to provide against from another quarter.

Of the character of Buonaparte, Lord Grey was disposed to take a mitigated view. "I detest," said his lordship, "as cordially his ambition—and I would do as much as any man to fight against him and resist him when necessary; but who can say that all change in his character is impossible? Are there not in history examples of men polluted with as foul crimes as Buonaparte—who have waded through seas of blood—who have at last retired even to a private life? But I agree that it would be puerile to place any confidence in such a change of character. I agree that it would not be reasonable to place any reliance on his future moderation. But if there is no change in his disposition, may there not be a change in his policy? Has he not, during his year of exile, had ample opportunity of reflecting on his former errors? Has he not had the means of detecting the causes of his temporary ruin; and may he not have been impressed with the necessity of abandoning that system which had already cost him too dear?" But, upon the whole, his lordship's great hope was, that the frame of this remarkable man must have been shaken by the fatigue and perturbation which he had undergone in the exhausting occurrences of a life so extraordinary. He seemed to have hopes he could not last long, or at least be equal to his former energetic exploits in the field. But, especially, Lord Grey trusted to the new principles upon which Buonaparte might be expected to act, and the party with whom he had allied himself, Carnot and others, who had given un-

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doubted proofs of their attachment to well-regulated freedom. These men, he contended, would form a counterpoise to Buonaparte's ambitious schemes, unless we should, by a declaration of war, oblige them to unite, and place in the hands of one so well qualified to wield them, the immense military energies of that mighty empire.

Upon the whole, Lord Grey recommended a defensive alliance with the other powers of Europe, on the principle of the treaty of Chaumont, and trust for the rest to the course of events, quoting to that effect the lines of Milton—

"Besides what hope the never ending flight
Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
For happy, though but ill; for ill, not worst;
If we procure not to ourselves more woe."

Similar arguments of temporizing policy were urged in the
May 25. House of Commons, by Lord George Cavendish, Sir Francis Burdett, and others. The latter, of course, saw nothing in Buonaparte's breach of treaty worse than in the conduct of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, who had broke, without scruple or remorse, the alliances which united them with Napoleon, so soon as fortune had left his side.

These arguments were combated, not only by the ministerial party in both Houses, but by that part of the opposition which was usually arranged under the banners of Lord Grenville. That statesman himself gave a clear explanation of the grounds upon which one nation is not only justified in interfering with the internal government of another, but becomes peremptorily called upon to do so. "In the abstract principle," said his lordship, "that no government had a right to interfere with another, every body would agree. The right was unquestionable, like the rights of men in a state of nature; and if any political state could be found in a state of nature, the rights of a state so separated from the other states would be absolute and undeniable; but it was with societies as with individuals, with governments as with men—when they stand in any relation to each other, they must be contented to see their rights regulated with a view to the mutual rights of all. The rights of others in relation to that state were as sacred as the rights of the state itself." This principle he applied to the case in point, by shewing that there was no country which had not tried the effect of a treaty with Buonaparte, and which had not experienced, that, in restraining his power, or diminishing his aggressions, treaties were of no avail whatever. "His government, therefore, which was originally a military usurpation,—had it been the most legitimate in the world, would, by the misconduct of the sovereign, have forfeited its title to its King, and have produced the extreme case of the necessity of driving from the throne the person who had so abused his authority. If France possessed the right of choosing her own government, and had, after so many years of war, by which she had been so great a sufferer, made some sacrifices for the advantages of the restoration of tranquillity, her own limitation of that right could not be doubted; and so the bargain was made at Paris. This would appear the true sense of the treaties, looking on the whole business as one great transaction. In civil transactions, some competent tribunal or jurisdiction was referred to, which prescribed certain forms as necessary to be attended to for the regulation of a contract, which he who did not act upon, neglected at his peril. But in affairs between

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nations, there was no common authority or tribunal to refer to, or which had authority to prescribe: And all that could be required was, to impose on both parties the duty of performing what they undertook. The intention to perform the contract must be made known to all parties, and this was the case respecting the exclusion of Buonaparte and his family from the French throne. The question, therefore, was not on the abstract right of interfering in the choice of a government for France, but on the right of enforcing a solemn treaty. It mattered not what was the case of right, if it was allowed, as no man denied, that France had the right to conclude lawfully the treaty. That gave to the allies the right of enforcing it. The treaty was made, and it could not be lawful for France to break it. It was founded on certain stipulations; but France breaks it, and retracts from part of the bargain. Her obligation was the exclusion of Buonaparte's dynasty. The moment that violation was committed, a just cause of war ensued."

The expedience of the case was argued with the same acuteness. Few members in either House could be brought to express the least hope in the moral regeneration of Buonaparte, upon whose personal character so much rested in this argument. Mr Grattan (no friend to arbitrary interference with the independence of other nations,) thus weighed the chance of France acting with energy in his support. "Gentlemen presume that the French nation will rise in his favour as soon as we enter their country: We entered their country before, and they did not rise in his favour; on the contrary they deposed him. The article of deposition is given at length. It is said we endeavour to impose a government on France. The French armies elect a conqueror for Europe; and our resistance to this conqueror is called imposing a government on France. If we put down this chief, we relieve France as well as Europe from a foreign yoke; and this deliverance is called the imposition of a government on France: He,—He imposed a government on France—he imposed a foreign yoke on France—he took from the French their property by contribution—he took their children by conscription—he lost her her empire—and (a thing almost unimaginable) he brought the enemy to the gates of Paris: We, on the contrary, formed a project, as appears from a paper of 1805, which preserved the integrity of the French empire. The allies in 1814 not only preserved the integrity of the empire as it stood in 92, but gave her her liberty, and they now afford her the only chance of redemption. Against these allies will France now combine, and having received from them her empire as it stood before the war, with additions in consequence of their deposition of Buonaparte, and having gotten back her capital, her colonies, and her prisoners, will she break the treaty to which she owes them, rise up against the allies who gave them, break her oath of allegiance, destroy the constitution she has formed, depose the king she has chosen, rise up against her own deliverance, in support of contribution and conscription, to perpetuate her political damnation under the yoke of a stranger?" He ridiculed alike the idea of Buonaparte being the chosen governor of the people, and that of his alleged purpose to give them a free constitution. His assumption of the throne was in all respects a military usurpation. "Nothing could equal the shouts of the army, except the silence of the people: This was, in the strictest sense of the word, a military election. It was an act where the army deposed the civil government—it was the march

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of a military chief over a conquered people. The nation did not rise to resist Buonaparte or defend Louis, because the nation could not rise upon the army. Her mind as well as her constitution was conquered; in fact there was no nation—every thing was army, and every thing was conquest. Buonaparte, it seems, is to reconcile every thing by the gift of a free constitution: He took possession of Holland, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Spain, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Switzerland, whose independence he had guaranteed, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Italy, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of France, he did not give her a free constitution. On the contrary, he destroyed the directorial constitution—he destroyed the consular constitution—and he destroyed the late constitution, formed on the plan of England. But now he is, with the assistance of the jacobins, to give her liberty; that is, the man who can bear no freedom, unites to form a constitution with a body who can bear no government. In the mean time, while he professes liberty, he exercises despotic power—he annihilates the nobles—he banishes the deputies of the people—and he sequesters the property of the emigrants;—now he is to give liberty! I have seen his constitution, as exhibited in the newspaper—there are faults innumerable in the frame of it, and more in the manner of accepting it: It is to be passed by subscription without discussion; the troops are to send deputies, and the army is to preside. There is some cunning, however, in making the subscribers to the constitution renounce the House of Bourbon. They are to give their word for the deposition of the king, and take Napoleon's word for their own liberty. The offer imports nothing which can be relied on, except that he is afraid of the allies. Disperse the alliance, and farewell to the liberty of France, and safety of Europe."

The point of immediate war, rather than the dubious and uncertain state of armed peace, which seemed to be recommended by Lord Grey and the gentlemen of the opposition, was well argued by Mr Plunket, who showed that the chance of success by a present effort, when we could reckon on the co-operation of all Europe, and a considerable portion of France herself, was greater now than it could be at any subsequent period. "When we saw the situation in which Buonaparte now stood; when we saw him reduced to make professions contrary to his very nature; when we saw the vessel in which his fortunes were embarked labouring with the storm, and its mast bowed down to the water's edge, it would be the height of impolicy and absurdity to hesitate on the course that we had to pursue. We had now a most powerful combination of allies, not fomented by us, but acting from the moral feeling which pervaded all Europe. If we were foolish enough to throw away those means, we could never hope to recall them. Those of his friends who had talked the most about husbanding the resources of the country, had confessed, that when an occasion should arrive when some important blow could be struck against the enemy, that system should no longer be persevered in. That important crisis had now arrived. It was vain to expect that a more favourable opportunity would ever arrive. All the great powers of Europe were now with us, and a considerable portion of the population of France. It had been said, that invading France would be the way to unite the population of that country. The fact, however, was

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directly the reverse. The not invading France would be the sure means of reducing the whole population under the power of the present ruler. He considered, that we had, in fact, no option between peace and war. As for peace, we could have no more than a feverish, unrefreshing dream of peace, still haunted by the spectre of war. In point of finances, we should find a peace, with a war establishment, an evil much greater than war itself. If we did not now go to war in conjunction with all the great powers of Europe, we would soon be reduced to a war single-handed against France. If we did not now invade France, and carry on the war upon her territories, the time might arrive when our country would become the seat of war, and we would fall unpitied and despised. If we were now to turn our back upon the great powers that were our allies, we should deserve that all nations should turn their backs upon us when we began to feel the consequences of our impolicy."

Similar conclusions were yet more forcibly deduced by Mr Grattan. Of the Bourbons he spoke as of a dynasty, "under whose sway all subjects, except the administration, had been open to free discussion; so that learning, arts, and sciences, had made rapid progress, and England had borrowed not a little from the temperate meridian of that government. Her court stood controlled by opinion, limited by principles of honour, and softened by the influence of manners; and, on the whole, there was an amenity in the condition of France which rendered the French an amiable, an enlightened, a gallant, and accomplished race: over this gallant race you see imposed an oriental despotism; their present court has gotten the idiom of the east as well as her constitution; a fantastic and barbaric expression, an unreality, which leaves in the shade the modesty of truth, and states nothing as it is, and every thing as it is not: the attitude is affected, the taste is corrupted, and the intellect perverted. Do you wish to confirm this military tyranny in the heart of Europe?—a tyranny founded on the triumph of the army over the principles of civil government—an experiment to relax the moral and religious influences, and to set heaven and earth adrift from one another—an insurrectionary hope to every bad man in the community, and a frightful lesson of profit and power, vested in those who have pandered their allegiance from king to emperor, and now found their pretensions to domination on the merit of breaking their oaths, and deposing their sovereign. Should you do any thing so monstrous as to leave your allies, in order to confirm such a system,—should you forget your name—forget your ancestors, and the inheritance they have left you of morality and renown,—should you astonish Europe by quitting your allies, to render immortal such a composition, would not the nations exclaim, 'You have very providently watched over our interests, and very generously have you contributed to our service, and do you faulter now?' 'In vain have you stopped, in your own person, the flying fortunes of Europe,—in vain have you taken the eagle of Napoleon, and snatched invincibility from his standard, if now, when confederated Europe is ready to march, you take the lead in the desertion, and preach the penitence of Buonaparte and the poverty of England.'

"As to her poverty, you must not consider the money you spend in your defence, but the fortune you would lose if you were not defended; and, further, you must recollect you will pay less to an immediate war than to peace with a war establishment, and a war to follow it; recollect further, that

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whatever be your resources they must outlast those of all your enemies; and further, that your empire cannot be saved by a calculation: besides, your wealth is only part of your situation; the name you have established, the deeds you have achieved, and the part you have sustained, preclude you from a second place among nations; and when you cease to be the first, you are nothing."

Such were the arguments used in the parliament of Britain on this momentous occasion. Fortunately, not for this country only, but for Europe, those prevailed which preferred an instant and a manly assertion of our rights to enforce the broken treaties of Fontainbleau and Paris, to the equally expensive, and far less effectual measures, of armed neutrality and husbanding our resources, recommended by the opposition. The division in the House of Peers was 156 in favour of the address, to 44 for the amendment moved by Lord Grey. In the House of Commons the parties divided 92 to 331.

If any thing could have rendered the war more a necessary measure in the eyes of the friends of good order, it must have been the views taken of it by those who are almost the professed contemners of the constitution and character of their country, and who have used the right of petitioning only to insult the legislature with the effrontery of sturdy beggars, whose mode of solicitation is threats and abuse. A petition from the inhabitants of Westminster was presented by Sir Francis Burdett. This document stigmatized the proposed war against France as an act not only flagrantly unjust, but resembling desperation or insanity, which they could only impute to the policy of those domestic enemies, who had an interest in stirring up foreign war, that they might cheat the people of their property and subvert the constitution. Such evil counsellors, it was stated, had already by corrupt influence obtained a re-enactment of the property tax: With much more to the same purpose, couched in terms so disrespectful, that the House refused to permit the petition to be laid on the table.

The next communications of the minister announced the manner in which the stipulations of the treaties entered into at Vienna were to be carried into practical effect. The continental powers had agreed to bring into the field contingents considerably stronger than the treaties stipulated, while Great Britain, maintaining an army of 50,000 men only, was to pay in terms of the treaty for one hundred thousand. Of the collective force, the following was the statement:— *May* 30.

Austria supplied -	300,000 soldiers.
Russia, - -	225,000
Prussia, - -	236,000
States of Germany, -	150,000
Great Britain, -	50,000
Holland, - -	50,000

The formidable total amounted to one million and eleven thousand soldiers.

It was the wealth of Britain alone by which this formidable array could be put in motion. The sum which was to be paid in lieu of her full contingent of troops, was two millions and a half. A similar sum was voted to be applied to the aid of the confederacy, in the mode which should be judged most advisable. This sum of five millions, with one million for the reparation of the fortifications in Holland and Flanders, was voted by the great majority of one hundred and sixty-seven to seventeen votes. The few members who made this opposition, having dwelt much on the ex-

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pense incurred in the preceding war with France, were called on by Mr Charles Grant to remember the triumphant effect to which these subsidies had led, and exhorted to expect from the present a result still more triumphant and decisive.

These determined measures on the part of the allies served to convince France and her present ruler, that there was no hope of peace in the present circumstances, or of any aid to be obtained from beyond the frontiers of France, excepting in case of the success of Murat. The enterprize of that person is so closely connected with the history of France, that it becomes necessary to trace it to a period, before completing that of Buonaparte himself.

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CHAP. XI.

Situation of Murat.—Debate concerning him in the House of Commons.—Disaffection in the Milanese Territory.—Riots in the Theatre.—Murat puts his Army in motion.—His dubious Policy.—He occupies Rome, and commences offensive Operations against the Austrians.—His Proclamation from Rimini.—He attacks the Lower Po, and is defeated at Occhiebello.—Commences his Retreat.—Solicits an Armistice, and is refused.—Battle of Tolentino.—Murat's Defeat and disastrous Retreat.—He is intercepted at Saint Germano by General Nugent.—His Rear-guard destroyed.—Flies alone to Naples.—And from thence to France.—General Insurrection in Naples and Calabria.—The Queen surrenders to the British.—The Austrians occupy Naples.—Surrender of the Neapolitan Army.—Restoration of King Ferdinand.—Murat in danger of being killed by the Royalists.—Flies to Corsica.—Refuses a Retreat offered to him in Austria.—His Proclamation to the Neapolitans.—Lands near Pizzo.—But is defeated and made Prisoner.—And tried and executed by a Neapolitan Court-Martial.

JOACHIM MURAT had trodden the paths of French revolution with success, which was only surpassed by the progress of his brother-in-law and patron. Originally the stable-boy, or waiter of a cabaret—then a soldier of fortune—then a jacobin, so enthusiastic, that he requested permission to change his name to Marat, in honour of that deceased worthy—he had become successively General, Marshal, Grand Duke of Berg, and King of Naples. Notwithstanding his share in the treacherous expedition against Spain, and the cruel murders which he perpetrated on the patriotic citizens of Madrid upon the 4th of May, 1808, his opportune desertion of his brother-in-law's cause had given him such claims on the confederated powers, as, with good faith and prudence on his part, might have confirmed his right to the throne of Naples.

His sovereignty had been attended with considerable advantages to Naples, as often happens upon the introduction of a new dynasty. Ancient abuses had been corrected, assassinations were rendered less frequent by abridging the privilege of sanctuary, the insolencies of the turbulent Lazzaroni had been checked, and a more strict police was established both in Naples and Calabria. His government became rather popular with the nobles, though the common people of the capital, and the peasants of the country, retained their ancient predilections in favour of Ferdinand and his family. The splendour of Murat's public shows, and the distribution of wine and money on these occasions, had not eradicated from the minds of

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the populace the more plain, popular, and even vulgar manners of Ferdinand, who had won their hearts by the share which he took in their mirth and their games on occasion of public festivals. Murat was a foreigner, and obnoxious to all objections, real or imaginary, which nations make to a strange ruler. Neither did he possess either wisdom or moderation to balance the popular prejudice against him as a Frenchman. Brave as a lion in war, Murat was at once ambitious and irresolute in his politics, undertaking enterprizes beyond his means, and abandoning them, when, by some fortuitous train of circumstances, he might possibly have succeeded. In person, he was fond of show, dress, and decoration, and obtained among the French soldiers the nickname of Franconi, from a celebrated Parisian mountebank so called.

Such a character was not likely to possess the political skill, prudence, and sagacity, necessary for the security of his dominions in critical times. Murat was aware, that at the Congress his deposition had been urged by Talleyrand,—that the English and Austrian courts considered his conduct during the campaign in Tuscany as too dubious to merit favour, and would afford him no further protection than the state of Europe might require. Alarmed at those indications of evil intentions towards him, Murat, by his minister, the Duke of Campochiaro, drew up a laboured vindication of his good faith towards the allies. But this statement was met by a detailed report from the Austrian General Nugent, and another from Lord William Bentinck, both of whom had acted with Murat in the campaign of Italy, and both now contended, that he had totally failed to fulfil his engagement with the allies, and had, instead, played false with all parties, endeavouring to keep the balance in his own hands, till he could determine on which side he could most safely incline it. To complete the impressions to Murat's prejudice, Talleyrand exhibited, first to the Duke of Wellington, and afterwards to Lord Castlereagh, some documents of correspondence, in which Murat, while acting with the allies, appeared to have expressed himself still favourable to the cause of his brother-in-law. Of five documents thus produced, two were stated by the Moniteur, during Buonaparte's usurpation, to have been manufactured by the French ministry, for the purpose of imposing on Lord Castlereagh. This forgery, or sophistication, if such existed, must have been a work of gratuitous immorality, for the conduct of Murat had been so vacillating as completely to indicate his want of faith; and although the Congress had not settled on the line of conduct to be adopted toward him, there can be no doubt that the throne of Tancred tottered under its new possessor. His conduct, and the line of policy which, in justice and good faith, was to be observed with him, became the subject of an interesting debate in the British House of Commons; but from the documents then produced, and especially from the facts and arguments of Lord William Bentinck, and General Nugent's Memorials, the members were convinced, that the vacillation of Murat in his engagements with the allies, left them free of any obligation towards him. Still, however, the question of political expedience remained undecided; and it was founded upon by Murat himself, as the best guarantee of his cause, that he was in actual possession of the kingdom in dispute, enjoyed its apparently unanimous homage, and, with the reputation of a great general, commanded an army of eighty thousand men. *May 2.*

While the views of the allies to-

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wards the King of Naples excited his doubts, his vanity and ambition were flattered by the hope of becoming the liberator, and, in consequence, the monarch of all Italy. The northern part of that fine country was filled with soldiers, who, trained to arms in the wars of Buonaparte, retained an affection for him, and for all his family. The rule of Austria in the Italian dominions has never been either gentle or popular, and at this time there existed a violent ferment in Milan, which was near breaking out into absolute revolt. An alarming riot took place at the theatre of that city, with such acclamations in favour of Italian independence, of Eugene Beauharnois, and even of Napoleon, that the Austrian commandant, Marshal Bellegarde, deemed himself obliged to take the most prompt and severe measures. The theatre was surrounded by the troops of the garrison, and as the contumacious audience issued forth, those who had headed the disorder were taken *into* custody. Their examinations gave rise to a belief, that this disturbance was but the premature explosion of a general disaffection to the Austrian government. The city was declared to be in a state of siege; eight capital executions, and other punishments, suppressed the appearances of disaffection. This tumult indicated only one branch of the general conspiracy through Italy, of which Murat trusted to avail himself, to further his gigantic plans. His correspondence with Excelman and with Buonaparte had the same object; and thus, while he ought to have studied how to secure the kingdom of Naples, he aspired at the sovereignty of all Italy. It is needless to dwell upon this miserable policy. The struggle which was about to take place would have enabled Murat to make his own terms with the allies, in order to detach him from Buonaparte; and a solemn guarantee of his kingdom of Naples would have been the least they would have offered for his neutrality.

Murat's army was such as made him formidable; and he had of late augmented, both his forces by new levies, and his means of supporting them by heavy imposts, neither of which had rendered his government more popular. He possessed about 45,000 troops of the line, and an equal number of militia, and the former were trained to arms under French officers. His court was the residence of revolutionists from all parts of Italy, who kept up an active and efficient correspondence with the various states they belonged to. But the effective strength of his army was much weakened by the recall of many French officers by Louis XVIII., and by his own dismissing others, in order to render himself more popular with the Neapolitans. And the character of the troops of Naples stood very low since 1799, when the French General Championnet routed them with such inferior numbers.

In these circumstances, departing from the neutrality which was his best chance of safety, Murat demanded permission of Austria to march 80,000 men through her Italian dominions, to repel an attack from a French army, which, he pretended to believe, designed to cross the Alps, with the purpose of dispossessing him of his kingdom of Naples. The Austrian minister replied to these strange propositions, that his imperial majesty was determined to maintain the tranquillity of Italy. And to do so with effect, a large body of troops was instantly put in motion to reinforce those in the Italian provinces. Thus the only effect of Murat's first warlike demonstration was, to induce the power who was chiefly threatened to strengthen his forces on the points exposed to danger.

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On the 5th of March, Murat learned Buonaparte's departure from Elba; and from that moment he appears to have determined to keep pace with his brother-in-law, maintaining, however, as long as possible, the appearance of fidelity to his treaty with the allies, so as to have ground to retreat upon, in case Buonaparte should prove unsuccessful. While, therefore, he gave directions for putting his army into motion, he assembled his cabinet, and solemnly declared his resolution of adhering to the allies. Buonaparte's failure at Antibes seems to have checked his resolution of proceeding; but on hearing that he had been joined by the military, and had taken possession of Lyons, his schemes of ambition were again reassumed. He demanded from the Pope leave to march two of his divisions through the Roman territories, doubtless because the mountains of Abruzzo, which he must otherwise have traversed, afford roads difficult or impracticable for the march of an army. Pius VII. refused this permission, and protested against the violation of his territorities; on which two Neapolitan divisions instantly penetrated to Rome, and occupied the capital of the holy see. The Pontiff was preparing to bear his part in a religious procession, when he had information of their approach, through means, it was supposed, of Lucien Buonaparte. He had but the necessary time to throw himself into a carriage, and withdraw to Florence, and from thence to Genoa, where he put himself under protection of the heretical army of England. The various foreign ministers, the members of the sacred college, even the old King and Queen of Spain—all followed the example of the holy father, and no one chose to await the arrival of Murat, the character of whose army, as well as his own reputation for rapine, made his approach dreaded by all who had any thing to lose. While a part of his troops thus occupied the ancient capital of the world, Murat himself advanced to Ancona, where he established his head-quarters. His troops immediately commenced marching, in four columns, on the routes of Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Ferrara, and thus threatening the whole line of the Po, while a fifth division defiled into Tuscany through the passes of the Appenines. They speedily drove the Austrian garrisons from Cesena and Rimini, and at the latter town Murat published a proclamation which threw complete light on his purpose.

It was addressed to the Italians, and assured them that Providence called on them to assert their independence, and that every trace of foreign domination should in future be erazed from the soil of Italy. Eighty thousand Italians of Naples had sworn it should be so, and invited their countrymen of every denomination to join them. England, free herself, could not, it was asserted, refuse her suffrage to an effort for freedom. The Italians of Milan, Bologna, Turin, Venice, Brescia, Modena, and Reggio, were all called on to remember the sufferings of their exiled and imprisoned patriots. They were summoned to arms, and were promised a national representation, and a constitution worthy of them and of the age. This remarkable production was subscribed Joachim Napoleon, Murat having now reassumed the latter name which he had formerly laid aside.

March 31.

But Italy had been too long divided into petty states, and these too long accustomed to transfer their allegiance from one foreign conqueror to another, to feel any thing arousing in the name of independence. In Bologna some of the students in the once celebrated university, caught by the sounds of liberty and honour, always so dear to

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youth, enrolled themselves under the standard of Murat when his forces arrived in that city. But in most other places of Italy, particularly in the Roman and Tuscan territories, the indifference of the inhabitants to the advantages promised by Murat, and their extreme and peculiar aversion to the Neapolitans, prevented his receiving any partizans. "It is probable," says an intelligent author, "that when Murat made an appeal to the valour of Italians, the number of singers, dancers, improvisators, abbés, and players, who form the delight of the society of that country, greatly exceeded that of the men who prepared to combat for the independence proposed."

But Murat's force was of itself sufficiently formidable. He attacked an Austrian army of about ten thousand men, under General Bianchi, who occupied the banks of the Panaro, on the road from Bologna to Modena. The advantages of superior bravery and discipline were unable to counterbalance that of numbers, and after a desperate resistance of six hours, the Neapolitan General of Division Carascosa, whose troops were composed of deserters from almost all nations, and fought with remarkable desperation, carried the bridges, and the Austrians were driven from their possession of Sammoggia. This victory opened to Murat the possession of Modena, to which he soon added that of Tuscany, and its capital, Florence. The Austrian General Nugent fell back to occupy the passes of the Appenines, and join with the British troops in defence of Genoa.

At this period of his fortunes, Murat might have made a treaty with the allies on his own terms. Buonaparte was again in power, and it was of the last importance to prevent Murat from joining him. Austria is said to have offered him, not only to guarantee the crown of Naples to him and his heirs, but to have added the Marches of the Papal See. Britain caused it at the same time to be announced, that, having made truce with Murat at the solicitation of Austria, that truce would last no longer than his good intelligence with her ally. But Murat, it is said, rejected the proposals contained in the Austrian dispatches, repeating frequently as he read them, "It is too late; Italy desires freedom, and she shall be free."

This obstinacy proved fatal to him. Austria declared war against him, and expedited the reinforcements which she had ordered into Italy. Britain prepared an armament to invade his Neapolitan territories, where Ferdinand continued to have many partisans.

Murat, meanwhile, from his headquarters at Ancona, directed the march of his army. His generals, Liveron and Pignatelli, had already sustained a check in an attempt to press upon the rear of General Nugent, which he had not only repulsed, but driven them back to Florence with loss. The Austrians, under General Frimont, prepared to defend the line of the Po. Murat resolved to force the passage, and his scheme was that of an able disciple of Napoleon. While he affected a grand movement to the westward, as if to attack Placentia, Cremona, and Casal Maggiore, he trusted to a real assault upon Ferrara, by which, had it succeeded, he would have obtained possession of the Lower Po, and been able, perhaps, to stir up insurrections in Lombardy, and the Venetian territories. In the former province, where the inhabitants are more martially disposed than in other states of Italy, it was supposed that he might have received a reinforcement of several thousand veterans, who had served under Napoleon, and were ready to rise and join with Joachim. But the

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manœuvres of Murat had failed to deceive the Austrians. To succeed in his attack on the Lower Po, it was necessary to carry the bridge and town of Occhiobello, in order to be master of the passage of the river. The Neapolitans were not only unable to carry this place, but were attacked on different points by the moveable columns of the Austrians as they retired from the points of attack, and sustained a severe loss.

Upon receiving this check, Murat seems at once to have renounced his undertaking as desperate. He evacuated not only Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna, but Florence and all Tuscany; thus avouching, by a general retreat on his whole line, that he abandoned the north of Italy to its fate. All, and his own soldiers first of all, became aware that his hopes were chimerical, and that he had undertaken an enterprize too great both for his courage and understanding. The consequence was total discouragement to the soldiery, with its usual attendants, disorder, insubordination, and desertion. The evacuation of Florence, General Pignatelli Stromboli is said to have executed without Joachim's knowledge, and contrary to his orders. It was a measure of disastrous consequence, as it put the Austrians at once in possession of the shortest and best road to Rome, and exposed the left flank and rear of Murat's army to their hostile manœuvres.

Having once resolved on a retreat, Murat ought to have executed his purpose as speedily as possible. But he was so ill advised as to linger in the Roman territory, in the vain hope of maintaining his ground there against the Austrians. This was so obviously contrary to all military rules, that it has been ascribed to the arts of Napoleon, whose interest it was to keep Murat as long opposite to the Austrians as possible; because in doing so, he detained a large army, which, when disengaged from the Italian campaign, would certainly enter France.

The delay was fatal to Murat, for General Frimont, now reinforced with the troops from Austria, adopted a plan of tactics, which had for its object his utter destruction.

General Neipperg was sent against Murat, with instructions to engage his attention by false demonstrations, and detain him in the north-east of Italy; while General Bianchi, proceeding by forced marches from Bologna to Foligno, should intercept his retreat to the Neapolitan territory; and while General Nugent, advancing from Florence, should recover possession of Rome, and proceed forwards to Capua and Naples.

Murat, in the meanwhile, made serious reflections on his situation, and saw it was full time to solicit the peace he had lately rejected. The chief of his staff, Millet de Villeneuve, wrote *April* 21. to the Austrian commander in chief to request an armistice, and to represent all that had looked like hostility in Murat's conduct, including two or three severe battles, besides skirmishes, together with the siege and assault of strong places, and all the circumstances of an active invasion conducted by a sovereign at the head of his army, as a train of unhappy misunderstandings and fortuitous accidents, arising from some unlucky discharges of musketry at Cesena, which had engaged King Joachim innocently, and against his inclination, not only in war with Austria, but in a dispute with England, who seemed disposed to take the part of the Emperor Francis. On the whole, upon thinking better of it, the King of Naples, it was said, had resolved to commence some new negociations at Vienna, and proposed a

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cessation of arms to wait the event. History records scarce any such futile attempt to stop, by flimsy falsehoods, the course of a victorious enemy, unless it be the offer of Murat himself, who, when involved in the disasters of the Russian retreat, where he had acted as general of his brother-in-law's cavalry, attempted to extricate himself, by offering to make peace with Alexander in his individual capacity as King of Naples. The answer of General Neipperg to the letter we have mentioned, returned a formal refusal to listen to the proposal of an armistice. It was not, he said, the skirmish at Cesena, which had decided the question of peace or war, but the whole tenor of Murat's conduct, his invading with a formidable army the Legations occupied by the Austrian troops, and the proclamation dated from Rimini, announcing sentiments and projects so different from those expressed in the letter of the Neapolitan chief of the staff. While these negociations proceeded, General Neipperg had so well obeyed his orders, by engaging Murat's attention in front, that the army of General Bianchi had already penetrated as far as Foligno, in the rear of that of Naples. Joachim was compelled to a retreat so speedy, that several thousand Neapolitans were left behind, who, throwing themselves into the town of Ancona, were instantly blockaded in that place.

Meantime Murat, pressed alike on his front and rear, and sustaining losses in a variety of partial actions, endeavoured to extricate himself by leaving a strong rear-guard to oppose Neipperg, while, with the main body of his army, and moving by forced marches, he sought a battle with Bianchi as he advanced from Foligno. The armies met near the town of Tolentino, where Murat found General Bianchi in an advantageous situation. He attacked his line at all points with the reso- *May 2.* lute boldness of despair; but the Austrians kept their position with much skill and courage. On the next day, *May 3.* the battle was renewed, and Murat displayed, not only the military experience which he had reaped in so many successful campaigns, but all the daring and intrepid valour which had acquired for him, in the French armies, the name of the handsome swordsman, (*Le beau sabreur*). Eight thousand Neapolitans, whom Joachim conducted in person, descended from the heights of Monte Milone, formed into close columns, or rather phalanxes, each composed of two or three battalions, in order to overwhelm the left wing of the Austrians; while the other troops of Naples maintained a fire of musketry along the front of the line. But the Austrians, without replying to the musketry, awaited the attack on the left with so much apparent determination, that the Neapolitan soldiers could not be brought to venture upon a close engagement. Despite the obstinacy with which Murat persisted in the attack, who is said to have placed field-pieces, loaded with grape, in the rear of his attacking columns, with command to fire on them if they gave way; and despite also of the personal valour which he displayed, not one of his charges succeeded; and his troops, exposed to the fire of several batteries of field-guns, and to repeated charges of cavalry, at length gave way and fled. In the confusion of their retreat, they were attacked in various directions by other Austrian corps, who came up from different points to take share in the action; and two brigades of the army of Naples, those of Taquilla and Medicis, were totally cut off or dispersed. The remainder retreated,

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or rather fled, by routes almost impracticable, through Macerata, Fermo, Giulia Nova, Pescara, and Popoli. The armies of Bianchi and Neipperg having joined after the battle, the Austrians maintained a close pursuit with their light troops, while their heavy battalions manœuvred on the flank of Murat's march so effectually, that he could not again take up any military position. From the 4th of May, the day of the decisive battle of Tolentino, till the 13th, Murat continued his disastrous retreat. Guns, ammunition, baggage, his military chest, his royal treasure, amounting, it is said, in specie and diamonds, to two millions of livres; his personal equipage and wardrobe, all became the spoil of the pursuers. Great numbers of prisoners were also made; whole battalions of the Neapolitans throwing down their arms without resistance; and Murat, in traversing the mountains of Abruzzo, lost fully more than one half of his army, without stroke of sword.

He was now again in the dominions of Naples, but it was evident they were to be his no longer. The Austrian General Bianchi now gave him, in his proclamations, the name of General Murat, and called on the inhabitants to assume the red cockade, and return to the allegiance of their lawful monarch Ferdinand. General Bianchi entered Aquila, a principal town of the district of Abruzzo, on the 13th May. General Nugent, who had taken his route along the western side of Italy, while Bianchi pursued Murat along the shores of the Adriatic, and through the mountains of Abruzzo, had recovered Rome from the Neapolitans, dispersed some free corps which had declared for independence, and was now marching rapidly southward to intercept the wrecks of Murat's army. Thus the unfortunate Joachim, who had now only a disorganised body of about five thousand men, found, upon advancing towards St Germano, that he had a new enemy to combat, and was, for the second time during this calamitous retreat, pent up between a pursuing and an intercepting army. His van-guard was attacked and routed with considerable loss; and while he continued a rapid and desperate march towards Naples, he had the mortification to learn, that the inhabitants of his late kingdom had declared for the king of Sicily, whereever the Austrians had appeared; that Colonel Church, an English officer of distinction, was raising against him an army of his late subjects; that both the Calabrias were in general insurrection; that the Lazzaroni of Naples had mutinied, and were with the utmost difficulty kept in subjection by the burgher, or national guard; that an English fleet, escorting a Sicilian army, had appeared in the bay; in short, that his power was mouldering, like a palace built of isicles under the influence of a general thaw. When he received this accumulation of disastrous tidings, the remnants of the force which he himself led were pressed and inclosed between the armies of Bianchi and Nugent, which were now in the most active communication with each other; and besides various other partial affairs, in all which they were losers, had to sustain a brisk attack near Mignano, in which his whole rear-guard were dispersed, or cut to pieces.

In these circumstances, he left the miserable remnant of his army to make their way towards Capua, with permission to get for themselves, and, if possible, for him, such terms as the victors would grant. Joachim himself hastened to Naples, which he entered after sun-set upon horseback, and at the gallop, attended only by his nephew, and four lancers for escort.

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Arrived at the palace, he presented himself before the queen, pale, haggard, and bearing all the signs of extreme fatigue and dejection. His first salutation was in the affecting words, "Madam, I have been unable to find death." On this score Murat had nothing to reproach himself; for, contrary to the custom of his brother-in-law, he had been foremost in every action, and exposed his person with such daring audacity, as induced most of his attendants to believe, that he really sought to end his misfortunes by the death of a soldier. Death, however, so unwelcome to most, comes not always to relieve those who seek him, even in his most frequent haunts, and he was to meet Murat under other features. Joachim was speedily convinced, that there was no hope of redeeming his fortunes, and that his stay in Naples might compromise the safety of his wife and family. Horace says, that heroes, in their exile, lay aside their swelling language; Murat, formerly so splendid in his apparel, now cut off his hair, and left Naples alone, dressed in a plain grey frock.

In this disguise he gained the little isle of Ischia. From thence he obtained the means of transporting himself, with one or two of his most faithful adherents, and particularly the Duke of Rocca Romana, to Cannes, where he landed on the *May 25.* same beach which had received Napoleon a few weeks before. A courier announced his arrival to Buonaparte, who, instead of sending consolation to his unhappy relative, is said to have asked with bitter scorn, "Whether Naples and France had made peace since their war of 1814?" The answer seems to imply, that although the attempts of Joachim and Napoleon coincided in time, and in other circumstances, so punctually as to make it evident they had been undertaken in concert, yet there had been no precise correspondence, far less any formal treaty, betwixt the adventurous brothers. Each seems to have rested on his own fortunes, well knowing that his claim to the other's assistance would depend chiefly upon his success, and unwilling, besides, to relinquish the privilege of making peace, should it be necessary, by disowning the kindred enterprize of his brother-in-law. Notwithstanding the splendid details which the Moniteur gave of Murat's undertaking while it yet seemed to promise success, it is certain that Buonaparte endeavoured to propitiate Austria, by the offer of abandoning Murat, and that Murat, could his offers have obtained a hearing after the repulse of Occhiobello, was ready once more to have deserted Napoleon, whose name he had so lately reassumed. Involved in this maze of selfish policy, Murat had now the mortification to find himself contemned by Napoleon, when he might, indeed, be a burthen, but could afford him no aid. Had he arrived at Milan as a victor, and extended a friendly hand across the Alps, how different would have been his reception! But Buonaparte refused to see him in his distress, or to permit him to come to Paris, satisfied that the sight of his misery would be a bitter contradiction to the fables which the French journals had, for some time, published of his success. Fouché sent him a message, much like that which enjoined the dishonoured ambassadors of Solomon to tarry at Jericho till their beards grew. It recommended to Murat to remain in seclusion till the recollection of his disgrace was abated by newer objects of general interest. The unfortunate Joachim took up his residence accordingly in a small country-house near Toulon, an inactive attendant upon the course of important events,

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which were now in rapid progress to a grand catastrophe.

Britain, according to her engagements with Austria, had lent the aid of her trident* to shake the foundations of Murat's tottering throne. Commodore Campbell, of the Tremendous, with a ship of the line and two frigates, had formed the blockade of Naples, and the Melpomene, a French frigate, which endeavoured to elude his vigilance, was taken by the Riveli, after a brief action, the only naval engagement by which this war was distinguished. The British commodore next entered the Bay of Naples, and, under the threat of a bombardment, demanded possession of the arsenal, vessels of war, and naval stores. Fortune reserved for him a more complete surrender on the part of the enemy, than even that which he demanded. Caroline Buonaparte, the late Queen of Naples, in momentary apprehension of the fury of the populace, who were with difficulty restrained from attacking the citadel, in which she had taken refuge, surrendered her person and property to the British commodore. She embarked under the escort of a guard of marines, and could hear from the deck of the vessel the shouts of her late subjects, as they plundered the effects which remained in the palace. "Death to the French and their faction!" was the cry of the mob of Naples, always one of the most formidable in Europe; and as they threatened to inforce this decree against the persons and property of such nobles and citizens as were alleged to be Muratists, it was hourly to be apprehended that this splendid capital would have been sacked and burned to the ground. The only prospect of succour seemed to be in the Austrian armies, a party of whose cavalry, anticipating the term when the city was to be surrendered, were pushed forward to occupy it by Marshal Bianchi. They surrounded the palace, occupied the military posts, and were welcomed by the inhabitants, as delivering them from the threatened murders and pillage of the Lazzaroni, by whom the burgher guard was well nigh overpowered at the time of their arrival.

A military convention had been already concluded between General Bianchi and Carascosa, who commanded the remnant of Murat's army after his departure. The Neapolitan general had first proposed terms in the name of Joachim, but the Austrians having refused to listen to any proposition in which Murat was mentioned as a party, Carascosa was obliged to subscribe to an unconditional surrender of all the strong-holds in the kingdom, excepting those of Gaeta, Pescara, and Ancona, already placed out of his command by the blockade of the allies. The following articles of agreement were arranged by General Bianchi, whom Ferdinand created, for his important services, Duke of Capua. 1. The most absolute amnesty for the past. 2. The assurance of the sales of national property. 3. The confirmation of the national debt. 4. That every Neapolitan, without distinction of rank, might hold any office in the state, civil or military. 5. The old and newly created nobles both to retain their honours. 6. Each officer in the military service, being a native of either Sicily, to retain his rank and appointments, on taking the oath of fidelity to Ferdinand.—The other fortresses speedily surrendered, but that of

May 20.

* ——— muros, magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit.—*Æneid, lib.* 2.

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Gaeta, where Murat's children were lodged, held out for two months, and only surrendered on the 8th August. The Neapolitan army was placed by the convention at the disposition of the victors, and thus the whole of this fine kingdom was restored to Ferdinand, its lawful monarch. He embarked at Palermo, on hearing of these brilliant successes, and, on the 17th June, made his public entry into Naples, his ancient capital, after an absence of nine years. He was received by the lower classes with the most ardent acclamations; and the grandees of the realm thought it necessary to evince a share of the enthusiasm, which, it was suspected, they did not in reality feel.

Lord Exmouth having, in the meanwhile, arrived in the bay of Naples, the treaty between Caroline Buonaparte and Commodore Campbell underwent some modification. That officer had proposed to transport her to Antibes, and to guarantee her possession of the crown-jewels of Naples. In these two points he was judged by the admiral to have exceeded his powers. Caroline was obliged to surrender the property of the crown of Sicily, retaining only what she could claim as her own. She was transported with her family to Trieste, and from thence to Prague, there to reside, under the name of the Countess Lipona, and the protection of the Austrian government. But to complete this singular history, it is proper that we here anticipate the order of time, in order that Murat's catastrophe may follow the tale of his ambitious enterprise.

Joachim Murat resided privately, and in discouragement, in the vicinity of Toulon, until the news of the battle of Waterloo, and the subsequent dethronement of Buonaparte, rendered it no longer a safe neighbourhood; when he dismissed his train, and concealed himself in a secret retreat, giving out that he had embarked for Tunis. He endeavoured to negociate for himself an asylum in England, but Lord Exmouth declined to receive him on board of his fleet, unless as an unconditional prisoner. In the meanwhile, the royalists of the Bouches de Rhine were in active search of the ex-monarch, under the idea that he had considerable treasures about his person. He was driven from the retreat he had chosen, and compelled, after wandering several days in the woods and vineyards, to throw himself on the doubtful faith of a farmer, whose house he entered, compelled by weariness and hunger. The owner respected the hospitality due to so singular a suppliant, and procured him a place of asylum in a villa in the neighbourhood, then unoccupied. On the 13th of August, a party of sixty royalists, headed by the son of General Moçaud, upon some suspicion or information, surrounded the house by night, and made a strict search through it. The late King of Naples, armed with a poniard and two pair of pistols, had but just time to throw himself among the vines, about thirty yards from the house, where the royalists repeatedly passed within a few yards of them. He heard them talk of cutting him to pieces, and dividing his treasures, and could only bend up his mind to make the most desperate resistance, and when all failed, to discharge his last pistol at his own head, rather than fall alive into their hands. But his destiny was different. He remained undiscovered, and shortly afterwards escaped in a small open boat to Corsica.

The state of this singular island, divided, from feudal as well as political quarrels, into a hundred factions, of which each is willing to protect any person whatsoever against the others, afforded Murat a temporary

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refuge, which was prolonged, notwithstanding the attempts of the French commandant of Bastia to secure his person, until he heard the final resolution of the allied powers on his behalf. This had been solicited at Paris by one of his former aide-de-camps, an Anglo-Italian, named Macirone, through whom Murat desired permission to reside in England. The request was most prudently rejected on the part of Lord Castlereagh. The British laws, customs, and particularly the habits of the people, render our island a most improper place of residence for persons whom it is desirable to seclude from political intrigues, or from unrestrained intercourse with the rest of Europe. Murat, in the power of the allies, must always have been regarded as a prisoner of state, although at large, and on his parole; and such a prisoner can be only kept with perfect safety under a government, which possesses strong powers of coercion, in case the personal freedom permitted to him should be found liable to abuse. There was, however, due respect paid to the misfortunes of a king, who had once been the ally of Britain and Austria. The agent of Murat was supplied by Prince Metternich with a note of the conditions, upon compliance with which the Em-

Sept. 1. peror of Austria was willing to grant an asylum to King Joachim. I. That he should assume the name of a private person; and that which the queen had adopted was proposed to him. II. That he might chuse his residence in any town, either in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria; or should he prefer a country residence in any of these provinces, his wishes would not be opposed. III. King Joachim was to engage his word to the emperor, that he would not quit the Austrian states without his express consent, and that he would live as a private individual of distinction, subject, however, to the laws of these states. On these conditions he was offered a passport to proceed to Trieste, for the purpose of joining his wife and family.

More mild and honourable conditions were surely never proposed to a man in Murat's situation, and they were such as he would gladly have accepted, when he transmitted from Toulon to the hands of Fouché his resolution to submit his person to the disposal of the allies. But upon his arriving at Corsica, he had unfortunately found about four hundred of his followers, chiefly officers discharged from the Neapolitan army, or who had fled upon the return of Ferdinand. A desperate man, surrounded by desperadoes, he now assumed once more the regal character, took possession of the town of Ajaccio, and proceeded to levy soldiers with the avowed purpose of an attempt to recover Naples. For this purpose, he purchased five small vessels, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. Macirone, the bearer of Prince Metternich's proposal, found Joachim at Ajaccio in mimic state, having sentinels mounted, and his colours displayed before the door of his house. His reception of Prince Metternich's articles plainly shows, that his offer to retire into England was with the secret purpose of waiting a favourable opportunity again to assert his supposed right to his kingdom. But Austria afforded no facilities of this kind: There was there neither an opposition, to whom he might appeal,—nor a disaffected jacobinical faction, with whom he might intrigue,—nor the opportunity of maintaining a correspondence with the malcontents of France and Italy. If Murat accepted the terms of the emperor, it could only be with the certainty that he would not be permitted to elude them in letter or

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in spirit. Life, safety, opulence, all to be enjoyed in the society of his family, seemed tasteless to this victim of ambition, who, having experienced that chance could raise to a throne the waiter of a pot-house, was unwilling to admit that fortune could resume the grandeur she had
Sept. 25. conferred. While, by a letter addressed to Macirone, he pretended to accept the conditions proposed to him, by ano-
Sept. 28. ther, dated only three days later, he refused them with contempt. "I will not accept," were his expressions, "the conditions which you are charged to offer me. I perceive nothing in them but an absolute abdication, on the mere condition that I shall be permitted to exist, but in eternal captivity, subjected to the arbitrary action of the laws under a despotic government." He expressed himself confident in the attachment of his army.—"I am going to join them—They are all eager to see me again at their head—They, and every class of my well-beloved subjects, have preserved to me their affections—I have not abdicated—I have a right to recover my crown, if God gives me the force and means."

The truth was, that, forgetting alike the difference of times, circumstances, countries, and personal talents, Murat had imagined to himself the possibility of effectuating a second revolution in Naples, such as Buonaparte
Sept. 28. had so lately accomplished in France. For this purpose, he sailed, with his flotilla of five vessels, with the purpose of disembarking at Salerno. In imitation of his grand prototype, he had prepared a proclamation, which might almost be regarded as a parody on those of Buonaparte. "He had determined," he said, "to retire from public life, when he learned that the insulting term 'hostile banditti,' had been applied to that Neapolitan army, which was composed of the flower of the nation. He then resumed his resolution, and, heading the brave men who had formerly fought under him, was come to maintain the honour of the army, and his own rights." The nation was exhorted to fly to arms; the amaranth was appointed as the national colour, and the Neapolitan ladies were invited to adorn themselves therewith. The proclamation would not have been faithful to the style of the great original, had it not exhibited a sufficient portion of falsehood. The Neapolitans were thereby assured, that the allied powers would not again arm themselves against King Joachim. The emperor, formerly deceived with respect to the real political state of Naples, would now, it was averred, become his ally; and it would be an insult to the good faith of the British cabinet to suppose it would hesitate to repair the injury it had done, by taking up arms against the rightful sovereign of Naples. All this eloquence, and much more to the same purpose, was doomed to reach no farther than the deafened and thankless ears of a few rude Calabrian fishers. A storm dispersed the five small vessels in their passage from Corsica to the coast of Naples, and when it subsided, Murat found the felucca in which he was embarked separated from the others, and at the entrance of the Gulf of St Euphemia. The chance of any force he might obtain by waiting to collect his flotilla, was not to be balanced with the risk of delay. Joachim, dressed in a rich uniform, and attended by about thirty officers, among whom was General Franceschetti, disembarked
at Pizzo. On his entering *Oct.* 8.
the market-place of the little town, numbers came to gaze on him, but none to join him. He collected horses, mounted his retinue, and proceeded towards Monteleone, the ca-

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pital of Calabria. On his way, he met a colonel of gens d'armes, by name Trentacapelli, whom he commanded to follow him. The officer eluded the request, afraid, probably, of being detained had he given a direct refusal. "My king," he replied, "shall be he whose flag shall be displayed on the castle of Monteleone." Murat permitted him to proceed on his journey. On arriving at Pizzo, Trentacapelli found the inhabitants taking arms in the cause of Ferdinand, under command of Seignior Alcala, the steward of the Duke del Infantado, to whom the village belongs. Colonel Trentacapelli put himself at their head, and hastened to pursue Murat, who was already half way on his journey to Monteleone. With the fool-hardy infatuation that seems to have characterised most of his measures, Joachim concluded that the strong party which advanced from Pizzo, were following with the purpose of joining him, and determined to wait their arrival. On their approach, the shout of *Viva il Re Gioachino!* which was raised by his attendants, was answered by a volley of musketry. A smart skirmish ensued, in the course of which Murat fired his last pistol in the face of Trentacapelli, but without killing him; and at length, breaking through the enemy, with about twelve followers, all of whom, save himself, were wounded, he regained, at full gallop, the sea-beach, near the place where he had disembarked. Here all hopes of escape terminated. The commander of the felucca from which he had disembarked had taken the alarm on hearing the firing, and, giving up Murat for lost, bore away from the coast. Joachim threw himself into a fishing-boat, and endeavoured to get it launched. The fishermen and his comrades pulled the boat to the beach, and surrounded him. As a last effort, he produced the passport for Trieste. It was too late. A female rushed upon him, and tore off his decorations, and he was conveyed before General Nanziante, the commander of Calabria, where he underwent a short examination.

News of the capture of Murat was carried to Naples by telegraph, and by the same expeditious means an order was conveyed to the commandant of the military district in which he had landed, to subject him to a trial by martial law. His trial and condemnation were very summary; for the lot of a captive and defeated pretender is seldom long dubious. He was found guilty by the court-martial, unanimously, of having attempted to excite rebellion and civil war, and the president, General Nanziante, passed sentence of death accordingly. The justice of this doom is vindicated by the general law of nations; yet, considering that Murat, though now unquestionably a private man, had been so lately numbered among those who make peace or war at their pleasure, a firm government would have disdained, and an humane monarch hesitated, to execute the sentence. It is said, accordingly, that Ferdinand expressed some scruples at signing the fatal warrant, until reminded that the unsettled state of his newly recovered kingdom did not permit him in prudence to spare the forfeit life of his unhappy rival. The sentence of death was executed in the same day. Murat made it his request that he should be shot by a party of his own guard, which was of course refused. With unnecessary cruelty, the Neapolitan officer denied him the use of scissors to cut off his hair, which he wished to send to his family. At the last fatal moment he behaved with the courage to be expected from *Le beau sabreur*, placed on his breast a picture of his wife, refused to have his eyes bandaged, or to use a seat, received six balls through his head, and fell without a

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groan. His remains were interred in the chapel belonging to the castle in whose hall the execution had taken place.

Thus fell Murat, who, from the meanest rank of society, had raised himself by military courage alone,—for he was devoid of talents,—to the throne of one of the most delightful countries in Europe. Had he made active war during the campaign of 1814, he would have avoided the suspicions of Britain and Austria, or had he remained at peace in the subsequent year, he would have appeased their resentment, and, in either case, retained his rank among the kingdoms of Europe. His remarkable history is less striking, from its being interwoven with that of Buonaparte, to which it forms but an episode. Future times, however, could they forget the massacres of September at Paris, and the 4th of May in Madrid, might assign to Murat a fairer rank than his patron and relative. As a king, he conferred many benefits on his subjects, and was generous and hospitable in his intercourse with strangers; as a soldier, he led his men in person against the cannon to which he exposed them, and as a general, he never forsook his army until it abandoned him. The circumstances of his death he had himself foretold, when he weighed in his rashness, and instigated, probably, by the passions of others as well as his own, the various dangers by which he was surrounded. "A king," he said, "who could not keep his sovereignty, had no alternative but a soldier's death; and though a prison might be offered to him as an asylum, a grave would be at no great distance."

His fall, in a political point of view, was of importance to the tranquillity of Europe; for while Murat continued to live and reign, his court must have been the natural asylum of the disaffected French, and, liable as Joachim was to be acted upon by the insinuations of others, there can be little doubt that, at some future time, he would have adventured upon schemes of ambition for revolutionizing Italy.

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CHAP. XII.

Buonaparte attempts to conciliate Foreign Powers.—His Decrees for educating Youth, and abolishing the Slave Trade.—A Plot to carry off the Empress and her Child is detected at Vienna.—Versatility of the French Men of Letters.—Disputes between Buonaparte and his Ministers.—Proclamations of Louis XVIII.—Activity of the Royalists of Paris.—Buonaparte pays Court to the Federates.—Their Procession and Review.—Preparations for War.—Commissioners sent into the Departments.—Disinclination to the War, and Disaffection, prevail generally.—Fouché's Report on these Particulars.—Buonaparte leaves the Tuilleries, and goes to the Palace of Elysee-Bourbon.—He Publishes the additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire.—Objected to as not originating with the Nation—And as being only an Appendix to the Imperial Code of Constitutions.—It is generally disliked—But subjected to the Votes of the French People.—Illusory Nature of the Sanction thus obtained.—Buonaparte's Brothers arrive at Paris.—Ceremony of the Champ de Mai.—Acceptance of the Constitution.—Delivery of the Eagles to the Troops.—Meeting of the Legislative Chambers.—Character of the Chamber of Peers—Of Representatives.—The Chamber of Representatives disputes with Napoleon on Points of Form.—Speech of Buonaparte to the Chambers.—Address of the Peers.—Address of the Representatives.—Buonaparte's Reply to that Address.

WHILE Murat was struggling and sinking under his evil fate, Buonaparte was actively preparing for the approaching contest. His first attempt, as we have already seen, was to conciliate the allied powers. To satisfy Great Britain, he passed an act abolishing the slave trade, and some regulations concerning national education, in which he spoke highly of the systems of Bell and Lancaster. But this approximation of sentiments was too obviously designed to flatter British habits of thinking, to produce much good effect. We have seen, hat these measures were more favourably construed by some of our legislators, and that they were so is a complete proof that Buonaparte understood the temper of our nation. To suppose, that, during his ten months of retirement, his mind was actively employed upon the miseries of the negroes, or the deplorable state of ignorance to which his own measures, and the want of early instruction, had reduced the youth of France, would argue but little acquaintance with his habits of ambition. To believe, on the contrary, that he would, at his first arrival in France, make any apparent sacrifices which

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might attract the good-will of his powerful and dangerous neighbours, is more consonant with his schemes, his interest, and his character. The path to our esteem which he chose, was by no means injudicious. The abolition of negro slavery, and the instruction of the poor, have (to the honour of our legislature) been frequent and anxious subjects of deliberation in the House of Commons; and to mankind, whether individually or collectively, no species of flattery is more pleasing than that of assent and imitation. By his decree against the slave-trade, Buonaparte also placed himself in advantageous contrast with the Bourbons, making voluntarily that very sacrifice to gain British friendship, which they, secure in possessing it, had been prevailed upon by the mercantile interest of France to refuse to our express and earnest solicitation. But the British public entertained too just a suspicion of Buonaparte's sincerity, to give him the general credit for these measures, which it was probably his principal wish to obtain by their promulgation.

With Austria, Napoleon acted differently. He was aware no impression could be made on the Emperor Francis, or his minister Metternich, and that it became impossible that, with their consent, he should fulfil his promise of presenting his wife and son to the people on the Champ de Mai. Stratagem remained the only resource; and the Frenchmen at Vienna, with those in Maria Louisa's train, formed a scheme of carrying off the Empress of France and her child. Their manœuvres attracted the attention of the police. A French officer was arrested coming out of a window in the palace, where he had spent part of the night in preparing for the execution of the plan. He imprudently offered the police such a bribe, as inferred, by its amount, the importance of his private business in the place. The plot was discovered and prevented, and the most public steps were immediately taken, to show that Austria considered all ties with Buonaparte as dissolved for ever. Maria Louisa, by her father's commands, laid aside the arms and liveries of her husband, hitherto displayed by her attendants and carriages, and assumed those of the house of Austria. All French men and women in attendance upon her person, and that of the young Napoleon, were dismissed, and precautions taken for the security of both. The secret overtures, by which Buonaparte, abandoning Murat to his fate, and even offering to aid in suppressing him, proposed to extend and confirm the Austrian power in Italy, were coldly and peremptorily rejected. It has been said, that Austria was fixed to the general cause by the insults which Buonaparte had offered to her prime minister, as well as by her own interest and that of Europe.*

Thus baffled in his overtures alike and intrigues at foreign courts, Buonaparte was compelled to rest his newly-acquired power upon the attachment and energy of the French nation, which was now to be conciliated in every possible manner. His successful march from Cannes had of itself arranged under his banners many of those who had been the foremost to reprobate his attempt as treason to France, so long as it seemed impossible he should have the means of effecting it. Benjamin Constant,

* He used to say, "I have Metternich in my sleeve, who has the Emperor of Austria in his pocket." And at Dresden, he opened the conference by abruptly asking Metternich, what bribe he had received from the allies?—a brutal arrogance, which he could scarce expect would be either forgotten or forgiven.

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who had pronounced against the return of the Exile of Elba so animated a philippic, accepted without a blush the office of Counsellor of State, which he offered him a few days after; read his palinode, and lent his valuable assistance to the other statesmen and sçavants who were to form the new constitution of regenerated France. The journalists gave in their adhesion to the new order of things without a moment's hesitation, and the pens, which the week before denounced Buonaparte as an Ogre, who had devoured the youth of France, now wrote him down a hero and a liberator. Of sixty Parisian writers, engaged constantly or occasionally in composing for periodical publications, only five could be counted who remained faithful to the king. Most of the other men of letters showed the same disgraceful versatility. But it was not by the assistance of such political weather-cocks that Buonaparte could hope to prop his re-established throne. It was necessary to conciliate the people's hearts, and to increase and animate the strength and spirits of the army.

It was in the first task that he endeavoured to employ the service of his republican adherents, and his ministers Fouché and Carnot; and in the beginning of his brief reign, he certainly received and profited by many of their lessons. The unlimited liberty of the press was instantly accorded, and the censorship removed; but it was not long ere Buonaparte, by appointing inspectors of the booksellers, endeavoured in some degree to indemnify himself for the license he had given to the press. Indeed, his interest and inclination alike made him desire an extension of his powers at this interesting crisis, and we shall presently find him complaining of the inconvenient effects of the freedom which he had restored. But, however the union of the imperialists and jacobins had been cemented by mutual hatred of the Bourbons, and was still kept together by apprehension of their adherents within, and their allies in the exterior, seeds of discord were soon visible between the emperor and the popular leaders. While the former was eager once more to wield with full energy the sceptre he had recovered, the latter were continually reminding him, that he had only assumed it in a limited and restricted capacity, as the head of a free government, exercising indeed its executive power, but under the restraint of a popular constitution. Napoleon, in the frequent disputes which arose on these important points, was obliged to concede to the demagogues the principles which they insisted upon. But then, for the safety of the state, involved in foreign and domestic dangers, he contended it was necessary to invest the chief magistrate with a vigour beyond the law, a dictatorial authority, temporary in its duration, but nearly absolute in its extent, as had been the manner in the free states of antiquity, when the republic was in imminent danger. Carnot and Fouché, on the other hand, considered, that although it seemed easy and natural to confer such power at the present moment, the resumption of it by the nation, when it was once vested in the hands of Buonaparte, would be a most hopeless experiment. The emperor, therefore, and his ministers, proceeded to their mutual tasks with no mutual confidence; but, on the contrary, with jealousy, thinly veiled by an affectation of deference on the side of Buonaparte, and respect on that of his counsellors.

These appearances of dissention did not escape the eyes of the watchful Parisians, and augured ill for the subsistence of the existing league between the two parties, whose coalition had now placed them uppermost. The royalists did not fail to profit by these

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circumstances. Aware that the principles of the popular party would oblige them to oppose any arbitrary measures on the emperor's part, they took upon them to act with the greater confidence. The king had issued from Ghent proclamations, one of which forbade the payment of taxes to the usurped government; while others conveyed to France, and to the army, the hostile intentions of united Europe, provoked by the recall of him who had occasioned its distresses. "Europe," said one of these papers, "will acknowledge no other king of France but ourselves. Twelve hundred thousand men are about to march to assure the repose of the world, and a second time to deliver our fine country." It was announced, that, undeceived by the tricks of the usurper's policy, the sovereigns of Europe did not consider the French nation as an accomplice in the attempts of the army; and that the peaceful labourers would be protected, wherever their invading arms should find Frenchmen faithful to their king. The weight of war was denounced against those provinces, which, on the approach of the allies, should fail to return to their duty. The allied sovereigns made war, it was announced, only against rebels; the subjects of Louis had nothing to dread. And to conclude, the king declared, that on his return to his capital, which was considered as an approaching event, the services of the loyal should be recompensed, and that he himself would labour to banish even the very appearance of those disasters, which had withdrawn from their allegiance some of the French people.

In the uncertain and alarmed state of the capital, the moderate and temperate tone of the royal proclamations was highly calculated to serve the cause of Louis XVIII. His agents, equally secret and alert, contrived to placard them successively over the whole city of Paris, to the surprise and discredit of Fouché's police. A newspaper, entitled the Lily, was printed by a secret committee of the royalists, and circulated by thrusting it under the doors of the inhabitants during the night. In the better classes of society, where it was difficult to say whether Buonaparte was most feared or hated, there were handed round a variety of lampoons, satires, and pasquinades, in prose and verse, turning his person, ministers, and government into the most bitter ridicule. Others attacked his cause by eloquent invective, of which the following is no bad specimen. "Buonaparte can henceforth deceive nobody in France; for of all the parties which have survived our civil discords, the most credulous already perceive his perfidy. A few of those irritable, impassioned, and, above all, credulous men, because they are generally generous and sensible, a few of those men, I say, who have been dreaming during twenty years of an imaginary republic, and who have pursued their illusions through all governments and all anarchies, felt their hopes revive at the cry of liberty, which the mob, in the train of Buonaparte, raised on his passage to Paris. They forgot that Buonaparte is the sworn enemy of liberty, the assassin of the republic, and the first violator of those sacred rights, of which they had so dearly paid the purchase. —They forgot that Buonaparte spoke also of liberty, when he destroyed the national representation of St Cloud. —They forgot that it was in the name of the French republic, that Buonaparte had established the most insolent despotism of which mankind had ever supported the yoke.—They forgot that Buonaparte had attempted to suppress all the sentiments which

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united the citizens to the country, to extinguish all the lights of civilization, to paralyse every means of education. —They forgot that Buonaparte had proscribed every liberal and philosophic idea, under the title of ideology; that he consecrated the most destructive principles of despotism in books avowed by his ministers; that he promised feudal privileges to his sbiri, and gave sovereignty to his satraps. —They forgot that heaven and hell are not more distant, than those most extremes of all the series of ideas which occupy the human mind—Buonaparte and liberty.—They forgot that the very word *liberty*, so cruelly proscribed under the iron reign of the usurper, only gladdened our ears for the first time, after twelve years of humiliation and despair, on the happy restoration of Louis XVIII. Ah! miserable impostor, would you have spoken of liberty, had not Louis XVIII. brought back liberty and peace?"*

The disaffection spread among certain classes of the lower ranks. The market-women (*dames des halles*), so formidable during the time of the Fronde, and in the early years of the revolution, for their opposition to the court, were now royalists, and, of course, clamorous on the side of the party they espoused. They invented, or some loyal rhymer composed for them, a song, the burden of which (*Donnez nous notre paire des gants*, equivalent in pronunciation to *notre Pere de Ghent*) demanded back the king, as their Father of Ghent. They ridiculed, scolded, and mobbed the commissaries of police, who endeavoured to stop these musical expressions of disaffection; surrounded the chief of their number, danced around him, and chaunted the obnoxious burden, until Fouché being ashamed to belie the new doctrines of liberty, of thought, speech, and publication, his agents were instructed to leave these amazons undisturbed on account of their political sentiments.

The police laboured with as little effect to stop the circulation of a variety of pamphlets, secretly printed and dispersed by the royalists, under the title of the "Cry of Alarm," the "Cry of Honour," and a series of addresses to the army, to the national guard, to the youth of France, &c. which, published under the assumed name of Lasmuldi Royaumant, appeared posted, almost every morning, on the walls of the metropolis, and on its most public streets and squares. These daring measures greatly incommoded the ministers, who were unwilling to recur to any strong measures for restraining the liberty of the press, which was one of the blessings which Buonaparte came to insure to the nation. They arrested, nevertheless, Le Normand and other printers, besides a female, who had been active in distributing the royal manifestoes. She was detained for some time in custody at her own lodgings, that the police might take note of those who came to visit her, and have an opportunity of arresting and searching their persons. A number of persons, suspected of royalism, were commanded to leave Paris; and several other arbitrary measures made plain what was said of the minister of police by Lecompte, the editor of *Le Censeur*, that if he loved liberty, it was only liberty after the manner of Monsieur Fouché. A quarrel between this editor (who had been an active promoter of Buonaparte's interest before his return) threw some curious light on the manner in which journals are managed in France. Lecompte was a loud, and probably

* Buonaparte, on the 4th of May.

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a sincere advocate of freedom, and soon published some severe remarks on the undue weight which the army were like to exercise in the new settlement of the state. The journal was instantly seized by the police, while, at the same time, the Moniteur announced that it had been restored to the editors. This was boldly denied by Lecompte in his next number, on which he was called before the prefect, alternately threatened and wheedled, upbraided with indifference to the cause of the emperor, and requested to think of something in which the government might serve him. To this he firmly replied, that he desired only permission to profit by the stipulated liberty of the press, and he had the courage to make public the whole affair. Such incidents indicated an alienation from Buonaparte on the part of the republican party, who, indeed, stood only connected with him by the ties which bind two enemies, embarked in the same vessel, to contribute their joint efforts to save her from shipwreck. They began to express aloud their regret, that France should incur the risk of a dreadful invasion for the sake of one man, and circulated a report that the emperor intended to consummate his sacrifices for the public, by resigning his crown to his son (and they might have added, to his jacobin ministry) at the approaching Champ de Mai. Lecompte, already mentioned, gave this suggestion publicly in his newspaper. But it was not at the head of an entire army of three hundred thousand men that Buonaparte was accessible to hints of this nature.

While the name of Buonaparte was execrated among the persons of rank and property, and pronounced with doubt and suspicion by the philosophers and constitutionalists, he himself seemed to adopt the celebrated classical maxim,

> Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

Since he could not form an interest in the saloons, he resolved to raise the suburbs, and add, by the furious and rude character of their inhabitants, to the terrors, if not to the dignity of his reign. For a time, crowds of artisans of the lowest order assembled under the windows of the Tuilleries, and demanded to see the emperor, whom, on his appearance, they greeted with shouts, as *le grand entrepreneur*, or general employer of the class of artisans, in language where the coarse phraseology of their rank was adorned with such flowers of rhetoric, as the times of terror had coined. Latterly, the numbers of this assembly were maintained by a distribution of a few *sous* to the shouters. Occasionally, the royalists contrived to mingle among this motley crew, and suggest to them questions and demands the most insulting to Buonaparte. It was on such an occasion, and through such malicious insinuations, when the crowd became persuaded, that Maria Louisa, whose journey from Vienna had been announced so often, was actually arrived, and that they might obtain a sight of her by being sufficiently clamorous. Accordingly, they demanded the presence of the empress with so much vehemence, that Buonaparte was obliged to appear, and though sensible of the irony which had prompted the sovereign people to strain their throats in this ill-timed request, thought it best to pacify them with an assurance, that she would certainly appear in May.

However disgusted with these degrading exhibitions, Buonaparte saw

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himself under the necessity of courting the class, always the meanest, most corrupted, and most ignorant, of a great city. He was not contented with visiting Richard Lenoir, already mentioned, whose influence in the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine procured him the name of Santerre the Second, but he instituted a day of procession and festival in honour of this description of persons, who, from the mode in which they were enrolled, were termed Federates.

May 14. The motley and ill-arranged ranks which assembled on this memorable occasion, exhibited, in the eyes of the disgusted and frightened spectators, all that is degraded by habitual vice, and hardened by stupidity and profligacy. The portentous procession moved on along the Boulevards to the court of the Tuilleries, with shouts, in which the praises of the emperor were mingled with imprecations, and with the revolutionary songs (long silenced in Paris), the Marseilloise Hymn, the Carmagnole, and the Day of Departure. The appearance of the men, the refuse of manufactories, of work-houses, of jails; their rags, their filth, their drunkenness; their ecstacies of blasphemous rage, and no less blasphemous joy, stamped them with the character of the willing perpetrators of the worst horrors of the revolution. Buonaparte himself was judged by close observers to shrink with abhorrence from the assembly he had himself convoked. His guards were under arms, and the field-artillery loaded, and turned on the Place de Carousel, filled with the motley crowd, who, from the contrasted colour of the corn-porters and charcoal-men distinguished in the groupe, were facetiously called his Gray and Black Mousquetaires. He hasted to dismiss his hideous minions, with a sufficient distribution of praises and of liquor. The national guards conceived themselves insulted on this occasion, because compelled to give their attendance along with the federates. The troops of the line felt for the degraded character of the emperor. The haughty character of the French soldiers had kept them from fraternizing with the rabble, even in the cause of Napoleon. They were observed, on the march from Cannes, to cease their cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, when, upon entering any considerable town, the shout was taken up by the mob of the place, and to suspend their acclamations, rather than mingle them with those of the *pequins*,* whom they despised. They now muttered to each other, on seeing the court which Buonaparte seemed compelled to bestow on these degraded artisans, that the conqueror of Marengo and Wagram had sunk into the mere captain of a rabble. In short, the disgraceful character of the alliance thus formed between Buonaparte and the lees of the people, was of a nature incapable of being glossed over even in the flattering pages of the Moniteur, which, amidst a flourishing description of this memorable procession, was compelled to admit, that, in some places, the name of the emperor was incongruously mingled with expressions and songs, which recalled an era *unfortunately too famous*.

Even when he looked upon his army, the sole efficient guardians of his power, there were unpleasant circumstances for Napoleon's consideration.

* "We soldiers," said a French marechal to one of Buonaparte's ministers, "call all *pequins* who are not military."—"Yes," retorted the statesman, "as we call all military who are not *civil*."

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Several of the most celebrated of the marshals and generals of France, as Oudinot, Macdonald, Augereau, Clarke, Marmont, Victor, Gouvion de St Cyr, and others, famous in his wars, either stood aloof, or avowedly retained their active allegiance to Louis XVIII. Berthier, long one of his chief confidents, had retired to Germany, and apparently embraced the Bourbon interest. But whether from discovery of some plot, which he had undertaken in Buonaparte's behalf, or from stinging regret at the circumstances in which he found himself, or from a temporary alienation of mind, he cast himself from a window, as a body of the allied troops passed through the city, and died in consequence of that rash action. The king's Swiss guards resisted every attempt to seduce their loyalty, and Buonaparte was obliged to disband and dismiss them. Their barracks were given to the guards who had escorted Napoleon from Elba, under the imposing title, The Quarters of the Brave. But the inscription gave so much offence to the rest of the army, that Buonaparte, now obliged to buy opinions of all sorts of men, and at all rates, commanded it to be erazed.

While he was thus engaged, it became necessary to unfold from the eyes of the public the veil with which he had bound them, and to prepare them for the sacrifices he had to demand, by setting forth the dangers which surrounded France. Instead of the twenty years truce, and the return of the empress and her child to Paris, as a pledge of the friendship of Austria, a report of Caulaincourt at length announced, that the allies were about to advance against the French territories. Much pains was used to identify Buonaparte's cause with that of France, and to satisfy the nation that the sacrifices they were called upon to make, were to be only nominally made for the emperor, but, in fact, for the honour and safety of the country. "Upon all parts of Europe," said the reporter, with an affectation of as much surprise as if the war had not been the necessary consequence of the return of the emperor, whom he addressed,—"Upon all parts of Europe at once, they are arming, or marching, or ready to march. And against whom are these armaments directed? Sire, it is your majesty they name, but it is France that is threatened. The least favourable peace that the powers ever dared to offer you, is that with which your majesty contents yourself. Why do they not now wish what they stipulated at Chaumont—what they ratified at Paris? It is not then against the monarch, it is against the French nation, against the independence of the people, against all that is dear to us, all that we have acquired after twenty-five years of suffering and of glory, against our liberties, our institutions, that hostile passions wish to make war; a part of the Bourbon family, and some men who have long ceased to be French, endeavour again to raise all the nations of Germany and the north, in the hope of returning a second time by force of arms on the soil which disclaims and wishes no longer to receive them."

To meet dangers so imminent, a levy of two millions of men was resolved upon, to be effected by calling out all from sixteen to sixty through the whole kingdom. It was, indeed, impossible to carry so sweeping a resolution into effect; but it was thus widely worded, in order to authorise Buonaparte to select an army out of the population of France, and that by compulsion, without use of the odious word *conscription*. All being declared

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subject to bear arms, it remained with the emperor to select those who were most proper to serve.

Other preparations acquainted the Parisians of the extremities to which the accession of Buonaparte was like to reduce them. The most formidable fortifications were planned for the defence of the heights of Montmartre. Detachments of the federates, and of the national guard, were employed in executing these batteries and intrenchments; and their labour announced, that Paris might expect another day of siege and storm.

Nor was the voice of warlike preparation silent on the frontiers. An address of the ferocious Davoust, now minister at war, threatened to transfer to the towns of France the measures of defence by which he had ruined Hamburgh while he defended it. "No one," said this proclamation, "is now ignorant, that France, if loyally defended in 1814, at all the points of its territory, would have been the tomb of its devastators. They are only formidable for those who suffer themselves to be frightened with threats, which seldom could have been followed by any consequence. If more real forces penetrate into some of our departments, let obstacles of every kind multiply on their passage; let their convoys—their detachments be destroyed, or cut off during its march; let active correspondence be kept up everywhere; let the military chiefs promptly receive intelligence of the least news. Let the inhabitants of the country dispute, even along the defiles, the roads, the marshes, the passes, the hollow roads. This war, without danger to those who knew the localities, honourable and useful to the citizen who defends his property, will be disastrous for the foreigner ignorant of the land and language. Let the smallest town—let insulated houses, mills, enclosures, become, by the bravery, industry, and intelligence of its defenders, posts capable of retarding the enemy. Let the gates and the walls of the towns be repaired; let the bridges be fortified and defended; let the example of Chalons, of St John de Losne, of Langres, of Compeigne, &c. inflame the emulation of all the cities; let them all be disposed to deserve, at time of need, the same eulogiums from their sovereign—the same gratitude from their *country!* When *that* is in danger, every magistrate is leader and captain—every citizen is a soldier."

The task of calling out to arms the inhabitants, and inforcing the necessary preparations for defence, was committed to extraordinary commissioners dispatched to the different military departments of France, to whom the emperor added lieutenants-general, commissioners of high police, and other functionaries, fit to give the necessary impulse to the minds of the people, and to subdue all opposition by persuasion or violence. Many of these were revolutionists, whom Buonaparte was well pleased at once to employ in their own sphere, and to get rid of their presence at Paris. Jean de Bry, who, at an early period of the revolution, proposed to raise a corps of assassins, to the number of five hundred, armed with pistols and poniards, for the murder of all kings, was sent to Besançon. Pons de Verdun, a sçavant, who employed his early taste for letters in composing devices for the pastry and sweet-meats of his father, an eminent confectioner, had now the more exalted task of calling to arms the inhabitant of Lyons. David, more infamous for his cruelties as a member of the committee of public safety than respected as an artist, was dispatched to Besançon, in aid of Dumoulard, who had the same destination. Choudieu, Lecointre-Puiravault, Lamarque, and Moreau, (all four re-

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gicides) were employed on similar missions. Under the direction of such experienced agents, committees of research were organised in the departments,—in many towns and villages the tree of liberty was again planted,—the lower classes were embodied under the name of free corps, or federates, and to these men, drunk as they were in mind and body with brandy, treason, and atheism, was held out the prospect of licensed rapine, in case the higher ranks did not take a part sufficiently active in repelling the enemy. To the eyes of these worthy citizens the good days seemed fast returning, when wealth or title of themselves constituted a traitor, and profligate indigence a patriot. The chief purpose of enrolling these corps, whom even Buonaparte feared actually to employ, was to intimidate the national guards, a body comprehending the proprietors and householders of the kingdom, and incline them rather to submit to the decrees by which they were declared moveable, and liable to be marched from their own districts for garrison service in the frontier places, than to provoke the government to let loose the blood-hounds of 1793, whom Buonaparte thus held ready in leash. But the expedient did not answer the end proposed; and the wisdom of that political foresight was now seen, which had announced that the apprehension of foreign war would divide, instead of uniting, the French people. Those who had but feebly seconded the Duke of Angouleme and his heroic consort, or had been tardy in rising to arms at the call of the Duke of Bourbon, were now driven into active resistance to government, goaded by personal apprehension of revolutionary measures, and of seeing themselves and their sons hurried to war under decrees as peremptory as those of the conscription, though bearing another name. The disaffection to Napoleon's government became vehement in proportion to the personal danger and privation in which it involved individuals, and they who would willingly have remained in neutrality, showed a determined aversion to the side which endeavoured to force them into the field.

In the northern departments, and in Brittany, the disaffection of the people assumed the appearance of a sullen and dogged stubbornness, without much active resistance. The national guard refused to come forth on the summons, and, if compelled by a stronger force, instantly deserted their standard, and went home so soon as they could get an opportunity; so that a battalion which had mustered six hundred upon their parade, dwindled to a fifth of that number before they had marched two leagues towards their destination. In the department of the Garde, a band of royalists displayed the white flag, and openly took the field. Armed bodies of refractory recruits traversed the departments of the Maine and Loire, and of the Lower Loire. The tri-coloured flag was destroyed, and the tree of liberty cut down in several departments. Committees of royalists were formed in the principal towns which corresponded with each other, and with Ghent; La Vendee threatened a general rising; and in general the public disposition, in many departments, was hostile to Buonaparte, and threatened, at least, to obstruct the means on which he had reckoned for the defence of the kingdom. The reports made to Buonaparte from the confidential officers sent into the different departments, which fell into the hands of the Prussians after his defeat, and were made public, represent in general the state of the public mind as highly unfavourable to the emperor.

This state of things was strongly painted by Fouché, *May* 7. in a report to the empe-

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ror, which seemed to invite him, by stronger and more severe penalties, to repress the royalists. Yet, such has been the versatile conduct of this statesman, that, while reading his Memorial, and considering what has since taken place, we are tempted to conjecture that these communications might, perhaps, be made as much for the meridian of Ghent as of Paris. If they told Buonaparte his danger, they explained to Louis his grounds of hope; and Napoleon always considered the publication of that report at such a crisis as made with the premeditated intention of prejudicing his affairs, and encouraging the malcontents, by letting them know their strength.

Fretted by external dangers, and internal disturbances, by the degrading condescension of appearing each night before a mob, who familiarly hailed him as Pere la Violette, and, above all, by the necessity of humouring the philosophical members of his cabinet, now engaged in compounding a constitution to excel all that the invention of preceding experimentalists had been able to produce,—to rid himself at once of occupations so galling to his haughty disposition, Napoleon suddenly withdrew himself from the palace of the Tuilleries to that of the Elysee-Bourbon, summoned around him his military adherents, and seemed on a sudden to be once more the emperor he had been before his abdication.

One of the first exercises of his freedom was to save his ministers all further trouble about a con-
April 22. stitution, by presenting his subjects with an act emanating directly from the emperor's own authority, under the singular title of "An additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire."

There were two anomalies in this important measure. First, The constitution was made to flow from the pure grace and favour of the emperor, whereas one principal objection to that of the king, which had been so long and so loudly urged as an aggression on the majesty of the people, was the similar circumstance of its appearance in the shape of a royal charter instead of a national compact. Nay, the Champ de Mai had been summoned for the very purpose (according to the decrees from Lyons) of considering and adopting the necessary amendments of the constitution. But Buonaparte now plainly foresaw, that his new ministers and he were likely to differ in opinion upon the terms of these amendments, and he judged it best, though at the risk of being charged with inconsistency and breach of promise, to take such steps as might secure this important subject from becoming the topic of debate in an assembly, where the jacobins were likely to outnumber the imperialists.

Secondly, In terming this new basis of his government, an Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire, Buonaparte seemed to sanction his huge previous mass of organic laws, so termed, which amounts to several folios, many of the enactments being contradictory of each other, and few of them in the spirit of this scheme of a free government, which was attached to them as an appendix. The following abridgment of the Additional Act will gratify the reader's curiosity.

This document contains the following declarations.

The legislative power resides in the Emperor and two Chambers. The Chamber of Peers is hereditary, and the Emperor names them. Their number is unlimited.

The Second Chamber is elected by the people, and is to consist of 629 members—none are to be under 25 years. The President is appointed by

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the members, but approved of by the Emperor.

Members to be paid at the rate settled by the Constituent Assembly.

It is to be renewed every five years.

The Emperor may prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the House of Representatives.

Sittings to be public.

The Electoral Colleges are maintained.

Land tax and direct taxes to be voted only for a year; indirect may be for several years.

No levy of men for the army, nor any exchange of territory, but by a law.

Taxes to be proposed by the Chamber of Representatives.

Ministers to be responsible.

Judges to be irremovable.

Juries to be established.

Right of petition is established—freedom of worship—inviolability of property.

The last article says, that "the French people declare that they do not mean to delegate the power of restoring the Bourbons, or any prince of that family, even in case of the exclusion of the imperial dynasty."

In its essential particulars, this skeleton of a constitution not only differed widely from the imperial code, to which it was a supplement, but moreover closely resembled, in every essential particular, the charter of Louis XVIII., for which it was substituted, and afforded a proof to all reflecting men, that the object attained, or to be attained by France in this revolution, was no increase of national liberty, but only the exchange of a pacific king for an ambitious conqueror, under all the additional chances of encroachment on their freedom, and the absolute certainty of a dreadful foreign war. It was equally evident, that the royal charter, subsisting as a separate and entire national document, could not be innovated upon under any pretence; whereas the Additional Act, leaving Buonaparte's former mass of contradictory laws unrepealed, and even in some measure confirming them, was liable to be explained, limited, and controuled by the old imperial decrees, which were, both in tone and spirit, so inconsistent with national liberty. These objections were made by the constitutionalists. The more determined republicans, besides their particular objections to an upper house, which the emperor could fill with his own minions, so as effectually to controul the representatives of the people, found the proposed constitution utterly devoid of the salt which should savour it. There was no acknowledgment of abstract principles; no dissertation concerning the rights of government and the governed; no metaphysical discussions on the origin of laws; and they were as much mortified and disappointed as the zealot who hears a discourse on practical morality, when he expected a sermon on the abstract points of theology. The unfortunate Additional Act became the subject of attack and raillery on all sides; and was esteemed to possess in so slight a degree the principle of durability, that a bookseller being asked for a copy by a customer, replied, He did not deal in *periodical publications*.

It was necessary, however, that Buonaparte should proceed with the assembly of the *Champ de Mai*. It was true, that the two objects proposed as the reason of this worshipful convocation, were now both out of the question; for there was no chance of the deputed electors receiving the empress and her son, and the second point, of chusing a constitution, had already been managed by the emperor without their assistance. But they might accept this constitution, and wear fealty to it; a limitation of the

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privileges of the Champ de Mai, which would cut short all chance of disagreeable discussion, and at the same time assign them some ostensible purpose of assembling, and thus secure to the busy-bodies of Paris an imposing spectacle.

The electoral bodies were, therefore, appointed to convene, and each Frenchman of mature age was invited to inscribe his vote for or against acceptance of the Additional Act. As these registers were entirely under the management of trusty persons; as there was no assurance whatever could be had against the same vote being repeatedly given, or the same person inscribing a dozen of different names, the whole of this ceremony was considered by the French as a mere farce, such as had been played off when Buonaparte had in somewhat the same manner collected the sense of the nation on his being made Consul for life and Emperor. It was remembered, that the maire of a commune had on one of these occasions thus reported the votes: "There are in the commune 260 voters. On the day appointed for examining the register, it was found no one had enrolled his name. Their silence must be held as an acquiescence, on their part, in the proposition, that Buonaparte shall be Emperor. For myself, I vote in the negative; and thus the votes will be 259 affirmative to one negative." Yet though the collecting votes on the Additional Act was thus ridiculed, many royalists took the opportunity to insert their dissent from the measure. Mons. de Kergolay had the hardihood to publish his solemn protest against the article disinheriting the Bourbons, not only as an attack upon the liberty of the French, but because he considered the restoration of that dynasty as the only mode of restoring happiness to the nation. Such instances of boldness were overlooked, because they gave an air of fairness to the mode of voting;* but care was taken to overpower them by a majority, however obtained, and for that purpose to collect, by beat of drum, the votes even of the lowest labourers, of do-

* The following jeu d'esprit was circulated on the same occasion.

Vote, with Reasons assigned, inscribed at the Prefectureship of the Seine, on May 1, 1815.

(From a Paper, printed and secretly distributed at Paris.)

"I, the undersigned, in virtue of the part of the Sovereignty which was promised to me in 1792, of which I was swindled in 1800, and solemnly robbed by an organic *Senatus Consultum* in 1814, which was restored to me by a proclamation of the 1st of March 1815, which was again taken from me by an additional act of the 22d, and which I shall take back, as soon as I am the strongest, if I think it worth the trouble—

"I reject the additional act to the constitutions, the said constitutions and all that has followed them down to this additional act, and also all that shall follow it.

"*Imprimis*, Because Napoleon himself acknowledges that he has no title to govern, except that of a dictatorship imposed by force, and that the right of a conqueror is not that of a legislator. *Item*, Because Buonaparte's liberty is a pleasantry for which I have no relish. *Item*, Because Buonaparte's equality is that of helots and galley slaves. *Item*, Because the peerage of Buonaparte is a saturnal assemblage at which the heart revolts. *Item*, Because the hereditary succession of Buonaparte's peerage is a gratuitous insult to other nations. *Item*, Because permission to exercise the right of thinking, speaking and writing, under Buonaparte, can only be a snare. *Item*, Because the vote of the people would be illusory. *Item*, Because the vote of the public gendarmerie will be ridiculous. *Item*, Because the vote of the army will be contra-

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mestic servants, and of children. The signature of functionaries of all kinds was demanded, on pain of losing their place. Above all, the votes of the army and navy were collected, who have never been considered as entitled to a deliberative voice in matters of civil discussion. There was, therefore, no lack of votes, however ill qualified those who gave them might be to decide upon the nature of a constitution.

Each electoral assembly was directed to send up a deputation to the Champ, where an assembly also of the Chambers of Peers and Representatives was appointed, for the purpose of determining the grand result of the votes. This was of course fully anticipated; for never did a government have recourse to an appeal to the nation individually, without having the influence to ensure a favourable return. Yet, after all means had been used, the number of votes, out of a population of about ten millions of qualified persons, did not much exceed one million two hundred thousand; a fact which renders it strongly probable, that had it been possible to collect the real sense of the nation in this manner, the result would unquestionably have been unfavourable to Napoleon and his Additional Act.

Preparations were in readiness for the approaching solemnity.

Joseph Buonaparte, Jerome, and other members of Napoleon's family, had now united themselves to him once more. Louis, modest and unambitious, refused to quit his retirement; and although Murat was just arrived at Cannes, his present plight of a defeated fugitive would have rendered him an eye-sore to the solemn festival. The only accession of real value, was Lucien Buonaparte, a man of acknowledged talents, which even the publication of his epic poem has not been able to bring into absolute discredit. This person had been long estranged from his brother, preferring the enjoyment of literary ease, and of the wealth arising from millions unaccounted for during his administration under the republic, to the ruling a subordinate kingdom, or perhaps playing the part of Joseph in Spain. "Charlemagne," however, was now finished, and given to an ungrateful public; and ambition seems once more to have had charms for Lucien, the rather that Fouché, Carnot, and other old republican friends, now enjoyed a place in his brother's cabinet. He made some stay on the frontiers of Switzerland, and was supposed there to have awaited the execution of the plot which was to secure for Napoleon the person of his son. Upon its discovery, he hastened to Paris.

With these auspices, the *Champ de Mai* opened; and that it might be incongruous in all respects, it was held on the 1st of *June*. It was partly intended to give that excitation to the mind of the people, which had been produced by similar exhibitions in the earlier part of the revolution, when such stage-tricks were animating novelties, and partly to give confidence

dictory to all moral ideas, and hostile to the constituent principles of nations. *Item*, Because the important restriction contained in the 67th article is a disgustingly awkward precaution resorted to by a suspicious tyranny, and can be adhered to only by the accomplices of that tyranny. Always recognising, however, that the martial disposition of the nation and the alternately heroic and laughable part it has performed during those 25 years on the theatre of Europe, requires it to have a monarch who sits well on his horse—*I propose* FRANCONI and his DYNASTY."—Franconi is the conductor of a circus, where they exhibit pantomimes, tumbling, and feats of horsemanship.

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by the imposing display of an immense armed force, devoted to victory or death, under the emperor's commands. For this latter purpose, the solemn delivery of the eagles to the various regiments, an augury of instant war, was substituted for the promised presence and inauguration of the empress, a pledge of twenty years' peace.

The scene of this spectacle, for into such the Champ de Mai had degenerated, was a large amphitheatre in the exercising ground, in front of the Hotel des Invalids, erected of temporary materials. The electors, real or supposed, were distributed in benches set apart for each department of the kingdom. But into these seats, to make up the show, were introduced all spectators of decent appearance, and it was supposed that scarce one half of the persons occupying them were really deputies. This range of elevated benches surrounded a sort of stage, and a throne, where menials and courtiers, in antique Spanish dresses, with feathered bonnets and fantastic mantles, for a time occupied the eye, till the appearance of the grand actor and the members of his family. These august personages wore the Roman tunic, and were involved in the folds of long mantles, Napoleon's being purple, and those of his brothers' white. This absurd and theatrical costume could scarce be hung around more awkward and plebeian figures, than were exhibited by the members of the blood-royal of Ajaccio; and thus the parade lost even the momentary effect which might have been produced by the handsome person of Murat. It was not only ridiculous in itself, but became laughable by its contrast with the appearance of those whom this mummery disguised. These are trifles, but we are writing of Paris and of a public fete, and they gain some importance in such circumstances. The general feeling was, that the show was ill imagined, long, unanimated, and wearisome; and in the Parisian phrase, *une piece tombée*.

The report of votes collected on this occasion announced that the constitution was accepted by a majority of 1,288,357 affirmative, to 4,207 negative. No one wondered at the number of the majority, but some surprise was excited that upwards of four thousand Frenchmen had ventured to give a negative voice. It was remarked, that the number of dissentients in Paris bore a smaller proportion than elsewhere to the affirmative votes. The royalists of the capital were numerous, but being more immediately under Buonaparte's power, they cared not to exercise the privilege of free-will, with which they were indulged. Several departments sent no representatives whatsoever. In others, the votes bore no proportion to the population. And as upon a grand average the number of the votes inscribed did not bear the proportion of one to ten, when compared with the number of Frenchmen of mature age, the whole was justly regarded as a solemn imposition on the public.

This report of the votes was followed by the usual display of empty ceremony. The drums rolled, the cannon thundered, while the emperor and his brothers, and his courtiers and his functionaries, and the mass of electors, real or pretended, swore oaths as unmeaning as the sounds of the drum, and as empty and delusive as the smoke of the artillery. In one part of the scene only, Buonaparte seemed to rush into his part with the eagerness of real feeling; it was when he distributed the eagles to the soldiers, in whom, and not in these pitiful ceremonies, lay his real heart and hope. He leaped from his throne, and hastily advanced to meet the standards,—emblems of past, and, as he might hope, auguries of future victories. He was lost in the blaze

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of uniforms, eagles, and banners, until he again assumed the throne, "which seemed a glittering pyramid of standards, and arms, and military habits, crowned by his own white plumes, while bayonets, cuirasses, and helmets, flashing as far as the eye could reach, the flags of the lancers fluttering, and the music bursting from the plain, announced that the scene began to move!"

It was soon shifted, and, except the magnificence of the *coup d'œuil*, to describe which we have borrowed the language of an eye-witness,* had nothing in it either to interest or to elevate. The acclamations, few and far from enthusiastic, shewed that the spectators, and even the actors, took little share in a scene which had been so often repeated under different auspices and on different principles, and was now only remarkable from being prolonged till it became tedious. In short, the Champ de Mai was a wearisome farce, which was soon succeeded by a bloody tragedy.

The constitution, however, was accepted, in semblance sufficient to prejudge that important question, and exclude, as Buonaparte hoped, any tampering with it on the part of the jacobins. The next point was to assemble the chambers. No part of Buonaparte's conduct gave so much displeasure as the component materials of the House of Peers, whom he now put into nomination according to the power which he had taken care to reserve to himself by the Additional Act, or new form of constitution. These new dignitaries were considerably upwards of a hundred in number, of whom more than one half were military men; most of the others were selected from the old creatures of Buonaparte's former reign, or from men of letters supposed to be devoted to his cause. The *residuum* consisted of some few republicans (Count Carnot, and the good old Abbé Sieyes, at their head,) who had bartered for coronets and titles their red caps and the emphatic qualification of citizen; Lucien, late the republican, the insignificant Joseph, and the paltry Jerome Buonaparte, Cardinal Fesch, &c. took rank as princes of the blood-royal of the illustrious house of Ajaccio. The punsters of Paris selected Labedoyere, Drouot, Ney, and L'Allemand as the *quatre pairfides* (*perfides*), while Vandamme and others were termed the *Pairs sifflés*.

In the Chamber of Representatives, all the exertion and art of Buonaparte's instruments had not prevented the jacobins from attaining a decided preponderance. They understood elections; and as most of the voters who acted, (for the royalists stood aloof,) were either constitutionalists or actual jacobins, their pretence of zeal for liberty, and the well-known turbulence of their tempers, gave to these self-entitled friends of freedom a decided superiority. Old La Fayette emerged as if from under ground. Barrere, Gallien, Merlin, Cambon, Drouet, Thibaudeau, with almost all the regicides who had survived the various hazards of the revolution, were to be found in this venerable assembly. Here also we read the names of those old idolizers of the revolution, La Rochefoucault-Liancour, and Latour-Maubourg, and others, who had waited upon all its phases with the same unwearied devotion, though

* The author of two volumes, containing the Substance of Letters written from Paris during the last Reign of Napoleon,—a curious work, in which the writer's facts, which he details fairly, and his reasoning on particular points, are singularly at variance with his conclusions. Some inconsistence may be pardoned, however, to a man who is at once a devotee to freedom and to Buonaparte!

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there never darted from any one of them a single ray auspicious to real liberty. This nest of old hornets, warmed into life by the new revolution from the torpidity to which they had long been condemned, speedily intimated that they had neither forgotten to buzz nor to sting. It was soon evident that they were suspicious of Buonaparte's authority, and dissatisfied with the Additional Act, or new-modelled constitution. Their brief intercourse with the emperor was marked by a scrupulous and captious jealousy on the part of the Chamber, and by sullen haughtiness on that of Napoleon.

June 4. On the first meeting of the Chamber, they chose for their president Lanjuinais, the same who had in the preceding year drawn up the reasons which rendered Buonaparte unworthy to reign. The choice could not be agreeable to Napoleon. In a mis-timed fit of ill-humour, he caused the temporary president who made the communication to be told, that he would learn the emperor's pleasure the next day, by applying to the chamberlain or page in waiting. The Chamber took fire at this reference, and the sitting was suspended until a categorical answer was obtained from the emperor. A sort of apology was given by the ministers, the obnoxious answer was explained into a mistake, and the imperial ratification of the appointment of the president, couched in the laconic phrase, "I approve," was presented in atonement. A representative, called Sibuet, indulged himself in a jacobinical boutade on the equality to be observed among the representatives of the people, and on the atrocity of recognizing in the Chamber the epithets of princes, dukes, barons, and so forth. He proceeded to invite these dignitaries to a surrender of their invidious titles, when, fortunately, it was discovered that the orator was reading his extemporary burst of eloquence on the subject of liberty and equality, from a manuscript copy, upon which point of form the delicate discussion was quashed in its commencement. A bickering also took place between Carnot and the Chamber, upon their demanding from him a list of the persons nominated to the peerage, which he declined to communicate till the session had commenced. A great deal of clamour and violence ensued, in the course of which the newly elected president in vain rung his tocsin, in order to procure order. The next meeting of the assembly was nearly as stormy as the first; the terms of the oath to be taken by the deputies was scrutinized as accurately as if it had stood any chance of being long binding. It was carried by the imperialists that fidelity should be sworn to the constitution, and to the emperor, without mention of the nation, as contended by the jacobins.

June 8. But the most blunt expression of their mistrust of the emperor, was given upon the proposal of the parasitical Felix-Lepelletier, that they should decree to Buonaparte the title of Saviour of the Country. One member exclaimed, that the title was not yet merited, since the country was not saved; and, in consequence of a general clamour, the Chamber passed by acclamation to the order of the day. These disputes occurring so immediately on convening the Chambers, and at such an important national crisis, made it plain that there remained much to be disputed between Buonaparte and his representative government.

The imperialists, in case of a collision among the bodies composing the legislature, which these proceedings gave much reason to apprehend,

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placed little confidence in the House of Peers, although they were considered as effectually the partisans of Buonaparte, because their greatness was so immediately the work of his own creation, that it could have little influence with the nation. Instead of a body of hereditary legislators, distinguished by high birth, long descent, ample fortunes, and an education corresponding to their rank and expectations, in which particulars the British House of Peers may be compared to a grove of oaks, the growth of ages, and superior to the force of tempests, this upper chamber of Buonaparte was a crop of mushrooms, whom the rain of one night had brought up, and whom the frost of the next might reduce to their primitive nothingness. But the partisans of Buonaparte knew that his "voice was in his sword," and that, should he return from the contest with the allies victorious, former experience had taught him, how speedily the clamours of five hundred bold talkers is silenced by half the number of bayonets.

It was, however, necessary that Buonaparte should for the present address the spirits which he had called together, with the confidence which old legends say that wizards must use to the fiends they have evoked, and whom they dread even while they command them. He *June* 7. surrendered, in the presence of both Chambers, the absolute power, with which circumstances had invested him since his return. He professed himself a friend to liberty. He mentioned the coalition of monarchs against France, the commencement of the war by the capture of the Melpomene by an English ship of war, and the internal divisions of the country. He stated the strong necessity there was for regulating the freedom of the press, requested their assistance in finance, and demanded from them a general example of confidence, energy, and patriotism.

The address, which replied to this speech, was carried with great ease in the Chamber of Peers; for that respectable assembly had fallen at once into the quiet, regular habits of dispatching public business, which so long characterized the senate of the former empire. But the Chamber of Representatives was composed of less tractable materials. The very mention of the address called up once more Monsieur Sibuet, with his speech against titles, *June* 10. which he had now got by heart, and to which the Chamber, therefore, was under the necessity of listening. The motion was got rid of with difficulty, and an address, in reply to the speech of Napoleon, was carried through, after many fierce debates; but which, whatever the friends of Buonaparte could do, retained a strong tincture of the sentiments of the opposite party. The Chamber promised unanimous support in repelling the foreign enemy. But in allusion to the constitutions of the empire, which were recognized by the Additional Act, they announced, that national deliberation would, as speedily as possible, point out the defects and imperfections which the urgency of the national situation had either produced, or suffered to subsist without correction. Having thus intimated their dissatisfaction with the constitution, as modelled for them by Buonaparte, and their intention of reconsidering it, they added a moderating hint against the fervour of his ambition, in case the war should prove successful. "The nation," they said, "nourishes no scheme of ambition. Not even the will of a victorious prince will be sufficient to draw it on beyond the limits of just defence."

Buonaparte, in his reply, suffered

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neither of these galling topics to pass unnoticed. He proceeded to school this unmanageable assembly into a respect for the constitution with which they proposed to tamper. "The constitution," he said, "was the pole-star in the tempest." All public discussion tended to diminish the necessary confidence which ought to be reposed in it. Respecting the hint given to him to resist all inducements to foreign conquest, he observed, that the nation had not at present to dread the seductions of victory—they were to struggle for existence. "The crisis in which we are placed is imminent. Let us not imitate the conduct of the Roman empire, which, pressed on all hands by barbarians, made itself the laughing stock of posterity, by occupying itself with the discussion of abstract discussions, while the battering-ram shook the gates of the metropolis." Thus parted Buonaparte and his Chambers of Legislature, he to try his fortune in the field of battle, they to their task of altering and modifying the laws, and inspiring a more popular spirit and air into the enactments he had made, in hopes that the dictatorship of the jacobins might be once again substituted for the dictatorship of the emperor. All men saw that the imperialists and republicans only waited till the field was won that they might contend for the booty; and so little was the nation disposed to sympathize with the active, turbulent, and bustling demagogues by whom the contest was to be maintained against the emperor, that almost all predicted with great unconcern their probable expulsion, either by the sword of Buonaparte or of the Bourbons.

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CHAP. XIII.

Insurrection of La Vendee.—Motion of Seguevel.—Death of La Roche-Jaquelein, and Capitulation of the Royalists.—Preparations of the Allies.—The Position of their Armies.—Forces of Wellington—Of Blucher.—Preparations of Buonaparte.—His Plan of Attack.—He fortifies the Frontier on the Austrian Line.—Calls his best Generals around him.—Concentrates his Army at Avesnes—His Address to them.—Commences the Campaign—Takes Charleroi, and compels Ziethen to retire.—Battle of Ligny under Fleurus—Dreadful Conflict.—Prussians finally defeated.—Imminent Danger of Blucher.—He effects his retreat unmolested.—Ney attacks the Advanced Guard of Wellington at Quatre Bras.—The British Army comes up—Severe Action.—The French take the Wood—But are dislodged by the Guards—And finally compelled to retire.—Loss on either Side.—The Duke of Wellington retreats—Is pursued by the French.—Skirmish at Genappes.—The British arrive on the Field of Waterloo, and bivouac for the Night.

We are now to consider the preparations of the allies, contrasted with those of Buonaparte. But, before entering on this important field, it is proper to discuss the internal disorders, which, breaking out in the west of the kingdom, had some share in embarrassing and paralyzing the efforts of Napoleon.

We have already mentioned the unsuccessful attempt of the Duke of Bourbon to raise in arms the inhabitants of La Vendee. But D'Autichamp, Suzannet, La Roche-Jaquelein, Sassineau, and other chiefs of the royal party, proved subsequently more successful. The necessity of drawing troops towards the frontiers obliged Napoleon to withdraw some of the forces stationed in La Vendee and the neighbouring departments, and about the middle of May there was a general insurrection of the inhabitants in the royal cause. Brittainy, Poitou, Anjou, and Maine, were the scenes of a variety of conflicts fought at Aizenai, at Aiquillon, at Legé, in the marshes near St Gilles, and at various other points, between the royalists and the soldiers of Buonaparte, of which the result varied according to circumstances. The object of most of these skirmishes was to secure or intercept the quantities of arms and ammunition which the English vessels landed at different points for the service of the insurgents. The minister at war saw himself compelled to send a considerable body of forces to the scene of action, which were commanded by Generals Lamarque and Travot. They were empowered to treat the insurgents with the utmost severity, and when, after the restoration of Louis, they were in danger of being called to

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account for various acts of military violence, they justified themselves by producing the instructions of Carnot, which were found to equal in atrocity any that had been issued since the reign of terror. Yet the Chamber of Deputies did not in all respects sanction the severities of the government. When a member, called Leguevel, made a motion for punishing with pains and penalties the royalists of the west, the assembly heard him with patience and approbation propose that the goods and estates of the revolters (whom he qualified as brigands, priests, and royalists,) should be confiscated; but when he added, that not only the insurgents themselves, but their relations in the direct line, whether ascendants, or descendants, should be declared outlaws, a general exclamation of horror drove the orator from the tribune.

There is little of general interest in the events of this second war of La Vendee, which was terminated by an action near La Roche-Serviere, in which both parties claimed the advantage, but which was decided against the royalists by the death of the gallant La Roche-Jaquelein. This gentleman possessed all the loyalty and devotion of his gallant brother, who had fallen in the same cause. Like him, he addressed his adherents:—"If I advance, follow me—if I fly, kill me—if I fall, avenge me." La Roche-Jaquelein fell, but his followers failed to avenge him. The spirit of the insurgents subsided after his death, and they submitted to Buo-
June 26. naparte by an armistice, or capitulation, just when holding out a few days longer would have brought them news of the desperate condition of his affairs. Augustus, brother of the fallen La Roche-Jaquelein, signed the armistice, or rather surrender, by which the chiefs disbanded their followers, and laid down their arms on condition of being suffered to live unmolested on their estates. It seemed to be destined that no Frenchman, whatever his situation or principles, should have any direct influence in the second restoration of the Bourbons; as a penalty for their national vanity, which had asserted the first to be their own voluntary deed. Thus ended the affair of La Vendee.

While these events were passing in France, the allies made the most gigantic preparations for the renewal of war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer of England had achieved a loan of thirty-six millions upon terms surprizingly moderate, and the command of this treasure had put the whole troops of the coalition into the most active advance.

The seat of the Congress had been removed from Vienna to Frankfort, to be near the theatre of war. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, with the King of Prussia, had once more placed themselves at the head of their respective armies. The whole French frontier was menaced by immense forces. One hundred and fifty thousand Austrians, disengaged from Murat, might enter France through Switzerland, the Cantons having acceded to the coalition. An army equal in strength menaced the higher Rhine. Schwartzenberg commanded in chief, having under him Bellegarde, and Frimont, Bianchi, and Vincent. Two hundred thousand Russians were pressing towards the frontiers of Alsace. The Archduke Constantine was nominal generalissimo, but Barclay de Tolli, Sacken, Langeron, &c. were the efficient commanders. One hundred and fifty thousand Prussians, under Blucher, occupied Flanders, and were united with about eighty thousand troops in British pay, and others under the Duke of Wellington. There was also to be reckoned the contin-

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gents of the different princes of Germany, so that the allied forces were grossly computed to amount to upwards of one million of men. The reader must not, however, suppose, that such an immense force was, or could be, brought forward at once. They were necessarily disposed on various lines for the convenience of subsistence, and were to be brought up successively in support of each other.

The Duke of Wellington's army might contain about thirty thousand English troops. They were not, however, those veteran soldiers who had served under him during the peninsular war; the flower of which had been dispatched upon the American expedition. Most were second battalions, or regiments which had been lately filled up with new recruits. The foreigners were fifteen thousand Hanoverians, with the celebrated German legion eight thousand strong, which had so often distinguished itself in Spain; five thousand Brunswickers, under their gallant duke; and about eighteen thousand Belgians, Dutch, and Nassau troops, commanded by the Prince of Orange. Great and just reliance was placed upon the Germans; but some apprehensions were entertained for the steadiness of the Belgian troops. Discontents prevailed amongst them, which, at one period, broke out in open mutiny, which was not subdued without bloodshed. Most of them had served in the French ranks, and it was feared some of them might preserve predilections and correspondencies dangerous to the general cause. Buonaparte was under the same belief. He brought in his train several Belgian officers, believing there would be a movement in his favour so soon as he entered the Netherlands. But the Flemings are a people of sound sense and feeling. Whatever jealousies might have been instilled into them for their religion and privileges under the reign of a protestant and a Dutch sovereign, they were swallowed up in their apprehensions for the returning tyranny of Napoleon. Some of these troops behaved with distinguished valour; and most of them supported the ancient military character of the Walloons. The Dutch corps were in general enthusiastically attached to the Prince of Orange, and the cause of independence.

It had been expected and designed, that the Duke of Wellington's army should receive a large and valuable addition, by a detachment of that Portuguese army, which had been formed by British officers, and distinguished itself under the command of the British general. But the jealous or selfish policy of the Portuguese Council of Regency declined to listen to this proposal, although Portugal was at least as much interested as any nation in Europe, in the instant suppression of Napoleon, and his usurped power.

The Prussian army had been recruited to its highest war-establishment, within an incredibly short space of time, after Buonaparte's return had been made public, and was reinforced in a manner surprising to those who do not reflect, how much the resources of a state depend on the zeal of the inhabitants. Their enthusiastic hatred to France, founded partly on the recollection of former injuries, partly on that of recent success, was animated at once by feelings of triumph and of revenge, and they marched to this new war, as if to a national crusade against an inveterate enemy, whom, when at their feet, they had treated with injudicious clemency. They were, however, deprived of a valuable part of their army by the discontent of the Saxon troops.

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A mutiny had broken out among them, when the Congress announced their intention of transferring part of the Saxon dominions to Prussia; much bloodshed had ensued, and it was judged most prudent that the troops of Saxony should remain in garrison in the German fortresses.

Such was the nature and quality of the armies of the allies stationed in the Netherlands.

The means of France to meet and repel so formidable an invasion, were enumerated by Carnot in a report made to the two Chambers on the state of the nation, after the departure of Buonaparte for the army. The result of this document bore, that "on the 1st of April, 1814, the army consisted of 450,000 men, exclusive of 150,000 prisoners, all veteran soldiers, and of 115,000 conscripts of the levy of 1815, of which 45,000 only, out of 160,000, had been raised. The last government, at once prodigal and avaricious, alarmed at its own strength, and essentially hostile to the army, had taken, it was said, every possible means of diminishing it. The orator then described the various oppressions to which the army had been exposed, particularly by the introduction of the emigrants, and which had reduced its number to 175,000 men. Since the 20th of March last, its number had been raised to 375,000 combatants of every description; and before the 1st of August, it would amount to 500,000, independent of the national guards. The imperial guards, termed the surest bulwark of the throne in time of war, and its finest ornament in time of peace, had a separate article allotted to it in the official report. The minister condemned the injustice with which it was treated by the last government, and announced that it already amounted to 40,000 men.

"The losses of artillery had been in a great measure repaired; they were occasioned chiefly by treachery, and especially the delivering up of all the strong places, by order of the Count d'Artois, in his capacity of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. By this single act, France had lost 12,000 pieces of cannon, mostly of brass, the value of which is estimated at 200,000,000 of francs. This loss, however, had been entirely supplied; the arsenals, magazines of powder, and armouries, were in full activity; and after having armed the national guard and associations, there would remain in the magazines 600,000 muskets in reserve."

There remained to be added to these large armies, the national guards, amounting probably to a million of armed men, but of whose capacity and zeal for actual service, beyond that of securing the public tranquillity, great doubts might be entertained. Corps of federates were formed in almost all the districts where materials could be found of which to construct them.

From this immense armed force, Buonaparte had selected a grand army to serve immediately under his own command. The preparations were of the most extensive and formidable nature. The number of the troops amounted to about 150,000 men, as many perhaps as can possibly move in one line of operations, or be conveniently subjected to the immediate command of one general-in-chief. This army comprehended the imperial guard of all descriptions, and the most chosen and devoted regiments of infantry and cavalry of the line. The cavalry was completed and remounted in such a manner as to excite the surprise of the British officers, who naturally concluded, that after the immense losses of the campaign 1814, Buonaparte must have been deficient both in cavalry and artillery. It was generally supposed

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that the English and Prussians were desirous to fight in the celebrated plains of Fleurus, on account of these alleged advantages. But in the day of trial, Napoleon was found superior in the number both of horse and field-guns.

Thus perfectly prepared for action, no doubt was made, that Buonaparte would open the campaign, by assuming offensive operations. Of peace there remained no hope, for the war had been actually commenced by Great Britain in her own proper element, by the capture of the Melpomene, and some slight skirmishes had taken place on the advanced posts. To wait till the enemy had assembled their full force on his frontier, would have suited neither the man nor the moment. It was most agreeable to his system, his disposition, and his interest, to rush upon some separate army of the allies, and by its dispersion, or annihilation, give courage to France, animate her to fresh exertions in his cause, intimidate the allies, and gain time for sowing in their league the seeds of disunion. Even the royalists, whose interest was so immediately connected with the defeat of Buonaparte, were dismayed by witnessing his immense preparations, and sadly anticipated the first victories as their result, though they trusted that, as in 1814, he would be at length worn out by force of numbers and reiterated exertions.

But though all guessed at the mode of tactics which Napoleon would employ, there was a difference of opinion respecting the point on which his first exertions would be made; and, in general, it was augured, that, trusting to the strength of Lisle, Valenciennes, and other fortified places on the frontiers of Flanders, his first real attack, whatever diversion might be made elsewhere, would be made upon Manheim, to break asunder the Austrian and Russian armies as they were forming, or rather to attack them separately to prevent their consolidation in line. If he should succeed in thus overwhelming the advance of the Austrians and Russians, by directing his main force to this one point, before they were fully prepared, it was supposed he might break up the plan of the allies for this campaign.

But Buonaparte was guided by no ordinary principles of tactics on this occasion. He was aware his first pass would be the most decisive in vigour, and determined to aim it at the heart of his enemy. Schwartzenberg he knew, and had heard of Wellington; he, therefore, opposed walls and fortified places against the slow and cautious approach of the Austrian general; while he himself, with his chosen army of veterans, should engage the more enterprising Briton. Entrenchments were, therefore, constructed in the five principal passages of the Vogesian mountains, and all the natural passes and strong-holds of Lorraine were put in the best possible state of defence. The posts on the inner line of defence were strengthened with the greatest care. The fine military position under the walls of Lyons was improved with great expense and labour; a *tete-de-pont* was erected at Brotteau; a draw-bridge and barricade protected the suburb la Guillotiere; redoubts were erected between the Saonne and Rhine, and upon the heights of Pierre Encise and the Quarter of Saint John. Guise, Vitri, Soissons, Chateau-Thierry, Langres, and all the towns capable of any defence, were rendered as much so as posts, palisades, redoubts, and field-works, could make them. The Russian armies, though pressing fast forward, were not as yet arrived upon the line of operations; and Napoleon doubtless trusted that these impediments, in front of the Austrian line of operations, would arrest any hasty advance on their part, since the well-known tactics of

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that school declare against leaving in their rear fortresses or towns, however insignificant or slightly garrisoned, or however completely they might be masqued. But there was no trusting to the skill of Wellington, and the dauntless indefatigability of the Prussian veteran; and had Buonaparte made his advance in the direction of Manheim, leaving their course unopposed, unless by the frontier fortresses of French Flanders, there was the chance of their pressing forward on the capital, and becoming lords of the ascendant at Paris, while he was engaged with the Austrians or Russians. All his dispositions, therefore, were made with reference to the English and Prussians, as the objects of his first assault.

For this important purpose, he summoned round him his best and most experienced generals. Soult, late minister of war for Louis XVIII., was named major-general. He obeyed, he says, not in any respect as an enemy of the king, (for he knows not how to be ungrateful), but as a citizen and soldier, whose duty it was to obey whomsoever was at the head of the government, as that of the Vicar of Bray subjected him in ghostly obedience to each head of the church *pro tempore*. Ney was ordered to repair to the army at Lisle, "if he wished," so the command was expressed, "to witness the first battle." Macdonald was strongly solicited to accept a command, but declined it with disdain. Davoust, the minister at war, undertook to remove his scruples, and spoke to him of what his honour required. "It is not from you," replied the Marshal, "that I am to learn sentiments of honour," and persisted in his refusal. Drouet, D'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Mouton de Lobau, acted as lieutenant-generals. The cavalry was placed under the command of Grouchy, (whom, in reward for his treachery, he had created a marshal.) Pajol, Excelsman, Milhaud, and Kellerman, were his seconds in command. Drouet, Flahault, Dejean, Labedoyere, and other officers of distinction, acted as his aids-de-camp. The artillery were three hundred pieces; the cavalry approached to twenty-five thousand men; the guard to the same number; and there is little doubt that the whole army amounted to nearly one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, in the most complete state as to arms and equipment, who now marched to a war which they themselves had occasioned, under an emperor of their own making, and bore both on their hearts and tongues the sentiments of death or victory.

For the protection of the rest of the frontier during Napoleon's campaign in Flanders, Suchet was entrusted with the command on the frontiers of Switzerland, with directions to attack Montmellian as soon as possible after the 14th of June, which day Buonaparte had fixed for the commencement of hostilities. Massena was commanded to repair to Metz, to assume the government of that important fortress, and the command of the 3d and 4th divisions. All preparations being thus made, Napoleon at length announced what had long occupied his secret thoughts. "I go," he said, as he threw himself into his carriage to join his army, "I go to measure myself with Wellington."

On the 12th of June, the imperial guard arrived at Vervins, and joined itself with the army of the north, one great division of Napoleon's forces being so termed, which was speedily put in march to unite with the army of the Moselle on the frontiers. Their combination near Beaumont formed five divisions of infantry and four of cavalry, composing the grand army. The whole troops were in line on the

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verge of the frontier on the 14th of June, and the order of the day now publicly announced this destination. This, the last triumphant address of Napoleon to his soldiery, may with propriety be introduced into our annals.

June 14. "Soldiers,—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. There, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We believed the protestations and oaths of the kings whom we left in possession of their thrones. Now they have formed a new coalition to destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

"Soldiers, at Jena, when contending against these Prussians, of late so arrogant, you were but one to three, and at Montmirail, but one to six.

"Let those among you, who have been prisoners among the English, describe the misery of their prison-hulks.

"The Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of these princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of nations. They know this coalition is insatiable. After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it is preparing to swallow up the inferior states of Germany.

"The madmen! A glimpse of prosperity has blinded them. To oppress or humble France is beyond their power. If they enter her territory, it will be to find their sepulchre.

"Soldiers, we must undertake forced marches—battle—perils; but, with constancy, victory will be ours. The rights, the happiness of the country, will be secured by conquest. To every Frenchmen who has a soul, the moment of death or victory is arrived."

This address, read publicly at the head of each regiment, produced the strongest effect on the minds of the French soldiers, always alive to military and national glory. Their baser propensities are said to have been bribed by the promised pillage of Brussels, and their spirits were excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

The storm being thus up, it remained to watch the direction in which the destroying spirit, by whom it was governed, should please to direct its course. Napoleon is known to have been guided in chusing his times for action by that which ancient superstition called day-fatality: it is possible that he considered a similar principle in chusing the scene of combat: and as he marched forward on the anniversary of Marengo, he may have destined that France should a second time break the allied forces of Europe in the plains of Fleurus. An idea predominated in the British army, that the French would advance on Brussels by the way of Namur, whose dismantled walls now afford no protection against invasion, and where it was supposed they would most easily have passed the river Sambre. Buonaparte had determined, however, to commence his manœuvres on the same line indeed, but at the town of Charleroi, twenty miles up the river, and of course so much nearer to the French territory.

The allied generals had made every disposition for the ready and rapid concentration of their army, either to advance or to repel an attack. Three of the Prussian divisions occupied Charleroi, Givet, Namur, and defended the left bank of the Sambre. The fourth, under General Bulow, about thirty thousand strong, was quartered between Liege and Hanaut. These cantonments were so chosen, that a

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junction might be formed on any given point in the course of twenty-four hours.

The Duke of Wellington had his head-quarters in Brussels; and his troops were so disposed, that they could in a very short time be placed in line with those of the Prussians. His first corps, under the Prince of Orange, with two divisions of British, two of Hanoverians, and two of Belgians, occupied Enghein, Brain le Comte, and Nivelles, and served as a reserve to the Prussian division under Ziethen, which was at Charleroi. The second division, commanded by Lord Hill, included two British, two Hanoverian, and one Belgian divisions. It was cantoned at Halle, Oudenarde and Grammont. The reserve, under Picton, who, at Lord Wellington's special request, had accepted of the situation of second in command, consisted of the remaining two British divisions, with three of the Hanoverians. It was quartered at Brussels and Ghent. The cavalry occupied Grammont and Nineve.

Upon the 15th of June, at break of day, the French army was in motion in every direction. The second corps attacked such Prussian outposts as they found opposed to them; drove them in; made a few prisoners, and advanced upon Charleroi; while the light cavalry, by a corresponding movement, cleared the eastern bank of the Sambre of such corps of observation as had been placed to watch their progress. The Prussians concentrated themselves at Charleroi, under General Ziethen, and endeavoured to prevent the enemy from gaining the bridge at that town. But the vivacity of the French attack was successful; they carried the town, secured the passage of the river, and being joined by the third corps, under Vandamme, without loss of time debouched from Charleroi in pursuit of the retiring division of Ziethen. They charged the Prussians with their usual impetuosity; but General Letort, who commanded them, was mortally wounded, and they seem to have sustained nearly as much loss as they inflicted. But while one part of their army followed up the Prussians thus closely, the second division advanced on the large village of Gosselies, to cut off the retiring column of Prussians from that point of retreat, which is on the main causeway to Brussels. Ziethen, fearful of being intercepted, changed his route, and keeping more to the right, took the route of Fleurus, and retreating through that village, united himself with the main Prussian army, under Prince Marshal Blucher, which lay in the vicinity of Ligny and St Amand, having lost in this retreat four or five guns, many soldiers killed, and a few prisoners. At night-fall the pursuit ceased, and Buonaparte occupied Charleroi as his head-quarters, his numerous army extending itself through the neighbouring villages in every direction. His whole army was now on Belgian ground, although it had not as yet all crossed the Sambre; and the advantages of the day, although not important otherwise, had operated in some measure to disjoin the Prussian army from the causeway to Brussels, by which the English forces were necessarily to advance. It is true, no French troops were as yet interposed between the Belgian corps, who formed the advanced guard of the Duke of Wellington's army, and the left wing of that of Blucher. But this corps had been dislodged from the village of Frasne towards the evening of the 15th, and retiring to a farm-house called Quatre-Bras, from its forming the centre point between four intersecting roads, there made good their position, in a situation equally important and precarious. The road from Nivelles to Namur crosses at this place the main causeway which leads to

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Brussels; and it was by the first of these that the communication was maintained with the Prussians. That communication, however, was neither clear nor safe; the distance was considerable, and Buonaparte had all the advantage of acting against two separate armies, instead of one concentrated and united force. It is probable, that in this way he attained the advantage which made him select Charleroi for the point of attack, in order, if possible, to interrupt the communication between the English and Prussians. To counterbalance this advantage, there occurred symptoms of treason in his camp. General Bourmont, who had remonstrated so warmly against the treachery of Ney, took the advantage of his vicinity to the Prussian army, to go over in the night, with a few officers in his suite, to the head-quarters of Prince Blucher, and from them to Ghent, to resume the service of his lawful sovereign. His example made little impression upon the French army, for his defection was execrated by all who shared the general enthusiasm for Buonaparte; and the time and mode of it censured by some, who, sharing Bourmont's general sentiments, yet held it unworthy to desert the banners of France, while they were displayed against a foreign enemy.

Meanwhile the Prussian, as well as English general, were now taking every measure to concentrate their forces, and abide the brunt of this fearful onset. Marshal Blucher, whose army was divided into four corps, directed them with all speed to concentrate themselves upon Fleurus, the point where Gen. Ziethen, after his retreat of the 15th, had made good his position. Three of these corps were able to form the proposed junction; by means of which, the Prussians, with an army of about eighty thousand men, occupied the high grounds which extend betwixt Brie and Sombref, and the villages of Ligny and St Amand, which lie beneath and in front of these heights. But the fourth corps, commanded by General Bulow, being stationed between Liege and Hanault, could not by any exertion be brought up to join in the approaching action. As its arrival, however, might be expected in the course of the ensuing day, the Prince Marshal determined rather to await the attack of the French in his present position, than, by retiring on the line in which Bulow was advancing, to hasten their junction at the expence of increasing the distance between his own and Lord Wellington's army, the divisions of which were, according to the plan of operations previously adjusted, already in motion to concentrate themselves near Frasnes, on the right of the Prussian line..

It was during a ball given by the Duchess of Richmond to the most distinguished officers of the British army, that first a stifled and uncertain rumour, and next hasty and breathless couriers, brought notice of the advance of the enemy. Yet the dance for some time continued uninterrupted, for when such immense armies are put in motion, the utmost caution is used, lest a false alarm should give rise to a false movement. It was about one in the morning when certain intelligence assured the duke, that Buonaparte was at Charleroi with his whole army; and at that early hour, the summons of the trumpets and drums, with all the clamour of a collecting army, and a commencing march, alarmed the inhabitants of Brussels. Regiment after regiment formed and marched out of the city, with their artillery and field equipage, headed by officers, some of whom went to meet death in the gala dresses in which they had lately mingled among the lively and the gay. From

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a similar scene Buonaparte's officers had been summoned forth to that hazardous expedition which gave rise to the war; and the leading events of the rise and of the decision of the conflict had the same preface, as if to show how narrowly the path of pleasure is divided from those of ambition, danger, and death.

While the English army thus pressed forward to the scene of battle, Buonaparte spent the night in adjusting his plan of operations for the ensuing day. His successful manœuvres of the 15th had placed it in his choice to attack the English army in detail as it came up, or to engage the three divisions of Prussians under Blucher, who were already in position. If he poured, however, his full force upon the British, his right flank, and, in the event of advance, his rear, must be exposed to Blucher; or if he chose the alternative of fighting the Prussian field-marshal with the principal part of his army, it was necessary to leave a force sufficient to engage the attention of the British, since otherwise he must be exposed to similar danger on the left. Napoleon preferred making his first attack upon the Prussians, and unquestionably with great judgment, because there was more danger of a collected and arrayed army assuming offensive operations against his flank and rear, than was to be apprehended from one which was not yet concentrated, and had not assumed a position. At the same time, aware of the enterprise and energy of Wellington, he resolved to avail himself of his numerical force, and instead of leaving a mere corps of observation opposed to the British, to press upon them with such a force as, attacking them partially and in detail, could not fail to repulse, if not totally to defeat their advanced guard. He therefore assigned the command of his left wing, with the cavalry of Lebfevre Desnouettes, to Field Marshal Ney, with instructions to attack the English and Belgians as they came up upon the Brussels road, and particularly to dislodge them from Quatre Bras, where they partially communicated by their left with the Prussians. He himself, by a lateral movement in the direction of Namur, led the third and fourth corps of infantry into a position opposed to that of the Prussians at Sombref and Ligny. D'Erlon, at the head of the first corps, occupied what might be called the centre of the French army at Marchiennes, and being about mid way between Buonaparte and Ney, was in a situation to act as reserve to either who might most need his assistance. The action of the day divided itself into the combat with the Prussians at Ligny, and that with the English at Quatre Bras. We commence with that in which Napoleon was personally engaged with Blucher.

The Prussian army, about eighty thousand strong, occupied in position a chain of rising ground extending from Brie to Sombref. The keys of their position were the two small villages of St Amand and Ligny, situated at the foot of the heights in flat meadows, through which flows a marshy rivulet. The situation was in several respects unhappily chosen, for Blucher excels rather in the day of battle, than in the previous tactics which prepare for success. The heights, rising like an amphitheatre, exposed the Prussians in every point to the action of the French artillery, which was served with their usual eminent skill; although the two villages, filled with infantry, and every way prepared for defence, covered their line as if with two formidable redoubts. The combat began at St Amand, on which the right flank of the Prussians rested. The village was carried by the French General Lefol, but almost instantly recovered by the Prussians,

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who, from their masses drawn up in rear of the place, threw in fresh forces. The French, reinforced in turn, renewed the assault, and gaining a partial possession of the hamlet, maintained a murderous conflict in the street, the orchards, and houses. Grouchy, in the meantime, attacked Sombref, a village on the extreme right, or rather somewhat on the rear of the Prussian position. It was defended with the most obstinate gallantry by the Saxon General Thielman, distinguished as one of the first of his nation who declared for European independence. The village of Ligny, in front of the Prussian centre, was attacked and defended with an obstinate fury, even superior to that with which the battle raged at Saint Amand and on the other points. General Gerard, under the eye of the emperor, here used his utmost exertions to dispossess the Prussians, and received his death's wound in the conflict. The number of houses standing isolated, and surrounded by courts in front, and farm-yards behind, formed so many redoubts, the possession of each of which was separately disputed; and the peaceful church-yard, with its little wall of circumvallation, was desperately attacked and defended. The deep sentiment of national hatred which animated the combatants on either side, gave a new and horrid feature to the war. No quarter was asked, offered, or accepted. Amid the roar of three hundred pieces of artillery, the flames of the houses, the groans of the dying, and the carcases of the slain, which choaked the street, the battle continued to rage with unabated fury. At length, General Pecheux brought up the French reserve, consisting of eight battalions of the guards, hitherto unengaged, and the village of Ligny fell finally into their possession. At St Amand a desperate attack of the Prussians, led by Marshal Blucher in person, suddenly recovered the village and a height in its vicinity, and seemed for a time to incline the scale of victory in favour of the Prussians. Napoleon was so much alarmed at the consequences of this assault, as instantly to dispatch orders to bring up to his aid the first corps under D'Erlon, which, as we have observed, had been left at Marchiennes to be a reserve, either to his own left, or to the corps engaged with the English under Marshal Ney. But before this corps reached the field of action, St Amand had been regained by the French. In these desperate contests the Prussians suffered very much from the artillery. The reinforcements which they threw in succession into each village had to descend the heights, exposed at each step of their progress to the French fire, while the columns of the enemy, moving along the flat meadow ground, and availing themselves of the hedges and hollow ways, made their corresponding manœuvres without encountering any considerable loss by the Prussian guns stationed on the rising ground. Under these advantages, the French, towards the conclusion of this dreadful and desperate struggle, about seven o'clock at night, obtained at length undisputed possession of Ligny and St Amand. It remained to consummate their victory by an attack on the Prussian position. The imperial guard, supported by their heavy cavalry, traversed the village of Ligny, and forced a ravine which protected the Prussian front, at the same time that a large body of cuirassiers attacked in their rear the main body, posted behind Ligny, and that the Prussian cavalry were repulsed in some disorder by those of Napoleon. The general attack, aided by the superiority of numbers, was successful, and Blucher, who had, during the whole day, in vain expected the assistance of Bulow with the fourth corps, was now compelled to give orders for retreat. The Prussians per-

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formed this difficult and dispiriting manœuvre in the face of a victorious army, surrounded by his cavalry, and amid the confusion incident to approaching darkness, with the same steadiness and precision which marked the memorable retreat upon Chalons on the 14th February, in the preceding campaign. Formed into masses, and repulsing on all hands the repeated charges of the heavy French cavalry, the Prussians retreated in good order on the heights, and from thence continued their retrograde movement upon Tilly, abandoning to the enemy the field of battle and villages heaped with dead, and about 30 guns which could not be withdrawn from the defiles and broken ground. They had nearly sustained a far more irreparable loss in the person of their gallant general. The Prince Marshal, as he directed the retreat, was involved in one of the charges of cavalry, his horse struck down by a cannon-shot, and he himself prostrated on the ground. His aid-de-camp threw himself beside the veteran, determined to share his fate, and had the precaution to fling a cloak over him to prevent his being recognized by the French. The cuirassiers passed over him, and it was not until they were repulsed, and in their turn pursued by the Prussian cavalry, that the gallant veteran was raised and remounted. His death, or captivity, at that eventful moment, might have had most sinister effects on the event of the campaign, as it may be fairly doubted, whether any thing short of Blucher's personal influence and exertion could, after this hard-fought and unfortunate day, have again brought the Prussian army into action on the eventful eighteenth of June. When relieved, and again mounted, Blucher directed the retreat upon Tilly, and achieved it unmolested by the enemy, who did not continue their pursuit beyond the heights which the Prussians had been constrained to abandon. Such was the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, as Blucher truly said, lost the field, but not their honour. About twenty thousand men, being one-fourth of their effective force engaged, were killed and wounded, much field-artillery was abandoned, and some wounded became prisoners. But the victory was attended with none of those decisive consequences which were wont to mark the successes of Buonaparte. There were no corps cut off or dispersed, no regiments which fled or flung down their arms, no line of defence forced, and no permanent advantage gained. The loss of the victors was, by the official accounts, estimated at three thousand men, which ought to have been more than quadrupled. Still, however, they had struck a great blow,—overpowered a stubborn and inveterate enemy, and opened the campaign with favourable auspices. The degree of advantage, however, which Napoleon might have derived from the Prussian retreat was greatly limited by the indifferent success of Ney against the forces of Lord Wellington.

On the morning of the 18th, the Prince of Orange, having reinforced the troops whom he found at Quatre Bras, was speedily engaged in a skirmish with the advanced guard of Marshal Ney, which was maintained by the sharp-shooters on each side with great spirit. Meanwhile the brigades of British began to arrive in succession. The ground around Quatre Bras is intersected with inclosures, then waving with heavy and tall crops, which, with the hedges, rendered it very difficult for either party engaged to ascertain the situation, or movements, or strength of that opposed to them. On the British left, the position of Quatre Bras, with the main causeway leading from Charleroi to

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Brussels, is flanked by a wood, called the Bois de Bossu. Great efforts were made by the French tirailleurs to gain, and by the Belgians to defend, this strong ground, which necessarily commanded the position. About three o'clock the main attack commenced. The French advanced nearly at the same moment upon the causeway from Charleroi to Brussels, and on the intersecting cross-road from Namur to Nivelles. The division of General Foy, which advanced first to the attack, was so warmly received by the British, that it was compelled to retreat in disorder. The first brigade, having advanced somewhat before the rest, was instantly charged and routed by the Highland regiments. The forty-second regiment pushed forward in line after the fugitives, but the nature of the ground, and the height of the corn, hid from their observation a body of cavalry, who advanced to support the French infantry. The Highlanders threw themselves into the hollow square, but the cavalry were so close upon them, that nearly two companies were cut off, with their commanding officer, Colonel Macara, and after making the most gallant individual resistance, almost every man was cut down. The rest of the regiment, by a steady and destructive fire, and supported by their gallant countrymen of the ninety-second, repelled the repeated charges of the cavalry, and completely asserted their ancient high character. It was with as little effect that Marshal Ney tried the effect of a general charge of heavy cavalry, which formidable arm the French had so often employed with success, against the position of Quatre Bras. Two regiments of cuirassiers, forming a solid column of cavalry, came at a hand-gallop down the causeway towards Quatre Bras, intending to carry by a *coup-de-main* a battery of two guns, and thus penetrate to the very centre of the British position. But a part of the ninety-second regiment, which, protected by a cottage and its dung-hill, were not seen by the cuirassiers, received them with a fire so well aimed and severe, that, united to the discharge of the battery itself, its effects seemed like those of magic. The whole causeway was strewed with men and horses, wounded and slain, and the remainder of the horsemen, flying to the rear of their army, announced every where the loss of the battle. It was, however, still far from being decided; the French were superior in numbers, and particularly in cavalry and artillery, for the British guns were not come up, and their cavalry had not yet had time (their quarters being so far distant as the Dender) to join the army.

The Duke of Wellington himself came on the field about three o'clock, with the British guards. The moment was critical; for the French had, by repeated efforts, succeeded in dispossessing the Belgian sharp-shooters from the Bois de Bossu, and were now in almost undisputed possession of this large wood, which enfiladed the British position. General Maitland had instant orders to recover this indispensable post. The guards rushed into the wood, forced the enemy from bush to bush, from tree to tree, through the whole space; drove them over the little brook which traverses the wood, and finally forced them into the open field beyond it. But the instant they attempted to debouche, in order to follow up their advantages, they found themselves in the presence of a large body of French cavalry, who advanced to charge them during the temporary confusion incident to their issuing from the wood. To escape this attack, they retired into the Bois de Bossu. The French again attempted to penetrate, were again repulsed; the guards again pur-

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sued, were once more checked by the menaced charge of the cavalry, and obliged in their turn to retire. And these manœuvres were repeated once or twice on each side with little variation; the guards being unable to debouche from among the trees in such order as to meet the menaced charge, and the French finding it altogether impossible to obtain any footing within the wood itself. The guards sustained a heavy loss in this sustained conflict, and several gallant officers were slain or mortally wounded.

This obstinate conflict was equally fatal to the other corps of the allies. The Brunswickers had been in the brunt of the day since the battle commenced. Their gallant Duke, who fought at their head, had been repeatedly wounded, but no entreaties could prevail on him to leave the field. In a desperate charge, which he headed in person, he was shot through the heart by a musket-ball. The Belgians, under the command of the Prince of Orange, fought with great bravery, and sustained a corresponding loss. One of their cavalry regiments, which, without regarding the disparity of equipment, ventured to engage in close conflict with the cuirassiers, was almost entirely cut to pieces. The enemy, however, had suffered as severely; and Ney, finding no chance of bringing the action to a favourable termination without an accession of numbers, sent to order up the reserve, which had been quartered at Frasnes, and which he conceived was to be placed at his disposal. When he found it had been marched to the right, in order to sustain Buonaparte's attack on Saint Amand, he renounced all hopes of victory, and confined himself to the efforts necessary to preserve his position. The battle terminated with the day; the loss of either party, being nearly equal, cannot be justly estimated under three thousand killed and wounded. The relative strength of the armies engaged varied at different periods of the action. In the beginning, the French had a great preponderance, particularly in cavalry and artillery; but as the successive British divisions came up, the conflict became more equal, and at the close of the day it is probable the Duke of Wellington might have some superiority. The battle might be considered as doubtful, were it not for the circumstance, that the allies retained possession of the position from which it had been the object of the enemy to drive them; an advantage which the retreat of the succeeding day rendered of little importance.

Many gallant officers fell on this hard-fought day. There was general regret for the Duke of Brunswick, who, though so plain in his dress and unassuming in his manners that he was often mistaken for one of his own black hussars, nourished in his bosom the glow of ancient German chivalry. He had sworn to avenge his father's fall, in memory of whose disastrous fate his chosen regiments were arrayed in mourning. The early loss of a beautiful and affectionate wife had disgusted him with the world, and he seemed to live only to avenge his family and country. His efforts in favour of independence during the hazardous campaign of 1809, had procured him a high rank among German patriots. His brief reign after his restoration had endeared him to his subjects. He was among the first to hasten to join Lord Wellington, on the breaking out of the present war, with forces superior in numbers to what his dominions were supposed capable of supplying. And he was now to fill the soldier's grave, for which his courage and constancy furnished a distinguished epitaph.

It would be endless to enumerate

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the instances of gallantry displayed by the British in this action. But the death of the distinguished Colonel Cameron, who fell at the head of the 92d regiment, which he had so often led to victory, was deservedly distinguished by peculiar regret. Nor is it possible to omit the touching circumstances attending the fate of Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, who, when mortally wounded in the attack on the Bois de Bossu, desired to see the colours of the regiment once more ere he died; they were waved over his head, and the expiring officer declared himself satisfied. He also expressed to his intimate friend Colonel Thomas, his satisfaction that he himself should have met this fate rather than his friend, who had been but lately married. Alas! ere the hour had expired, Colonel Thomas had shared the fate which his dying friend wished should be exhausted by his own misfortune. Such scenes must not escape the notice of history, as too minute for her annals; they give life, feeling, and truth to her sombre pictures of indiscriminate carnage, connecting the direful events which she records with the kinder feelings of our nature, and holding up to posterity the character of the British soldier as it exists, gentle in his bravery, and carrying alike his kindness and his enthusiasm into the field of battle, and the hour of honourable death.

During the night of the 15th, and the succeeding day, the Prussians, without annoyance from the French, united themselves with the division of Bulow, and evacuating Sombref, Brie, and the other villages, which Thielman had maintained during the action of Ligny, concentrated their whole army upon the small river Dyle, in the vicinity of Wavre, about six leagues to the rear of their former position, and considerably farther disjoined from the line of the Duke of Wellington's operations. The march of the Prussians was followed and observed by Marshal Grouchy, with the third and fourth corps, and the cavalry of General Pajol. The rest of the French army, under Napoleon's immediate command, made a movement to their left, and thus united themselves with Ney, with the purpose of attacking the English general in his position at Quatre Bras.

It required some hours ere this movement could be executed; and it was about eleven o'clock when the whole French army was drawn out in line of battle on the heights of Frasnes, in expectation of immediate battle. But they did not, as they expected, find the Duke of Wellington in the position which he had so well defended on the preceding day. He had masqued, with great skill, a retreat, which, corresponding in extent with that of Blucher, might again place him in communication with the unwearied veteran. The French soldiery regarded this manœuvre as the symptom of an easy triumph, and made little doubt that the English were on the full march to embark at Antwerp. The most gasconading letters were dispatched to Paris, announcing the annihilation both of the English and Prussian armies, complete victory, and unalloyed triumph. The little that might remain to be done, it was confidently prophesied, would be easily achieved.—"The emperor is here!" The pontoons were anxiously hurried forward, which the French soldiers took as an omen that they were soon to pursue the enemy among the canals of Holland.

In the meanwhile, amid torrents of rain, which rendered the roads very bad, and the fields impracticable for the passage of troops, the English army, in no very triumphant mood, were winning their way to a position

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nearer to Brussels and the Prussians, than that which they had left. The best and bravest among them scarcely hoped that the Prussians, after a day of such slaughter as that of Ligny, would be speedily organized, and they themselves leaving, in the position of Quatre Bras, the only advantage they had derived from the action of the 15th, were, in all probability, now to contend, unaided, with the whole French army. The hostile cavalry, indeed, were not long in making their appearance on the causeway to harass the retreat. But the fields were rendered so deep by the rain as to make it impossible for them to act upon the flank of the British, who occupied the causeway; and it was only near the village of Genappes that they offered any serious interruption or annoyance to the English army. Genappes is a small town, situated on the causeway to Brussels, which passes through its confined street, and crosses the Dyle, a deep and sluggish stream, over a long narrow bridge, forming a defile very unfavourable for a retreating army. A corps of lancers here attacked the rear of the British, while they were engaged in filing through the village. The Earl of Uxbridge ordered the 7th hussars to attack the lancers. They advanced gallantly to the charge; but, from the length of the enemies' weapons, and the manner in which they were drawn up, having each flank well secured, and a mass of cavalry in their rear, the British regiment sustained a repulse. The lancers kept their ranks, but were nevertheless somewhat disordered by the vivacity of the attack, when Lord Uxbridge ordered the life-guards to attack them. The long swords, strong horses, and tall men of these fine regiments, effected what the hussars had been unable to accomplish. Their charge bore down with its weight, and overset totally the ranks which opposed them. The lancers, and cuirassiers who supported them, fled in great disorder, and gave no further disturbance to the English retreat. At five o'clock, the British army arrived on the ground which long before the Duke of Wellington had caused to be surveyed by the quarter-master-general, as a favourable situation, in case circumstances should require a stand to be made before Brussels.

The field of Waterloo, as this memorable spot is now most generally named, is very easily described. The army occupied a chain of heights, extending from a small village on the right called Merke Braine, to a hamlet called Ter la Haye on the left. The extent may be a mile and a half. This line of heights corresponds with a similar, but somewhat higher, chain, running parallel to those on which the English army was posted. The two lines are divided from each other by a valley, which winds betwixt them, of various breadth at different points, but, generally speaking, not exceeding half a mile. The declivity on each side has a various, but, generally speaking, a very gentle slope, and is diversified by a number of undulating banks, which seem as if formed by the action of water, though no stream flows through the little valley. This ground is traversed by two high-roads, or causeways, both leading to Brussels, the one from Charleroi through Genappes, by which the British army had just retreated, and the other from Nivelles. After intersecting the valley and reaching the summit of the heights, these two roads unite at the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, which is considerably to the rear of the British position. The farm of Mont Saint Jean, which must be distinguished from the village, is more immediately close to the rear;

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and another farm-house, called La Haie Sainte, (from the only hedge in the neighbourhood, which runs along the ridge behind it,) is situated upon the Charleroi causeway, near the foot of its descent from the heights into the valley. Exactly fronting Mont Saint Jean, on the opposite eminence, and on the same road from Charleroi, is La Belle Alliance, another small hamlet; and these two points form nearly the respective centres of the French and English positions. Farther to the east, and about the centre of the British right-wing, is the mansion of Hougoumont, an old-fashioned Flemish villa, with a chapel and court-yard, a garden surrounded by a wall and a hedge, and about two acres of park-ground filled with tall beech trees. The rest of the valley is open ground, and was then covered with rye and wheat of great height. Such was the aspect and bearings of the ground, which, after few hours, was to become immortal in history.

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CHAP. XIV.

Disposition of the British Army.—The French come on the Ground.—Their Dispositions.—The Action commences.—Attack on Hougoumont—And on the British Right.—The Mode of receiving it.—It is finally unsuccessful.—Attack on the British Centre and Left.—Death of Picton.—Cavalry Engagement.—Bulow's Corps begins to enter into Action.—Reiterated Attacks of the French.—Personal Conduct of the Duke of Wellington.—Great Loss of the British Troops.—Attack by the Imperial Guards—It is totally defeated.—The British attack in Line.—The Prussians come up in Force.—The French are totally Routed.—Flight of Buonaparte.—Movements of the Prussians.—Affair at Wavre.—Pursuit of the French by Blucher.—Loss of the Armies engaged.

To the memorable field on which was fought the battle of the eighteenth of June, the Prussians gave the name of La Belle Alliance, from that of a small hamlet, or cabaret, in the centre of the French position, which seemed to Blucher to bear a happy allusion to the confederacy of the victors. The French call it the battle of Mont Saint Jean, from a farm-house and hamlet in the centre of the British line. But the British have given the action a name from the little town of Waterloo, the nearest village of any consequence, although two miles in the rear of the actual scene of battle. It was in Waterloo that Lord Wellington established his head-quarters on the night of the 17th, and we retain that name as most familiar to the British ear and imagination.

The evening was spent in disposing the army in order of battle for the next day. The arrangement was simple and compact. The British troops were drawn up in two lines, the centre being nearly in front of the farm of Saint Jean, and the left extending along the ridge until the extreme flank reached a hamlet called Smouhen, and a farm-house named Papelotte, where it was sufficiently covered by buildings, inclosures, ravines, and thickets. From Smouhen, the country to the left is covered with thickets and wood, which extend as far as Wavre, and by the broken roads which intersect this difficult ground a communication was maintained with Blucher's army. The right of the British army extended along the same heights, but following their direction sloped semi-circularly backwards, until the extreme right flank rested on Merke-Braine, where it was protected by a ravine. The troops were disposed as follows: The right consisted of the second and fourth English divisions, the third and sixth Hanoverians, and the first Belgians, under Lord Hill. The cen-

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tre was composed of the corps of the Prince of Orange, with the Brunswickers and troops of Nassau, having the guards, under Gen. Cooke, on the right, and the division of General Alten on the left. The left wing consisted of the divisions of Picton, Lambert, and Kempt. The second line was in all instances formed of the troops deemed least worthy of confidence, or which had suffered too severely in the action of the 16th to be again exposed until extremity. It was placed behind the declivity of the heights to the rear, in order to be safe from the cannonade, notwithstanding which it suffered greatly from the shells thrown at venture beyond the eminence by the French. The cavalry was placed in the rear of the infantry, ready to pour through the intervals, and act as opportunity offered. It was distributed through all the line, but the greater proportion was placed in the left of the centre, or to the east of the main causeway from Charleroi. The farm-house of La Haye Sainte served as the key to the centre, lying immediately under the middle of the British line. It was fortified as well as the time admitted, and garrisoned with Hanoverians. The chateau and garden and park of Hougoumont formed at once a very strong advanced post, and the key to the British right. The castle and garden were occupied by a detachment of the guards, under Lord Salton and Colonel Macdonell, the wood or park by the sharp-shooters of Nassau.

Such was the order of battle, in which the British troops slept on their arms. Their ground was not strong enough to merit the name of a military position, but it was a fair field, upon which battle might be offered or accepted with little advantage to either party. In case of disaster, the wood of Soignies, a close and extensive forest of beech trees, lay within two miles, and its verge might, by a few resolute troops, be made good against almost any force, as there is no way to penetrate into it for several miles, save by the causeway from Charleroi to Brussels, already so often mentioned. Thus posted, Wellington dispatched a message to Blucher, to apprize him, that if he could spare him the support of two corps of his army, he was determined to abide the fate of battle on the ground he now occupied. The gallant veteran immediately offered to join the English general with his whole army, and in case Buonaparte should fail to accept the battle offered him by Wellington, he proposed they should attack him with their united strength on the ensuing day.

The night was tempestuous and rainy in the extreme, and the British officers and soldiers suffered much by being exposed to its rigour in their open bivouac. The thunder rolled unremittingly, with such sheets of lightning and deluges of rain as are seldom seen but in a tropical climate. The French were even yet more exposed to the severity of the weather, for they had to deploy out of the line of battle which they had formed in the morning, with a view of attacking the position of Quatre Bras, and this operation consumed some time. The English, upon the 17th, were therefore long upon their ground for the night ere their enemies appeared. It was nearly twilight when Buonaparte, with his advanced guard, reached a little farm-house called Caillou, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance, where he established his head-quarters. His artillery, placed on the corresponding range of heights to those of Mont St Jean, cannonaded the British position, and were answered by the Duke's artillery. But most of his troops remained at the little town of Genappes, or in the vicinity, and were not again marched until the ensuing

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morning. By this means the British troops obtained time to take some food, and prepare their arms for the duty of the eighteenth, before the battle actually commenced.

It was past ten o'clock on that important day ere the French army, arriving by divisions, were disposed along the heights of La Belle Alliance, ready for the attack which their master had meditated. It is said he expressed unusual surprise and satisfaction on finding that the English had not, as was generally expected in the French army, prosecuted their retreat during the night, and that he exclaimed, extending his hand towards the hostile position as if to grasp it, "I have them then at last, these English!" The numbers, as well as the quality of the troops he commanded, might justify the confidence of a general who had never before engaged the British. Napoleon had under him at least an hundred thousand men of all arms, to which the Duke of Wellington certainly could not oppose seventy thousand of his own army. But both parties reckoned on the approximation of a considerable Prussian corps, the apprehension of which obliged Napoleon to maintain a strong reserve, and thus considerably diminished his actual superiority. The French line, drawn up on the heights of La Belle Alliance, occupied considerably more space than the British: the former being two miles in length, the latter only one mile and a half; within such a narrow theatre was so deep a tragedy to be acted, a circumstance which helps to account for the sanguinary nature of the conflict. The French left wing was commanded by no less a person than Prince Jerome, (ci-devant King of Westphalia,) the centre by Generals Reille and D'Erlon, the right by Count Lobau. Soult and Ney acted as Lieutenants-General, Buonaparte himself directing every manœuvre. The division of Lobau was kept in reserve to oppose the Prussian corps so soon as they should make their expected appearance on the British left.

To diminish, as far as possible, the chance of the British receiving assistance from any strong body of their allies, Buonaparte dispatched an aide-de-camp to General Grouchy, who, as formerly mentioned, followed the Prussians with an army of observation, amounting to thirty-five or forty thousand men. The messenger carried him orders to attack their position at Wavre with as much vivacity as possible, to cross the Dyle, and to compel the main body of the Prussians to a general action. This order was in the style of Buonaparte's usual manœuvres, for had Grouchy succeeded in drawing all Blucher's force upon himself, as his emperor intended, he must have been destroyed by the superiority of the enemy. But Buonaparte would in that event have had a considerable chance of victory over the English, and it was no new thing in his tactics to sacrifice a general and a division to ensure his own success.

Having thus, he conceived, given such orders as would fully occupy the Prussian forces, Napoleon commanded an attack on the British position. His plan comprehended no ingenious combination or refinement of tactics, being simply that to which the French, and this general in particular, have owed most of their victories, the system, namely, of advancing column after column to attack on the same spot, of hurrying forward artillery, and bringing squadron after squadron to the charge, until, confounded and wearied out with the number and pertinacity of their assailants, his enemies should manifest some irresolution, or fall into some disorder, which no sol-

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diers sooner descry and profit by than those of France;—a formidable mode of onset doubtless, but which, where the moral and physical nerves of the opponents remain firm, must terminate in ruin when the strength of the assailant has finally exhausted itself in repeated and unavailing attacks.

The first object of Napoleon seems to have been to storm the advanced post at Hougoumont, and, having secured that position, to have proceeded to attack the British right. The causeway from Nivelles afforded means to have done so, had the attack on Hougoumont been successful, and the British line must have been much cramped in its movements, while its right might have been thrown back upon the centre, and effectually turned. There are, besides, commanding situations on the waving and unequal surface of the valley, to which the capture of Hougoumont would have given the French access, and from whence their artillery must have done great execution along the British line. About twelve o'clock the brigade of General Foy, belonging to the division of Prince Jerome, dashed forwards, and commenced a furious assault upon the chateau and the wood in its front. After a considerable resistance, the sharp-shooters of Nassau were driven out of the wood, and ran past the troops on the British right in great confusion, nor could any persuasions or commands rally them for some time. But although they thus gained possession of the wood, the utmost efforts of the French were still unable to penetrate to the court-yard, orchard, and garden; and though the grape-shot and musketry assailed the defenders at every loop-hole and opening, yet the vivacity of the fire from within defeated every effort to storm the chateau. At one place the French ran dauntlessly forward, and pushed through a hedge which they conceived to be the barrier of the garden. But this exterior boundary only masked a garden wall, which was loop-holed and scaffolded for the use of the defenders; so that those who forced their way through the hedge, having neither the power of advancing nor retiring, were all marked, and shot down in the narrow space betwixt the hedge and the wall. The court-yard gate was for a moment knocked open by shot, and four or five of the assailants forced their way within its precincts. But they were instantly shot and bayonetted. Upon a calm survey of the scene of death, it seems extraordinary that the French did not use round-shot against the walls which were thus defended. One, or, at most, two twelve-pounders, firing balls, must soon have made a practicable breach, or, if necessary, half a dozen, in a garden-wall only eighteen inches in thickness, and must thus have deprived the little garrison of its means of protection. But a mode of attack so obvious was not resorted to, as if to show that fortune will always claim a principal influence in the affairs of war. Howitzers were employed, the shells from which soon ruined the houses, and afterwards set them in flames. A large hay-stack in the court-yard caught fire about the same time. Many of the wounded, dreadful to tell, perished in the conflagration; but the attack and defence were continued with the most obstinate perseverance. The garrison of Hougoumont were driven into the garden by the flames, which, like that of Eden, seemed to be guarded by the sword of an exterminating angel. Two thousand men and upwards lay dead around the post in a very small space of time.

While thus attacked and defended, the chateau of Hougoumont was in a great measure separated from the rest of the British line by a desperate push

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which was made by the rest of Jerome's division against the British right. It was conducted in the most formidable style of French tactics. Artillery, dexterously placed and served, and supported by whole clouds of sharp-shooters, endeavoured, by their fire, to distract the attention and thin the ranks of the opposing battalions. Under cover of this fire, heavy bodies of cuirassiers and lancers advanced, supported by close columns of infantry, marching with their muskets shouldered, waiting the impression made by the charge of the cavalry, and ready the instant it had taken effect to rush forward, deploy into line, drive the defenders from the desired position, occupy it themselves, and complete the destruction of their broken ranks by musketry and the bayonet; while the cavalry, in case of necessity, retired through the intervals of their battalions, and formed in the rear for further service. To oppose this mode of attack, formidable as combining physical force with the most imposing appearance, the Duke of Wellington had formed his battalions into separate squares, each side of which was four men deep. These separate platoons were arranged alternately, like the spots of a chessboard, so that each of those which were in the rear covered the interval betwixt two of those in the front. Thus in every direction the formation was too strong to be broken by cavalry, if the men stood firm; for in the event of squadrons venturing between the squares, they were necessarily exposed to an exterminating fire in front, and on both flanks. The artillery was placed on suitable positions in the intervals of the line of squares, and light infantry, yagers and sharp-shooters, detached in front, skirmished individually with the French tirailleurs, and prevented them as much as possible from annoying the battalions of infantry by their desultory, but destructive fire.

As regiments drawn up in squares in the manner described present a very small surface to the eye, the Duke's order of battle greatly increased the apparent inequality of numbers, and it seemed as if the little platoons on the right, composed of the guards and Brunswickers, on whom the storm first fell, must necessarily have been swept from the field, so little proportion did they apparently bear to the tide of cavalry which rushed against them with such dauntless and determined impetuosity. The cuirassiers seemed of the same opinion, for they came up to the charge as men to a task of every-day accomplishment, expecting, doubtless, that the awe of their onset on this, as in former battles, would of itself dispel the shew of resistance presented to them. But the squares of infantry stood firm; they gave fire when the horse were within ten yards of them; men rolled one way, horses galloped another, and the cuirassiers, who were to have seconded the charge, seemed like players who are disconcerted by those on the stage acting otherwise than the rehearsal of the piece had taught them to expect. Some, with a sort of frantic and yet determined valour, rode up to the bayonets, cut at the soldiers over their muskets, fired their pistols at the officers, and did the most desperate actions, sacrificing their own lives, in hopes to occasion some confusion among the squares, by which their comrades might profit. Others rode at random among the squares, and were mowed down by the crossing fires. Other squadrons stood at gaze, and were swept off by the British artillery. In no one instance did they make any impression, or were able to break a square. They were at length compelled to abandon the attack upon the right, and confine it to a fire of

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artillery, from which the British suffered very much, as their mode of formation afforded too deadly an aim to the enemy, and one ball not infrequently swept off two or three soldiers. To deploy into a line of four deep, and to lie down on the ground, was the only possible remedy, and that but a partial one. They had hardly, in many cases, the time to take this precaution for safety from the fire, ere they were again called upon to form square to oppose new charges of cavalry. The ready and prompt execution of these various orders for repeated change of position showed at once the promptness, discipline, and coolness of the soldiers; and after repeated attempts, equally unsuccessful, the French seemed to confine themselves on the right to a severe cannonade. But by the repulse of the French cavalry an opportunity was gained of throwing succours into Hougoumont. A party of guards, commanded by Colonel Hepburn, drove the French from the wood and park, restored the communication between the post and the right of the British army, and brought relief to the little garrison by whom the chateau and garden had been so bravely maintained.

Meantime, while his purpose was disguised by a general fire from three hundred pieces of artillery, and from clouds of sharp-shooters along the whole line, Buonaparte organized his forces for a combined attack, with infantry and cavalry, in the centre and to the left of the Duke of Wellington's position. By breaking the British line at this point he would have at once cut their army into two parts, and separated them from that of the Prussians, besides obtaining the command of the road to Brussels. This important attack was made with columns of infantry and cavalry, moving to the charge on different points and at the same moment. The resolution with which they advanced up the sloping hill, and sustained the murderous fire of the British artillery, was such as to call forth all the gallantry and steadiness of the troops who were opposed to them. The assailants completely invested and stormed the post of La Haye Sainte, situated just at the descent of the heights, and on the centre of the British line, of which it might be termed the key. After a most gallant defence it was finally carried by the enemy, who put to the bayonet the gallant Hanoverians, who had spent their ammunition, yet continued to defend the place with their swords, until exterminated. The French having thus a post established on the causeway, the columns of cavalry renewed their efforts to break the British centre, and were for a moment partially successful; their cavalry cutting to pieces some Dutch troops, who could not form the hollow square speedily enough to receive them. At this crisis, the gallant Sir Thomas Picton, instead of awaiting the charge with his division, led them on to meet and attack the cavalry. The French were dismayed by a manœuvre so daring and unexpected, in which the troops who were at defence suddenly became the assailants, and rushing from the hedge, behind which they were posted, attacked the advancing columns of infantry and cavalry with charged bayonets. They were driven down the causeway, infantry and cavalry, in mingled disorder; but a ball through the head terminated the career of the gallant Picton. Pursued by the most injurious calumny, denied the honours his services had so dearly bought, from the mean fear of offending popular prejudice, his death, as his life, might upbraid the timidity of the British government, and the prepossessions of the British public. It was not dis-

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covered, until after his death, that he had received a severe wound on the 16th at Quatre Bras, which he had contrived to bind up with his servant's assistance, and had kept secret, lest the surgeons might insist on his absenting himself from the field on the 18th of June. Of such metal was the heart made, which public injustice and ingratitude wrung and galled, though it could never make him forget the duty he owed his country.

When the sudden and determined attack of the brigade, led by this lamented officer, had repulsed the French from the crest of the hill, which they had so nearly attained, the British heavy cavalry rushed out from their station in the rear, and fell upon those of Napoleon, who were advancing to attack the British infantry. The 92d regiment, which, reduced so low as to two hundred men, had just charged a column of ten times their own number, were reinforced by their countrymen, the Scots Greys, who rushed in to their assistance, with shouts of Scotland for ever! The Life-guards, at the same time, by the weight and fury of their charge, hurled a regiment of cuirassiers over a broken and precipitous bank into the causeway, where most of them were either slain by the fall, or lay rolling upon each other, until they were destroyed with musketry and artillery. More cavalry were now detached by Napoleon, to extricate those already engaged, and without the infantry ceasing to be engaged, a great and general cavalry action took place, in which the Life-guards, Greys, and other heavy regiments of British, were found decidedly superior to the celebrated cuirassiers, in strength of man and horse, use of the sword, and all excepting the coolness and presence of mind which the veteran French had acquired in many campaigns, and which our dragoons are too apt to lose in the heat and ardour of battle. On the other hand, our light corps of cavalry were found too slightly mounted, and wanting in physical strength and weight, although not in gallantry or discipline, and suffered considerably, until extricated by the heavy brigade. Sir John Elley, deputy-adjutant-general, distinguished by his strength, horsemanship, and skill in the use of his sword, led the heavy cavalry on this occasion. The French in their repulse, besides an immense number slain, lost two eagles, and nearly three thousand prisoners, who were dispatched under an escort to Brussels, and arrived there before the battle was over. The British cavalry also took two eagles, and made great havoc among the enemy; but following the pursuit too far, they sustained considerable loss. Amongst many other gallant officers, Sir William Ponsonby was slain, with his aide-de-camp, just in the moment that, expecting his fate, he put into his friend's hand his watch, to be delivered to his family. The Polish lancers, by whom he fell, (whose cruelty was remarked on this and other occasions), were almost all exterminated before that bloody day ended. Sir John Elley, already mentioned, had nearly shared the fate of Sir William Ponsonby, being surrounded by six or seven of the enemy's horsemen. But, though severely wounded, he cut his way from among them, leaving three or four of the assailants dead behind him, with gashes that marked the strength and skill of the arm which inflicted them. Here also Shaw fell (a private Life-guard's man, distinguished as a pugilist); he was shot through the head, after having slain several of the mail-clad cuirassiers with his single hand. The peculiarity of the national taste, which encourages this exercise, makes its professors of such note, that their names do

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not pass unrecorded, even in such days as that of Waterloo.

It was now five o'clock, and the Prussians, who, in their movement towards the British left, by the village of Ohain, had encountered difficulties in the woods of Saint Lambert, and who perhaps might entertain some scruples at engaging their whole army in defiles, where they might have been utterly destroyed if the British did not stand their ground, began now to appear. General Bulow, with two brigades of infantry, and a corps of cavalry, at length defiled from the woods, and threatened the flank and rear of Buonaparte's right wing. The French reserve, under Count Lobau, which had been preserved entire for this purpose, was instantly opposed to these fresh enemies, who, for some time, seemed to be held in check, and to maintain a languid action, waiting doubtless until their main army should come up.

It was perhaps at this moment that Buonaparte, as a prudent general, ought to have discontinued the action. He had still in reserve his whole brigade of guards, the flower of his army, none of whom had yet fired a musket. They were more than sufficient, considering the exhausted state of the English troops, to screen his retreat upon the Dyle, and on the Sambre. But, besides the natural obstinacy of Napoleon's disposition, a drawn battle was perhaps, in his peculiar circumstances, as hazardous as a total defeat, since his enemies had in expectance reinforcements and resources of all kinds; whereas he was now at the head of his only and last army, and having no visible means to raise another, except through the eclat of some such victory as should call out France to arms *en masse*. His experience also was in favour of perseverance. At Marengo, and on other occasions, he had finally carried the day by protracting and reiterating his efforts, long after it had been to all appearance lost; and he might, on this last of his fields, confide, that his good fortune would finally cast the victory in his favour. He remained, therefore, on the heights of La Belle Alliance, directing and commanding that constant and unceasing fire of artillery, which was so destructive to the British, that they were glad when the cavalry began to advance between them and the enemy's guns, and so occasioned it to cease, though at the certainty of a charge from the horse. Hougoumont, meanwhile, was again closely invested and pressed. The farm-house and court-yard of La Haie Sainte were maintained by the French, notwithstanding the destructive shower of shells which the English plunged into it from their position above; and a series of attacks, varying only as they were made by masses of cavalry and infantry, in conjunction or separately, prolonged the combat over the whole of the field, which was now literally heaped with dead, and floated with blood. The manner and result of these attacks were so similar in every case, that it would be unnecessary, were it possible, to separate and distinguish them. Nor, indeed, though with access to the best information, is it possible for us to give such a distinct detail of the continued carnage of this glorious, but dreadful day, as could, in all points, be accurate, or even intelligible. The battle was at no time, for the space of six hours, interrupted in any one point, although the severity of the conflict shifted from one quarter to another. The waving surface of the ground, its inequalities and sinuosities, occasioned numerous partial actions, which were desperately fought, though contributing little to the main result of the battle. Napoleon, from

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his commanding station, continued to express the utmost confidence of ultimate victory. He praised repeatedly the gallantry of his enemy, and even honoured the Scotch Greys, and other British corps, with particular notice and approbation; but the burthen was the same, "In half an hour I will cut them all to pieces." But hour after hour glided away, amid the thunder of cannon, and the strife of death; and the British, while they suffered dreadfully from the ravages of artillery, maintained, though with diminished space, the ground they had occupied in the morning.

The Duke of Wellington, meanwhile, seemed almost multiplied during the conflict; for wherever his presence was necessary, he was almost instantly seen. He more than shared the general danger of the field; for he was found in every place where it was for the time most imminent; and the appearance of his staff and retinue invariably drew on him the fire of the artillery and of his sharp-shooters. Many of his most distinguished officers fell around him. The Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon was mortally wounded, while remonstrating with the duke on the danger to which he exposed himself. Sir William de Lancey, eminent for the skill with which he conducted the important department of quarter-master-general, shared the same fate. Lieutenant-Colonel Canning, who had been the duke's aid-de-camp during the whole peninsular war, was killed by a grape-shot, in execution of that honourable duty. The Honourable Captain Orzon fell in the same manner. In short, of the numerous military family, who attended upon the commander-in-chief, only his grace himself, and Don Miguel Alava, the Spanish ambassador to the king of the Netherlands, who had gallantly made his diplomatic engagements give way to his desire to attend the duke in this action, escaped untouched, either in their persons or their horses.

The reader is not to suppose, that this great captain, upon whose life probably the issue of this day, and the fate of Europe, depended, thus exposed so valuable a pledge from unnecessary hardihood. An attacking general has it in his power to possess his subordinates with the manner in which his scheme is to be executed; and indeed, unless on very particular occasions, in putting himself at the head of a charging column, would act as unwisely as if he were to lead the forlorn hope in storming a breach. But the general who maintains the defensive, cannot anticipate all that is to be attempted by his adversary. He must be personally present upon the point attacked, that he may give the directions which the danger of the moment requires. This exposure of his invaluable person was, therefore, the duty of the Duke of Wellington, and never was duty better fulfilled. He was not only commander in chief, but general of brigade, colonel of a regiment; ready not only to command the general manœuvres, but to direct the particular mode in which they were to be executed;—above all, to inspire the troops with prudence by his precept, and valour by his example. He brought up to the charge, in person, regiments who were giving ground, or confirmed by his presence those who stood fast, and repeatedly retired into the centre of the squares, when about to be charged by the cavalry. "If history," as Mr Whitbread truly said, "had recorded such a trait as having occurred ten centuries ago, with what emotions would it be read! To see a commander of such eminence throw himself repeatedly into the regimental square which was nearest him, till the rage and torrent of the attack

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was past, proved his trust was reposed in no one individual corps, but in the whole British army. In that mutual confidence lay the power and strength of the troops and their general. The Duke of Wellington knew that he was safe when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men; and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus entrusted to him could never be wrested from their hands." Thus he ventured and toiled amidst the foremost ranks, and, in short, literally wrought in the fire, as if it had been his native element; and not only the importance and the severity of the conflict, but his own personal conduct, on the eighteenth of June, threw all his former achievements into shade by their splendour.

With every effort that could be made, the British troops had suffered extremely, both from loss and fatigue. Several corps had no longer men left sufficient to form square, and were obliged to receive the cavalry in line, in order to present a sufficient front, and cover the necessary quantity of ground. At one moment, the battle seemed even to determine against the British. One of these overwhelming charges, which we have described, made by the whole cavalry of Napoleon's guard, drove in not only the British sharp-shooters, who, acting as skirmishers, covered the line of squares, but forced from their guns the artillerymen by whom they had been so well served, who were compelled to take refuge in the hollow squares nearest to them. About thirty field-pieces remained in the momentary possession of the enemy, but they had not the means or the time to secure them. The Duke of Wellington charged the cavalry in person with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them to abandon the artillery.

It was probably the havoc which had been made in the British ranks, which induced Napoleon, about seven in the evening, to make one last and desperate push for victory, by bringing up the infantry of his celebrated guards, in order, by a sustained and furious charge, to break through the centre of the British at Mont St Jean. For this purpose, he himself moved his station to a spot in the causeway, halfway down the height from La Belle Alliance, and gave his animating exhortations to each corps as it passed. He pointed to the ridge which they were to assault, and reminded them it was the road to Brussels; of which city his troops had been promised the free pillage. He assured them, the heights were now only defended by the British artillery, which might be carried by a coup-de-main—their infantry and cavalry, he said, had been destroyed by the previous attacks of the French. His exhortations were received with the utmost enthusiasm, and answered with shouts of "*En avant! en avant! Vive l'Empereur!*" The advanced guard of this last and most formidable assault, was composed of four regiments of what was called the Middle Guard, and it was sustained by four regiments of the Old Guard, all veteran grenadiers, the flower of the French army. The Middle Guard was formed for attack in two columns, with an interval betwixt them. The Old Guard were formed into squares, to support them in case of success, or serve them for a rallying point, if repulsed; and the attacking columns were flanked by cavalry and tirailleurs to protect their advance. Ney, who fought that day like one who felt he had no reputation left excepting for courage, led this desperate attack in person. Undismayed by the horrible carnage made among their ranks by the British artillery, the French struggled on with loud shouts, and the clang of all their instruments of warlike music,

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over ground encumbered with heaps of slain, and slippery with blood. The Brunswick sharp-shooters, who were acting as skirmishers, gave way before these heavy columns. But in the confusion attending their progress, and the loss which they sustained, the columns lost their interval, and became confounded in one mass when they approached the ridge of the hill. Here they were received by Lord Wellington in person, who called to the British infantry of the household, then stretched on the ground to avoid the artillery, "Up, Guards, and at them!" The effect was instantaneous—not a Frenchman of the Imperial Guard awaited to cross his bayonet with that of Britain. They fled in complete disorder and utter route. General Friant was killed, and Ney, struck from his horse, still, with sword in hand, endeavoured in vain to restore the day—it was altogether irremediable. A regiment of tirailleurs attempted to cover the retreat of the Imperial Guards. They were instantly charged, and fled before the very cheers of the advancing British. The Old Guard preserved their squares, in order to cover the retreat. They were charged by the British cavalry, forced, and entirely cut to pieces. A report was circulated in Paris, that they had been previously summoned to surrender, but that General Cambrone answered in their name, "The Guards can die, but never lay down their arms." We believe that no British officer corroborates either the summons or the reply; and Cambrone, in whose mouth it was put by the editors of the Moniteur, and the orators of the Chambers, was found himself to have taken quarter, and become prisoner to the British.

The plan of the Duke of Wellington had hitherto been, to suffer no prospect of partial advantage to withdraw him from his position; and excepting that, from the various repulses of the enemy, the right wing had imperceptibly gained ground, and instead of being thrown back from the centre, as in the beginning of the day, had now come to occupy some heights nearer to Hougoumont, and so formed the segment of a concave instead of a convex circle in relation to the rest of the line, the British order of battle continued exactly on the ground it first occupied. But now, when the thickening cannonade upon the French right, and the appearance of squadrons and battalions deploying from the woods, announced the appearance of the Prussians in full force, and when the ruinous disorder of the French retreat declared them past the power of rallying, the British general determined to become the assailant in his turn. The whole British army was ordered to advance to the charge, the centre corps being formed in line, and the battalions on the flanks in squares for their security; the Duke himself, with his hat in his hand, leading the whole. At the moment the word was given to move forward, the sun broke through the clouds with which he had been covered through the day, and darted a ray of glory on the advancing troops. Their onset was irresistible; and indeed the enemy, exhausted by their own repeated and unsuccessful attacks, scarce even attempted resistance, when pressed in their turn. The first line was soon thrown back upon, and mingled with the second, in inextricable confusion. All attempts at order and regularity were abandoned. Pressed by the English in front, and by the Prussians on the right flank and in the rear, the French corps of every varied description were blended and mingled in one confused tide of flight, which no one attempted either to guide or to restrain. He, the original source of the war, by whom the battle had hitherto been directed, had already left the field.

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Buonaparte had remained on the station on the causeway, which he assumed to witness the behaviour of his guards at their last attack, in spite of the entreaties of his attendants, who pointed out to him that the troops of Count Lobau were giving way before the increasing numbers of the Prussians. He persisted to the last in affirming, that Grouchy must be so close in the rear of these assailants, as to prevent their attack from being formidable; and he remained with his eyes bent on the attack on the British centre, like those of a gamester on the last cast, which is to decide his redemption or ruin. When he beheld the two attacking columns become embarrassed, lose their interval, recoil, and fly, he exclaimed hastily, "They are mixed together!" Till that moment, his demeanour had been perfectly composed, neither seeking nor shunning danger, and his language, bold, confident, and even cheerful. But on perceiving the miscarriage of this last effort, he turned pale as a corpse, and said to his attendants, "All is lost—let us save ourselves." This was not achieved without difficulty: he was obliged to leave the causeway, and, attended by five or six officers, and a peasant for their guide, he traversed the field of battle to the left, unmoved in appearance either by the dying victims of his ambition, who "cursed him with their eyes," or by the exclamations of those who seemed to forget their own sufferings in his dishonour. Making his way with considerable difficulty through the wrecks of his fine army, which, like those of a gallant armada, encumbered the way for many a league, he gained Charleroi, and next day Philippeville. From Philippeville, he at length gave directions to rally his broken army at Avesnes, on the frontiers of the Netherlands—orders of which, as we will afterwards shew, circumstances rendered the execution impossible.

It is now proper to mention what had been the motions of the Prussians during this important day. The Prince Marshal Blucher, aware of Grouchy's purpose in watching him with an army of observation, had on the seventeenth stationed General Thielman with one division of his army, to hold out the small town of Wavres against them, and thus to mask his own lateral movement to the left through Ohain and the defiles of Saint Lambert, in order to support Bulow in his attack on the French right wing. Grouchy and Vandamme, in compliance with the orders of Napoleon, commenced a vigorous attack upon Wavres as early as the evening of the 17th, and carried that portion of the town which is on the right side of the river Dyle. But such was the obstinate resistance of Thielman, that the passage of the river was effectually defended for several hours, until Grouchy, with a body of cavalry, crossed at Limalle towards nightfall. This enabled him the next morning to operate successfully against the Prussian position on the left bank of the Dyle, the Prussians gradually falling back from Wavres and Bielge, after such resistance as was necessary to keep up Grouchy's error concerning their numbers and force. Here, therefore, the French stood victorious on a point, within six leagues of Brussels, which they looked upon as the reward of their undoubted victory. But at night Grouchy received the intelligence of the total and irretrievable defeat of the emperor, and now discovered for the first time that he had been engaged with but one division of Blucher's army, while the Prince Marshal himself, with the other three divisions, hastened to the field where the principal affair was to be decided. Leaving Grouchy to commence his perilous retreat, which the fate of his emperor rendered indispensable, we return to the scene of action at Waterloo.

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An intelligent peasant, who guided the march of Blucher, conducted it so that his army might debouche from the woods near the village of Frischermont, rather in the rear than on the flank of the French army, well judging that the appearance of the Prussians in that quarter would be decisive. This man had been dragged from his profession, and had served as a conscript; and, by a sort of retaliative justice, Buonaparte suffered from the degree of military skill which he had acquired during his compulsory service. The event cannot be better told than in the words of the Prince Marshal's dispatch. When the heads of the Prussian columns arrived on the place of action, "it was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second under General Pvich, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury;—however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while at the same time the whole English line advanced.

"Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army: The ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order, while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, which, in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians."

Pursuing their career of success, the Prussians soon encountered and crossed the advance of the English army. The allies greeted each other in that proud moment with the most friendly congratulations. The English gave their confederates three cheers, and the Prussians caused their military music to strike up the anthem of God save the King. By a singular coincidence, the Duke of Wellington and the Prince Marshal met and exchanged their congratulations near the cabaret called La Belle Alliance, a name which seemed to have been given in presage of the event. As the British and Prussians were now on the same line of march, and the cavalry of the former totally exhausted by the toils of the day, the duke readily relinquished to Blucher the charge of the pursuit, who swore he would not allow the fugitives a moment's respite, and failed not to keep his oath. "The field marshal," says his official dispatch, "assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French being pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganised. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck: It

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was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves, but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn fields or the houses.

"At Genappe the enemy had entrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages. At our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages. At the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry. We replied by some cannon-shot, followed by an *hurrah*, and an instant after the town was our's." It will be remembered that this town of Genappe, with its narrow street and the bridge over the Dyle, now encumbered with cannon and baggage, forms a defile of slow and difficult passage, even to troops conducted with every degree of order. To the unfortunate fugitives it proved an inextricable snare, and all who did not escape at the first alarm of the Prussians' entrance, were cut to pieces without mercy. In the small inn and its offices, about forty grenadiers were put to death. The spirit with which they had advanced to battle, and maintained the conflict while they were assailants, was so completely cowed by their present condition, that most of them attempted no resistance, but turning their faces to the wall as if afraid to look on the instrument of death, were slaughtered like sheep with the lance and sabre. General Duhesme, surrounded by some of the Black Brunswickers, whose fury for their duke's death was that night sated with revenge, begged for his life. "No," answered the hussar, to whom he petitioned, "the duke died yesterday," and instantly cut down the suppliant. When quarter was refused to officers of distinction, who might have possessed the means of recompensing the favour shewn to them, it may be readily believed that the common soldiers experienced no mercy. Indeed the very fact of speaking French was sufficient to induce the Prussians, in the first fury of the pursuit, to put to death those who used the obnoxious language; and proceeding upon this general rule, some innocent individuals lost their lives by mistake. In fact, the minds of the Prussian soldiers were on fire with their former wrongs and their late defeat, and it must be owned that they avenged both to the uttermost. At Genappe, Buonaparte's carriage, his cabinet, and his baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. Joined to one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon which the English had taken, an equal number was captured by the Prussians during the pursuit, with the whole *materiel* and baggage of the army.

It required all the glory, nay all the solid advantage of this immortal day, to repair the bloody price at which victory had been purchased. Near one hundred officers were slain, and more than five hundred wounded, many of whom afterwards died. Generals Cooke, Adams, almost every brigade officer of reputation, were wounded, and many of them severely. The very last fire of the enemy had been fatal to many officers of distinction: Lord Uxbridge then received the wound for which he was obliged to suffer amputation; Sir Thomas Bradford that of which he afterwards

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died. Sir Francis D'Oley and Colonel Fitzgerald were both slain at the same period of the action. The killed and wounded amounted to at least fifteen thousand men, and if the Prussian loss is included, must have considerably exceeded twenty thousand. The utmost humanity and kindness were shewn to the wounded by the citizens of Brussels, who, during the whole of this dreadful battle, had been agonized by sinister reports of its being about to terminate in favour of the French. Some adherents Napoleon doubtless possessed within the walls of Brussels, but the hearts of the Belgians were generally averse to a renewal of his dominion. The battle of Waterloo made a deep impression on their feelings in favour of the Prince of Orange, their future sovereign, who so gallantly supported the honour of the Netherlands. His bravery, and the wound which he received by a ball through his shoulder, while fighting at the head of the national troops, served to endear him to his new subjects.

It is impossible to calculate the loss of the French army. Since the generals of that nation, and particularly Buonaparte, have acted upon the system of making war (as one of themselves expressed it) without looking behind them, or calculating upon the possibility of a reverse, no instance had hitherto occurred in which defeat was so totally and irredeemably disastrous. It is supposed that they left at least twenty thousand men on the field of battle. The prisoners did not exceed seven thousand, among whom were Count Lobau and General Cambrone. The utter disorder of the flight,—the absence of all courage, and even presence of mind on the part of the fugitives,—the unusual circumstance that the chase was followed by a fresh and peculiarly inveterate enemy, must account for vast numbers of those who were missing. But when it is considered, that of one hundred and fifty thousand men, a third part of the number was never collected after this campaign of four days, it must be allowed, that, after all deductions of those slain in the actions of the 15th, 16th, and 18th, the swords of the Prussians could not have had edge, if their revenge had found appetite, to devour the remainder. The truth is, that many thousands disbanded after they reached France, threw away or sold their arms and uniforms, and never rejoined their standards. Strangers find in almost every situation, but especially as menials, men who have seen this bloody field, and who usually conclude their account of it with their resolution never again to embrace the trade of arms.

Wonderful as these consequences of a single engagement proved at the time, the subsequent results, which followed from the battle of Waterloo, were yet more astonishing. But before proceeding to detail them, it is proper to mention the sensation produced in Britain by the news of this important victory, which seemed the very key-stone as it were which completed her triumphal arch. Even those who had most deprecated the hazard of war, were delighted as well as surprised at its unexpected and glorious termination, and triumphed in the event which had falsified their own prognostications. It seemed to all as if the black storm, which had so suddenly obscured the political horizon, had condensed and discharged itself in one loud and horrific peal of thunder, and that the clouds had then dispersed on the instant, and the sky been restored to twice its usual serenity and brilliancy.

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CHAP. XV.

The Army.—Grant to the Duke of Wellington.—Motion respecting Corporal Punishments in the Army.—Thanks to the Duke of Wellington and the Army for the Victory of Waterloo.—National Monument in Honour of that Victory.—Monuments to Generals Ponsonby and Picton.—Honours and Privileges conferred on the Troops.—Waterloo Subscription.—Vote of Thanks to the Duke of York.

THE first care of the British parliament, on the arrival of the tidings of the victory of Waterloo, was to testify the gratitude of the nation to the authors of that glorious atchievement. On the 23d of June, only five days after the battle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons, moved that a sum, not exceeding two hundred thousand pounds, should be granted, for the better enabling the trustees appointed in the former session to carry into effect the purposes for which they had been appointed, by purchasing a suitable residence and estate for the Duke of Wellington and his heirs. The Chancellor was interrupted by repeated cheers, while he dwelt upon those incidents of the battle which illustrated the character of the Duke of Wellington. "It might appear surprising to the House, that as the forces of the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher were together superior to the French in number before the battle, that they should have been inferior when the attack was made. This arose from the great extent of the allied line, which enabled the French to make a push at a particular point in superior force, and from the very considerable distance which some corps of the allies had to march before they could reach the scene of action. He understood that the illustrious commander who guided the course of that momentous struggle, transcended, in his own personal exertions, even the great deeds of his former campaigns. He had himself received a letter from an officer of high rank, who was on the field of battle, and one well qualified to form a correct judgment, who stated, that the personal exertions of the Duke of Wellington were incredible, and threw all his preceding achievements completely into the shade. But these exertions had secured the success of the day, of which every one but the great commander himself had at one time despaired. At one period of the battle, he took possession of a high ridge, from which he declared he would never move; nor did he move but in triumph. At another, when his position was strongly attacked, he threw himself into the centre of a square of infantry, which was furiously charged by the enemy's cavalry, but which, fortunately for his country and the world, resisted the shock with dauntless intrepidity. 'I mention these things,' said the officer, 'because they are precisely those of which you will not find a word in his own dispatches. Every person around him was either killed or wounded.' There was another characteristic trait of that illustrious commander, which he could not abstain from communicating to the House. He had received a letter

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from the Duke of Wellington, dated from Binch, a town in advance of the place where the battle was fought; and in a postscript he says—'I forgot to mention, in my public dispatch, that 5000 prisoners have been already brought in, and others are continually arriving.'" This motion was most cordially agreed to. Mr Whitbread, on this occasion, delivered his sentiments for nearly the last time (his lamented death happening very soon afterwards); and his speech is well worthy of commemoration, as indicative of that manly and candid spirit which has called forth the admiration even of his greatest political enemies. He said, that "he had not the slightest intention of opposing the grant, as it was the only means now left for the nation to testify its gratitude, beyond that vote of thanks which they had just passed. It remained for the Duke of Wellington to do that, which he alone could do, to add to his own great military fame; and he had indeed done more than was ever done, he believed, by any single commander. It was undoubtedly gratifying to the House, and it must be gratifying to the country, to hear those individual traits of heroism in that illustrious chief, and especially the one which the right honourable gentleman had related, connected as it was with his entire confidence in the bravery and fidelity of his troops. He should have been sorry if the votes of that day had passed without his presence, to express his most unfeigned approbation of them. With respect to the loss that had been sustained, and which had plunged so many illustrious families in affliction, he could not advert to that loss without dissenting from an expression used by the noble lord, and lamenting the grievous fact, that they had fallen in the prose cution of a war into which this country had been led, without just or necessary cause. He admitted, at the same time, that the conduct of ministers, in the prosecution of this war, waving for the moment all consideration of its necessity or policy, was such as extorted his applause; and he had no hesitation in saying, that every department of government must have exerted itself to the utmost to give that complete efficiency to all the component parts of the army, which enabled the genius of the Duke of Wellington, aided by such means, to accomplish the wonderful victory he had achieved."

On the 23d of June the thanks of the House were unanimously voted to the Duke of Wellington, and to the officers and men of the British army; to the officers and men of the allied forces, serving under the Duke; and to Prince Blucher and the Prussian army. Sir Francis Burdett, after stating his dissent from the opinion that had been expressed by the mover of the resolutions, (Lord Castlereagh), added, that "whatever opinions might exist on the justice and expediency, or the injustice and inexpediency of the present war, there could be but one opinion as to the merit of the English and their allies in the late struggle—there could be but one opinion on the surpassing glory with which their efforts had on this occasion been crowned. What he would wish to propose was this, that the troops who had deserved so well of the country, should receive a more substantial reward than a vote of thanks, however great the honour might be of a vote of thanks from that House. He wished to lay in his claim for an amelioration of the present military system, and hoped, when the Mutiny Bill should be brought in next year, gentlemen would not think that the English soldier, who had deserved so much of his country, was the only soldier in the world for whom the degrading punishment of flogging was necessary." Sir Francis concluded, by expressing a

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hope that this subject would be attended to.

Sir Francis Burdett, in making this remark, alluded to the circumstance that happened only two days before, of a motion by Mr Bennet, for the abolition of corporal punishments in the army, being thrown out without a division, which he seems to have introduced on this occasion, lest any discussion in Parliament should have been permitted to pass unmingled with topics calculated to excite popular discontent. But, however misplaced and mistimed the reference to this unpleasant subject, we do not less agree with Sir Francis upon the abstract conclusion, and only regret that the abolition of this shameful punishment had not been brought forward from a quarter not liable to be charged with that affectation of popularity, which marks the political conduct of the member for Westminster, and some other gentlemen. Mr Bennet supported this motion by an able and eloquent speech; in which, however, the arguments on the general question were so mixed up with censures on individual officers, and remarks on particular regiments, that it is impossible, in a work of this nature, to extract any part of it. The only plea on which the system of corporal punishments has been defended, is that of necessity; such punishments being held to be absolutely requisite to preserve the strict discipline which must be kept up in the army. The substance of all the arguments advanced in the House of Commons on the occasion alluded to was, that certain regiments, the discipline of which had formerly been much relaxed, had been brought into a state of admirable subordination by the application of the lash; and thence it was inferred, by a very summary process of reasoning, that such effects could not have been produced by any other means. But we greatly fear, that the system of flogging has produced evils much greater than any good it may have done by putting an end to intoxication, and inattention to drills and parades. Its moral effects are unquestionably injurious, whether considered with relation to the object, or to the witnesses of the punishment. It is, in its nature, independently of its barbarity, to the last degree ignominious and degrading. The man who suffers it, is, from that moment, sunk, never to rise again; and the depth of his degradation, and extent of his wretchedness, are generally in proportion to the respectability of his former character. The brave and high-minded soldier, who, after having spent his blood in many a well-fought field, is tied up to the halberts, in consequence of some momentary forgetfulness of his duty, arising perhaps from temptations which even in a higher sphere it requires no common virtue to withstand, becomes, from that time, an altered man. The continued sense of his degradation seizes upon his mind, and soon reduces it to a level with his situation. The pride and high spirit, which made his duty a pleasure, are gone. Repetitions of his offence are followed by repetitions of his punishment; till, by this brutalizing process, every principle of virtue and honour is extinguished, and he becomes a debased wretch,—mean, ferocious, and profligate. On the spectators of such scenes the effects are not much more salutary. In the officers, they produce either unutterable aversion and horror,—many brave men, who could, with unshaken nerves, march up to a battery of cannon, being wholly unable to bear the sight of them,—or, if these feelings are overcome by habit, they give place to a callous indifference to human suffering, and even, in some instances, to a certain pleasure in the exercise of cruelty. As to the men, those who have witnessed such scenes, describe

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the appearance of the surrounding circle as full of indignation at the cruelty of the infliction. Every eye is burning with resentment, and every tongue seems on the point of imprecating curses, not loud, but deep, on the authors of such barbarity. It is well known, that officers, who, by their proneness to such punishments, have incurred the hatred of their men, have often, when opportunity offered, been sacrificed to their vengeance. Punishments can never be salutary in their effects, if it is not apparent to the spectators that they are justly inflicted, duly proportioned to the offence, and as free as possible from cruelty. But the punishments in question produce impressions exactly the reverse of all these. While they are often inflicted for offences of a venial kind, they are barbarous in their nature, and more grievous than even death itself,—for which, in many instances, they would willingly be exchanged. When it was once attempted to revive, in the French army, the old punishment of beating the culprit with the flat of a sabre, a soldier, on being brought out to receive this punishment, exclaimed, "*Je n'aime du sabre que le tranchant!*" A phrase which became proverbial in the army, and contributed to the abolition of that punishment. Is it, then, possible to justify punishments so shocking in their character, and baneful in their effects, on the ground of necessity? Is there no gentler way than this, of preserving order and discipline among our gallant soldiers? Corporal punishments have been abolished in the French army, the Prussian army, the Austrian army; in short, in every army in Europe but our own. Is this, because the British troops are more prone to disorder, or more insensible to the more liberal incitements to duty, than those of other nations? But the experiment has been tried, even in the British army. Different commanding officers have renounced the punishment of the lash, and have substituted other modes of enforcing discipline, more congenial to the high spirit of a British soldier; and the result is, in our apprehension, decisive of the question, as the regiments, so governed, have been found to be among the best in the service. The case appears perfectly analogous to that of the education of youth, in which the lash was, till very lately, held to be a very necessary agent. In the literal and conscientious application of the saying of Solomon, that "he who spareth the rod hateth the child," many a youth of spirit and talents has had his spirit broken, and his talents rendered useless, for life. It has now been found, however, that the proverb of Solomon is susceptible of a more liberal interpretation; and the total disappearance of the rods of our pedagogues, which were nearly as terrible as those that of yore frightened the Egyptians in the shape of serpents, —is one of the greatest blessings of our time. We may add, that the scourge is no longer an instrument of punishment in our judicial sentences. An improvement of manners and feeling, without any special legal enactment, has occasioned its falling into very general disuse, though once the common punishment for petty offences. It is fervently to be hoped, that the cat-o-nine-tails, both naval and military, will soon disappear in like manner; and we have no apprehension that means will not still be found to preserve the good order and discipline of our soldiers.

On the 29th of June, it was moved, and unanimously agreed to, that an address should be presented to the Prince Regent, that he might give directions that a great national monument should be erected in honour of the victory of Waterloo, and to commemorate the fame of those who fell

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on the 16th and 18th June, particularly Sir Thomas Picton and Sir W. Ponsonby. It was, besides, suggested and agreed to, that monuments should be erected to each of those officers in St Paul's Church. It is melancholy to reflect, that, in the case of the gallant Picton, these honours came too late to cure the anguish of a wounded spirit. It was stated in the House, that nearly the last words which he uttered before he left this country, were to express a hope, that if he should fall, which he seemed to anticipate, he might not be forgotten, but receive the same distinction as had been conferred upon other officers. When it is recollected how marked was the neglect of the former services of this gallant officer, when honours and rewards were showered down on all the others who shared in those services, it may easily be imagined, how bitter were the feelings which wrung from him such an expression. From the moment that he left this country till he joined the army, he had never slept in a bed. On the day before the great conflict of the 18th, he had received a wound, from the effects of which his body, it is said, was much swelled, and even blackened. Notwithstanding this, he fell at the head of his column, firmly maintaining a position, the loss of which might have been fatal to our army. It would be painful to think that his last moments may have been embittered by the doubt, whether he had purchased, even with his blood, those marks of public gratitude, which are so dear to the mind of a soldier.—In revolving these great national deprivations, it is impossible to avoid quoting the expressions of the Duke of Wellington himself to the Earl of Aberdeen, condoling with him upon the death of his gallant brother, Sir Alexander Gordon. "I cannot express, in adequate terms, the grief which I feel in contemplating the loss which we have sustained in the death of so many valued friends. The glory of such actions is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as a consolation to you; but a result so decisive will, in all probability, be followed by the early attainment of the just object of our wishes and exertions, and this may afford us some consolation for our loss."

A suggestion was made, but most properly rejected, that as Paris was, in all probability, by that time in the possession of Wellington, a portion of the plunder of Europe, collected in that capital, could not be better employed than in commemorating the deliverance of Europe. It was said, that a national monument to our army ought never to be ornamented by pillage from the capital of another country; and that the conduct of our illustrious commander was a powerful authority against such a proposition. When he was reminded, while advancing into France after his victory, that, on the last occasion on which the English army entered France, they behaved with extreme delicacy towards that country, his answer was, "I promise you that, if it is in my power, they shall behave with equal delicacy now;" a magnanimous declaration, which did as much honour to the man as to the soldier.

Proceedings of precisely the same nature took place in the House of Lords.

Several high honours and important privileges were conferred on the troops who fought at Waterloo. The Prince Regent declared himself colonel-in-chief of both the regiments of Life-guards, as a mark of his full approbation of their conduct; and he granted permission to all the regiments of cavalry and infantry who had been engaged in the battle, to bear on their colours and appointments the word "WATERLOO," in

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addition to the badges or devices which they formerly bore. The Earl of Uxbridge was created Marquis of Anglesea; and a very extensive promotion took place of the officers who had been engaged. Besides these honours, several valuable privileges were conferred both on the officers and men. Every subaltern officer who served in the battle of Waterloo, or in any of the actions which immediately preceded it, was allowed to account two years service in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his services for increase of pay given to lieutenants of seven years standing. It was also ordered, that every non-commissioned officer and private who served in these battles should be borne upon the muster-rolls of their corps as "Waterloo men;" and that every Waterloo man should be allowed to count two years in virtue of that victory, in reckoning his services for increase of pay, or for pension when discharged.

But the most splendid and substantial monument of national gratitude to the deliverers of Europe, was the subscription for the relief of the wounded, and of the relatives of those who fell at Waterloo. It was set on foot immediately after the battle, and was eagerly entered into by all classes of the community, from the prince to the peasant. The inhabitants of the most obscure villages, and of the most remote districts, contributed sums almost incredible, when contrasted with the circumstances of the contributors; as an instance of which, it is worthy of being recorded, that the poor inhabitants of the small parish of Morven, in the West Highlands, subscribed the sum of twenty-four pounds. The sum received amounts to above *half a million sterling*; and those to whom the management of this immense subscription has been intrusted, appear to be employing it in the most judicious and beneficial manner. They have adopted, as far as possible, the mode of granting annuities. Besides annuities for life to the widows of the killed, and to soldiers disabled by the loss of limbs, annuities are granted for limited periods, not only for the maintenance of the orphan-children, but adequate to afford them an education suited to their different situations in life. In cases where annuities were not applicable, donations of money have been given to the wounded officers and soldiers, and to the parents, and other dependent relatives of the killed, who have left no children. The sum invested in annuities down to the 31st May, 1817, amounts to 20,992*l.*; and the donations amount to 162,203*l.** The gentlemen employed in this most benevolent work are busily continuing their labours; and we are well warranted in believing, from what we have seen, that the magnificent fund in their hands will produce its full measure of benefit. Such a statement as this requires no commentary. Happy the nation, who, in her time of need, can rely on such troops as those who fought at Waterloo! and happy the troops whose services are so munificently rewarded by a grateful country! Who will, after this, talk of the hard fate of a soldier, who falls, among thousands like himself, unpitied and unknown, to swell the triumph of some great commander? The Duke of Wellington, in a circle of princes and nobles, is not greater than the humblest *Waterloo man*, who, in the midst of an admiring throng of his old rustic friends, shews his scars, and tells how the field was won. The meanest soldier who fell, receives in the persons of his dearest relatives,

* See Report of the Committee, dated June 18th, 1817.

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the most substantial tokens of his country's gratitude; and the disabled veteran, who is placed, while he lives, beyond the reach of want or distress, will receive with pride the bounty of his country, as the reward for his exploits and sufferings at Waterloo. The sword is now in the scabbard, where, we hope and trust, it will long continue; but when the day again shall come, as come it must, when Britain must array herself to resist foreign aggression or injustice, her soldiers will march to the field with redoubled energy, when they remember the honours and rewards which were showered on the heroes of Waterloo.

On the 4th of July, Sir John Marjoribanks moved a vote of thanks to the Duke of York, for his conduct as commander-in-chief of the army. This motion produced a long discussion, arising from several objections, not one of which, however, had the slightest reference to any doubt as to the claims of the duke to the gratitude of the country for his services as commander-in-chief. In the greatness of those services all parties agreed. It was universally admitted, that the duke performed the duties of an arduous office with unremitting zeal and assiduity, and that it was by a course of great exertion on his part, that the British army had attained a degree of discipline, and of organization, which had contributed, in a great measure, to the late glorious results. When the duke was placed at the head of the army, the system of military promotion was unfair and unequal. Mere interest could effect the most rapid promotion; and boys frequently were to be seen in the command of regiments. The Duke of York put an end to this system; and introduced the present wholesome regulations, by which every officer, whatever his connections may be, must go through a certain course of service before he can be promoted. It was also admitted, that the excellence of the present system of military tactics is to be attributed to the duke. Our readers, who have followed us through the details of the splendid achievements of our troops, under the Duke of Wellington, cannot fail to be struck with the rapidity and precision, with which they appear to have executed the most complicated movements, and with the confidence with which these movements were ordered, when there was hardly an instant to execute them—circumstances which prove the tactics of our army to be of the highest excellence. The motion, however, was objected to, on the grounds, that it ought not to have been brought forward till the close of the services in which the army was engaged; and, besides, that it was unconstitutional, in consequence of the individual in question uniting the character of a member of the royal family, and that of the commander of the forces.—Mr Whitbread, after expressing his concurrence, in some degree, in these objections, said, that "still looking to the compliments which had been paid to the Duke of York—compliments, the result, not of partiality, but of conviction, he conceived the House ought to agree to the resolution. When it was recollected, that, by the excellence of the system which had been matured by the Duke of York, a number of troops were enabled to act together, who had never before been employed in an united operation, no person could deny his royal highness praise; and, admitting praise to be due, it would be rather extraordinary, when the question came before them, to say, that, on account of any collateral circumstances, it ought to be withheld." The resolution was carried without a division.

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CHAP. XVI.

Buonaparte's Return to Paris.—His Motives for this Measure.—Rise of the Funds at Paris.—Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies.—Motion of La Fayette.—They command the Attendance of the Ministers.—Debates in the Secret Committee.—The Chamber intimate their desire that Buonaparte should abdicate.—Reflections on their Right to require this Sacrifice.—Conduct of Napoleon, and his Indecision.—He holds a Council.—Ferment in the Chamber of Deputies.—The Emperor's Abdication is presented to them.—Their Address on the Occasion.—Ney's Speech in the House of Peers.—Furious Debate on acknowledging Napoleon II.—Labedoyere's violent Harangue.—Debate on the same Subject in the other Chamber.—Napoleon II. is indirectly acknowledged.—Buonaparte's farewell Proclamation to the Army.—He is removed to Malmaison.—His Situation there.—Placed under the Superintendance of General Beker, and removed to Rochefort.—Proclamation of Louis XVIII.—Reflections on the Principle of Legitimacy, as applied to Monarchical Right.

THE most important effects of the victory of Waterloo were of course expected to manifest themselves at Paris, which is to France what Rome was to the Roman empire. To distant politicians it seemed as if the war was already ended, and that France, to avoid the humiliation of actual invasion and conquest, had no other course than to "unthread the eye of rude rebellion," recall King Louis XVIII., lay the blame of Buonaparte's usurpation on the army which had just perished, and, as the popular phrase goes, make a virtue out of necessity. But Buonaparte had, in the jacobins, evoked out of obscurity a party, who possessed his own skill, his own ambition, with more than his hatred at the house of Bourbon; and now his downfall seemed to give rise to new competitors for the sovereignty of France, as in some tale of chivalry, when the adventurous knight has no sooner slain a giant, than the carcase of his deceased antagonist is converted into a dragon, and opposes him anew. Let us, however, take these events according to their progress.

Buonaparte himself brought to Paris the news of his own defeat. On the 19th of June the public ear had been stunned by the report of a hundred pieces of cannon, which announced the victory at Ligny, and the public prints had contained the most gasconading accounts of that action; of the forcing the passage of the Sambre, the action at Charleroi, and the battle of Quatre Bras. The impe-

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rialists were in the highest state of exultation, the republicans doubtful, and the royalists dejected. On the morning of the 21st, the third day after the fatal action, it was at first whispered, and then openly said, that Napoleon had returned alone from the army on the preceding night, and was now in the palace of Bourbon-Elysée. The fatal truth was not long in transpiring—he had lost a dreadful pitched battle, and the French army, which had left the capital so confident, so full of hope, pride, and determination, was totally destroyed.

Buonaparte's abandonment of his army in such a crisis, seemed so absolute a dereliction of his own cause, that the public were at a loss to account for it. It was for some time ascribed to the rash and hasty advice of Labedoyere; but, till the hour of his death, that unfortunate man professed that he had exhausted every sort of entreaty to persuade Napoleon to abide with his army. By some, it has been suggested that Buonaparte's return to the capital had been hastened by a false statement from La Vendee, which the royalists had caused to be inserted in one of the journals, announcing a great victory on the part of the insurgents, in consequence of which General Travot was averred to have come to Paris to request supplies. But though such a false statement was unquestionably published, it is difficult to reconcile the date of its appearance with the supposed influence ascribed to the intelligence over Buonaparte's motions. The real reason of his return, was his jealousy of the measures which the Chambers might adopt in his absence, and the apprehension of being sacrificed, as the Jonah for whose sake the vessel of the republic was endangered. He remembered, that from the arrival of the declaration of Vienna, in which the war was alleged to be made against him personally, there had been opinions expressed among the jacobins, that he ought to resign the crown at the Champ de Mai, and relieve the nation from the impending danger. He was aware, that what they had ventured to advise in his moment of strength, they would not hesitate to require and extort from him in the hour of his weakness, and that the Chamber of Representatives would endeavour to obtain peace for themselves by sacrificing his power. "He is known," says an author already quoted, friendly to his fame, "to have said, after the disasters of the Russian campaign, that he would confound the Parisians by his presence, and fall among them like a thunderbolt.—But there are things which succeed only because they have never been done before, and for that reason ought never to be attempted again. His fifth flight from his army was an entire abandonment of him and his cause by all who might have forgiven him his misfortune, but required that he should be the first to arise from the blow."

It was a curious indication of public spirit in Paris, that, upon the news of this appalling misfortune, the national funds rose so soon as the first shock of the tidings was past; so soon, that is, as men had time to consider the probable consequence of the success of the allies. It seemed as if public credit revived upon any intelligence, however fatal otherwise, which promised to abridge the reign of Buonaparte.

The two Chambers hastily assembled. In that of the Representatives, after a few minutes spent in bustle, and in receiving and communicating intelligence, La Fayette addressed the assembly. "Gentlemen, while for the first time, for many years, you hear a voice which the old friends of liberty may yet recognise, I feel myself called upon to speak to you of the dan-

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gers of the country which you at present alone have the power of saving. Sinister reports have been spread; they are unfortunately confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the old tri-coloured standard, that of 89, that of liberty, equality, and public order; it is that alone which can protect us from foreign attacks and internal dissensions. Allow, gentlemen, a veteran in that sacred cause, who was ever an enemy to faction, to submit to you some resolutions, which, I flatter myself, you will feel the necessity of adopting.

"Art. 1. The Chamber declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

"2. The Chamber declares its sittings permanent. All attempts to dissolve it shall be considered high treason: Whosoever shall render himself capable of such an attempt, shall be considered a traitor to his country, and condemned as such.

"3. The army of the line, the national guards who have fought, and still fight, for the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

"4. The minister of the interior is invited to assemble the etat-major-general, the commanders, and majors of legion, of the Parisian national guard, in order to consult on the means of providing it with arms, and of completing this guard of citizens, whose tried patriotism and zeal offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, prosperity, and tranquillity of the capital, and for the inviolability of the national representatives. . . . . .

"5. The minister of war, of foreign affairs, of police, and of the interior, are invited to repair to the hall of the assembly." . . . . .

In the exordium of this speech, it would appear that the orator, at once an apostle and a victim of the revolution, had forgotten how short time he was permitted to sustain the tri-coloured banner of 1789, and how little the days which followed its elevation resembled those of liberty, equality, and, above all, of public order. The resolutions which he moved indicated the purpose of his party, that the Representatives should assume at this crisis the reins of authority, for which Buonaparte's defeat gave them both apology and opportunity to deprive him. They were seconded by Flaugergues, and were all adopted excepting the fourth, concerning the national guard, which was considered as premature. But it was obvious, from the Chamber's declaring its sittings permanent, and from the whole tenor of the debate, that the members regarded the measures of Buonaparte with doubt and suspicion, and were apprehensive that he would dissolve their sitting by an armed force. An anxiety was evinced that the language used towards the imperial ministers should mark the paramount authority of the Chamber, and instead of *inviting* them to repair to the assembly, as in the fifth article, a member moved the substitution of the phrase, "the ministers *shall* repair hither." This alteration was rejected, not on the ground that the Chamber's authority was doubted, but because the softer phrase was considered as the most decorous. Regnault de St Jean D'Angely next read to them a bulletin, which stated "that the emperor had arrived at 11 o'clock. He had convoked the council of ministers:—He announced that the army, after a signal victory on the plains of Fleurus, where the *élité* of the Prussian army was destroyed, fought a great battle four days after, within four leagues of Brussels. The English army was beaten throughout the whole day, and obliged to yield the field of battle. Six English standards were taken, and the day was decided, when, on the approach of night,

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some disaffected persons spread an alarm, and occasioned a disorder, which the presence of his majesty could not, on account of the night, recover. The consequence has been, disasters which could not be arrested. The army is rallying under the walls of Avesnes and Philippeville. His majesty proceeded to Laon. He there gave orders that the levy in mass of the national guards should stop the fugitives. He has returned to Paris to confer with the ministers on the means of replacing the *materiel* of the army. It is also his majesty's intention to confer with the Chambers on the legislative measures which circumstances require, and he is at this moment preparing propositions to be transmitted to both Chambers." Thus far the Chamber listened with attention; but when Regnault proposed to read the singular bulletin published in the *Moniteur*, in which, amongst a tissue of falsehoods inconsistent not only with truth and common sense, but with each other, there only gleams forth the absolute certainty that all was lost, the Representatives refused to listen. They became clamorous for the instant attendance of the ministers. They dispatched a second message, no longer to invite, but, as it was of purpose worded, to command their instant appearance. "Had you commanded at first, instead of inviting," said the member who proposed this alteration, "you would ere now have been obeyed." After a delay of two or three hours, the four ministers, Caulaincourt, Davoust, Fouché, and Carnot, entered the hall with Lucien Buonaparte.

The Chamber formed itself into a secret committee, before which the ministers laid the full extent of the disaster, and announced that the emperor had named Caulaincourt, Fouché, and Carnot, as commissioners to treat of peace with the allies. They were bluntly reminded by the republican members, and particularly by Henry Lacoste, that they had no basis for any negociations which could be proposed in the emperor's name, since the allied powers had declared war against Napoleon, who was now in plain terms pronounced, by more than one member, the sole obstacle betwixt the nation and peace. Universal applause followed from all parts of the hall, and left Lucien no longer in doubt that the Representatives intended to separate their cause from that of his brother. He omitted no art of conciliation or intreaty, and, more eloquent probably in prose than in poetry, appealed to their love of glory, their generosity, their fidelity, and the oaths which they had so lately sworn. "We have been faithful," replied Fayette; "we have followed your brother to the sands of Egypt—to the snows of Russia. The bones of Frenchmen scattered in every region attest our fidelity." All seemed to unite in one sentiment, that the abdication of Buonaparte was a measure absolutely necessary. Davoust, the minister at war, arose, and disclaimed, with protestations, any intention of acting against the freedom or independence of the Chamber. This was, in fact, to espouse their cause. Carnot and Fouché were the natural leaders of the popular party, and Caulaincourt was supposed to be on indifferent terms with Napoleon, whose ministers, therefore, seemed to adopt the interest of the Chamber in preference to his. Lucien saw that his brother's authority was ended, unless it could be maintained by violence. The Chamber of Peers might have been more friendly to the imperial cause, but their constitution gave them as little confidence in themselves as weight with the public. They adopt-

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ed the three first resolutions of the lower Chamber, and named a committee of public safety.

The line of conduct which the Representatives meant to pursue was now obvious; they had spoken out, and named the sacrifice which they exacted from Buonaparte. It remained to be known if Buonaparte would adopt measures of resistance, or submit to this encroachment. If there could be a point of right, where both were so far wrong, it certainly lay with Napoleon. These very representatives were, by voluntary consent, as far as oaths and engagements can bind men, his subjects, convoked in his name, and having no political existence excepting as a part of his constitutional government. However great his faults to the people of France, he had committed none towards these accomplices of his usurpation, nor were they legislators otherwise than as he was their emperor. Their right to discard and trample upon him in his adversity, consisted only in their having the power to do so; and the readiness which they showed to exercise that power, speaks as little for their faith as for their generosity. At the same time, our commiseration for fallen greatness is lost in our sense of that justice, which makes the associates and tools of an usurper the readiest implements of his ruin.

The vacillations of Buonaparte's mind are said to have amounted to agony, when it was announced that his sway was melting from him. Upon his return to his palace he had sent for Carnot, who found him in a bath, refreshing himself with a *bouillon*. He demanded, with his wonted tone of authority, an instant supply of money, and a levy of three hundred thousand men. The minister replied, that it was impossible to comply with either request. The fallen despot hastened to hold consultation with more devoted adherents. The Duke of Bassano spoke of defence, which extorted from Napoleon the bitter exclamation, "Ah, my Old Guard! could my courtiers defend themselves like you!" a sad confession that the military truncheon, which was his real sceptre, had been broken in his gripe. Lucien, remembering the successful violence with which he had prompted his brother to dissolve the Council of Five Hundred on the 18th Brumaire, urged a repetition of a similar *coup-de-main*. A battalion, he said, would be sufficient to silence and disperse the mutinous Chamber. Buonaparte hesitated; the national guard would probably have espoused the cause of the Chamber, and offered opposition.—Fouché and Carnot deprecated violence, but held out to Napoleon some hope that the Chambers might, in this emergency of the estate, permit him to assume the dictatorship. While he was amused with this expectation, thrown out, doubtless, to prevent his rushing upon instant violence, (for both Fouché and Carnot knew too well the temper of the representatives, to suppose it possible they would go into such a measure,) he received intelligence of what had passed at the interview between his ministers and the secret committee of the Chamber.

The gauntlet was now thrown down, and it was necessary that Napoleon should resist or yield, declare himself absolute, and dissolve the Chambers by violence, or abdicate the authority he had so lately resumed. Lucien, finding him still undetermined, hesitated not to say, that the smoke of the battle of Mont Saint Jean had turned his brain. In fact, his conduct at this crisis was not that of a great man. He dared neither venture on the desperate measures

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which might, for a short time, have preserved his power, nor could he bring himself to the dignified measure of an apparently voluntary resignation. He clung to what could no longer avail him, like the distracted criminal, who, wanting resolution to meet his fate by a voluntary effort, must be pushed from the scaffold by the hand of the executioner.

Buonaparte held, upon the night of the 21st, a sort of general council, comprehending the ministers of every description, the president and four members of the Chamber of Peers, the president and four vice-presidents of the Representatives, with other official persons and counsellors of state. The emperor laid before this assembly the state of the nation, and required their advice. Regnault (who was the imperial orator in ordinary) seconded the statement with a proposal, that measures be taken to recruit with heroes the heroic army, and bring succours to what, by a happily selected phrase, he termed the "astonished eagle." He opined, therefore, that the Chambers should make an appeal to French valour, while the emperor was treating of peace "in the most steady and dignified manner." Fayette stated, that resistance would but aggravate the calamities of France. The allies stood pledged to demand a particular sacrifice when they engaged in war: they were not likely to recede from it after this decisive victory. One measure alone he saw betwixt the country and a bloody and ruinous war, and he referred to the great and generous spirit of the emperor to discover its nature. Maret, called Duke of Bassano, long Buonaparte's most confidential friend, and fatally so, because (more a courtier than a statesman) he attended rather to sooth his humour than to guide his councils, took fire at this suggestion. He called for severe measures against the royalists and disaffected—a revolutionary police and revolutionary punishments. "Had such," he said, "been earlier resorted to, a person (meaning probably Fouché) who now hears me, would not be now smiling at the misfortunes of his country, and Wellington would not be marching upon Paris." This speech was received with a burst of disapprobation, which even the presence of the emperor, in whose cause Maret was thus vehement, proved unable to restrain; hisses and clamour drowned the voice of the speaker. Lanjuinais and Constant supported the sentiments of Fayette. But the emperor appeared gloomy, dissatisfied, and uncertain; and the counsel broke up without coming to any determination.

The force was still in Buonaparte's hand, for the regular garrison of Paris was numerous, and the federates and bands of the suburbs might, at the outset, have espoused his cause. They could not, however, be trusted; for they were fickle in their quality of rabble, and, as Parisian rabble, they were jacobins by nature and costume; for, if they wanted the *bonnet rouge*, that positive part of the republican livery, they had the no less indispensable negative requisite, being in all respects, both of dress and principles, *sans culottes*. Besides, the national guards, thirty thousand strong, were almost all either royalists or constitutionalists, and would certainly oppose both the regular army and the federates, in any violent attempt to dissolve the assembly; for all parties, except his own, were now disposed to unite against Napoleon as the common enemy, and main obstacle to the peace so necessary for France. These considerations cowed Buonaparte's spirit of enterprise, and he remained in a state of piteous irresolution for the remainder of that night, and the

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next day; asking advice from those around him, but unable to determine on adopting the plans which they recommended, or upon forming any other for himself. Amid his uncertainty he was surprised by an unasked and obtruded visit from General Solignac, whom he had not seen for several years, and who now came to impress on him the necessity of his abdication. Regnault supported the arguments of Solignac; and it is said that Napoleon at length received a domiciliary visit from several representatives, General Marescot being one, who used such strong language to bring him to a decision, that they might be almost said to wring from him his signature to the act of abdication by literal violence. He added, however, a clause in favour of the succession of his son, which, but for the rapid advance of Wellington and Blucher, might yet have given much trouble to Europe. It was said to be the inventive genius of Lucien, which discovered this hopeful expedient to prop the falling dignity of the house of Ajaccio.

June 22. On the next morning, the Chamber of Representatives was convoked at half-past 9 o'clock. They evinced the utmost impatience to receive the act of abdication, which now all ventured to name as the only measure which could save the country. They were informed, that in half an hour they would receive from the emperor such a message as would meet the wishes of the Representatives, and the imperialists endeavoured to turn the deliberations of the assembly on the mode of opening negociations for peace and recruiting the army. A Mons. Crochon proposed, that, to soften the allies, France should disclaim all views of foreign conquest; a proposal which, even in those feverish moments, excited a laugh in the assembly, by its ridiculous contrast with the state of the nation. The expected message did not arrive. The Chamber became impatient; and Mons. Duchesne made a motion, that the Chamber should require from the emperor his formal abdication, as a sacrifice peremptorily demanded by the public safety. It was with difficulty they were prevailed upon to wait another hour for his voluntary resignation, which was at length presented by the minister of police. It was couched in these words:

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the regency by a law.

"Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The republican party having thus gained the victory, various proposals were made for declaring the Chamber a national, or a constituent, assembly, and instantly beginning to construct a new constitution, in the room of that accepted, and sworn to, exactly three weeks before. These measures

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were judged premature, and the Chamber resolved instead, to content themselves with naming a provisional executive government of five persons, to be chosen by ballot; three from the body of Deputies, and two from the Chamber of Peers. They seemed next to feel that some decency was due to the late head of the state, and resolved to send an address of thanks to Buonaparte for the sacrifice which he had just made. But, in their address, they carefully avoided all mention of the condition in favour of his son, with which his resignation was qualified. The President Lanjuinais, attended by a delegated committee, carried this address to Napoleon, who, for the last time, received them in the imperial habit, surrounded by his state-officers and guards. He seemed pale and pensive, but was firm and collected, and heard, with a composed and steady look, the empty praises which the Chamber bestowed on his abdication. His reply was in these words:—"I thank you for the sentiments you express. I recommend to the Chamber to reinforce the armies, and to place them in the best state of defence; those who wish for peace, ought to prepare for war. Do not expose this great nation to the mercy of the foreigner, lest you be disappointed in your hopes. In whatever situation I may be placed, I shall be happy if France be free and independent. In transferring the right which France has given me to my son, during my life, I make this great sacrifice only for the welfare of the nation, and the interests of my son, whom I therefore proclaim emperor."

The president respectfully replied, that the Chamber had given him no orders on the subject, which Napoleon now pressed upon. "I told you," said Buonaparte turning to Lucien, "I knew they would not, or could not do it." Then addressing the president, he added, "Tell the assembly, that I recommend my son to them; it is in his favour I have abdicated."

The point, therefore, which remained to be litigated between Buonaparte and his legislature, was the succession of Napoleon II. Besides the embarrassment of pinning themselves down to a choice, which they might be unable to support, since it was certain to prove distasteful to the allies; besides the absence, and non-age of the child in question, his relation to Buonaparte, and the influence which his father, and his father's friends, were likely to exercise in any government formed in his name, were, with the republican and constitutional party, strong arguments for altogether setting aside the dynasty of Napoleon.

This point was fiercely and articulately contested *June 22.* in the Chamber of Peers, when the abdication of the emperor was laid before them. But the discussion was preceded by one of those singular scenes which occur only in France, where men's prejudices and passions travel so much faster than their judgment, and occasion so many extraordinary inconsistencies of conduct. After the declaration of Napoleon had been read, Carnot mounted the tribune, and announced the most reassuring and gratifying intelligence from the army. Many corps, he said, had rallied, particularly two thousand of the Old Guard had joined Marshal Soult, near Mezieres, who was directing their march on Laon; and Grouchy, who had led back his division out of Belgium untouched and entire, after a glorious victory at Wavres, had an army of sixty thousand men, to whom were to be added ten thousand soldiers, and two hundred pieces of artillery, dispatched from the interior. The

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extravagance of these statements called forth the resentment of Marshal Ney, who was writhing under the sense of the infamy he had gratuitously incurred, under the neglect and censure of Napoleon for whom he had encountered it; and, under the sense of vexation of a soldier, who had seen his whole army destroyed, seems to have been impelled to speak truth, like a possessed person under the exorcism. There was a reckless spirit of desperation in the manner of his contradicting the minister; it seemed as if he wished the state of the world undone in his own undoing. "The report," he said, "was false—false in every respect. Dare they tell eye-witnesses of the disastrous day of the 18th, that we have yet sixty thousand soldiers embodied? Grouchy cannot have under him twenty, or five and twenty thousand soldiers at the utmost. Had he possessed a greater force, he might have covered the retreat, and the emperor would have been still in command of an army on the frontiers. Not a man of the guard would ever," he said, "rally more. I myself commanded them—I myself witnessed their total extermination, ere I left the field of battle—They are annihilated—This enemy is at Nivelles with eighty thousand men; they may, if they please, be at Paris in six days—There is no safety for France, but in instant propositions of peace." On being contradicted by General Flahault, Ney resumed his sinister statement with even more vehemence; and at length striking at once into the topic which all felt, but none had ventured yet to name, he said in a low, but distinct voice, "Yes! I repeat it—your only course is by negociation—you must recal the Bourbons; and for me, I will retire to the United States." The most bitter reproaches were heaped on Ney for his last expressions; Lavalette and Carnot especially appeared incensed against him. Ney replied, with sullen contempt, to those who blamed his conduct, "I am not one of those to whom their interest is every thing; what should I gain by the restoration of Louis, excepting being shot for desertion? but I must speak the truth, for the sake of the country." It is, indeed, hardly to be supposed, that Ney had any serious expectations of repairing his error, or making interest with the royalists by his present conduct. He spoke from the native ardour and vehemence of a disposition, much guided by the feeling and impressions of the moment. The predominating faction, therefore, took care to prevent his voice being again heard in the assembly. The marshal was, in his present mood, too apt to speak disagreeable truths to be entrusted with the public ear. But what he had said sunk deep into the minds of thinking men, and induced them to view the subsequent bustling debates and sounding resolutions of the Chambers as empty noise, unsupported by any strength or resources.

The abdication of Napoleon being read to the Chamber of Peers, gave rise to a scene as stormy and scandalous as that which had just taken place. Lucien Buonaparte, who ascended the tribunal, insisted that the Chamber should follow the line of the constitution, and instantly acknowledge his nephew as emperor. "If the emperor die, the rule is, Long live the Emperor his successor. The emperor being resigned, let us, in like manner, cry, Long live Napoleon II." He concluded, that the Chamber should at once, and with enthusiasm, recognize the legitimate successor to the crown. The orator was interrupted by Count de Pontécoulant, who, (although he had taken his oath of fealty twenty-one days be-

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fore to a constitution, which declared Lucien one of the blood-royal of France), had forgot his qualities so far, as to demand by what title he, a Roman prince, proposed a sovereign to the French empire, and who had given him the privileges of a denizen?" Lucien was about to speak, probably to remind him of the Additional Act, which gave them all the right (such as it was) to sit and deliberate as a branch of the legislature; but Pontécoulant, commanding him to respect that equality, of which he had formerly set an example, proceeded to state objections against acknowledging, as sovereign of the state, a child who resided in another kingdom. Lucien angrily vindicated his right to call himself a Frenchman by his sentiments, and by the constitutions of the empire. "By those constitutions," he said, "the oath to Napoleon II. cannot be the object of deliberation, but ought to be taken as speedily as possible to prevent civil war." Boissy d'Anglais asked, "if the foreign war was not sufficient, that civil war was threatened, in order to precipitate and prejudge a most important national question; perhaps effectually deprive themselves of the power of treating with the foreigners." At observing this hesitation, Labedoyere started up, and demeaning himself with fury, exhibited the same blind and devoted attachment to Napoleon, which had prompted him to show the example of defection at Grenoble. "The emperor," he said, "had abdicated solely in behalf of his son. His resignation was null, if his son was not instantly proclaimed. And who were they who opposed this generous resolution? Those whose voices had been always at the sovereign's devotion while in prosperity; who fled from him in adversity, and who already hastened to receive the yoke of foreigners. Yes," continued this impetuous young man, aiding his speech with the most violent gestures, and overpowering, by the loudness of his tone, the murmurs of the assembly, "if you refuse to acknowledge the imperial prince, I declare that Napoleon must again draw his sword —again shed blood. At the head of the brave Frenchmen who have bled in his cause, we will rally around him; and woe to the base generals who are perhaps even now meditating new treasons. I demand that they be impeached, and punished as deserters of the national standard—that their names be given to infamy, their houses razed, their families proscribed and exiled. We will endure no traitors amongst us. Napoleon, in resigning his power to save the nation, has done his duty to himself, but the nation is not worthy of him, since she has a second time compelled him to abdicate; she who vowed to abide by him in prosperity and reverses." The ravings of this daring enthusiast, who was, in fact, giving language to the feelings of a great part of the French army, were at length drowned in a general cry of order. "You forget yourself," exclaimed Massena. "You believe yourself still in the *corps de garde*," said Lameth. Labedoyere strove to go on; but was silenced by the general clamour, which at length put an end to this scandalous scene.

The Peers, like the Deputies, having eluded any express recognition of the right of Napoleon II., the two Chambers proceeded to name the members of the provisional government. These were Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette. The three first are sufficiently known. Grenier had been a soldier; Quinette an advocate. Both were faggots, chosen to fill up the commission, because they were likely to follow the sentiments of their more able colleagues. They addressed a proclamation to the

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French people, stating that Napoleon had resigned, and that his son had been *proclaimed*; calling on the nation for exertions, sacrifices, and unanimity, and promising, if not an actually new constitution, as had been usual on such occasions, yet such a complete revision and repair of that which was now three weeks old, as should make it in every respect as good as new.

This address had little effect. It was soon evident, that the soldiers and federates partook of Labedoyere's sentiments concerning the abdication of Napoleon, and the slight and evasive manner in which the succession of his son had been treated. The federates assembled in arms, having green boughs for a mark of distinction. The soldiers compelled the passengers in the streets to cry *Vive l'Empereur*. A party of the rabble of the suburbs entered the court of the palace of Bourbon-Elysée with the same shouts. They menaced and insulted a strong detachment of the national guard, (about five hundred men) stationed on the Place Beauveau, rather in appearance to blockade the palace of Buonaparte than to guard it. Napoleon had a detachment from the reliques of his Old Guard, so devotedly attached to his person, under arms within the garden and the courts. But neither party came to acts of absolute violence. Buonaparte appeared to the federates, to acknowledge their zeal, and there was a distribution of provisions and liquor. Two bands of these ruffians, one marching by the Rue des Augustine, the other by the Rue des Saints-peres, attempted to storm the hotel of Fouché, who was justly regarded as the most formidable, though unavowed, enemy to the dynasty of Napoleon. They were surprized by the gens d'armes, and some made prisoners. The federates attempted also to seize the posts of the national guards at the Mint, at the Palace Royale, and elsewhere. In short, every thing intimated that either the imperialists must be conciliated, or a grand convulsion expected. It was said, that Napoleon agreed with difficulty to leave the Chambers a day to decide upon acknowledging his son, with the determination, that if this, which he affirmed to be the condition of his resignation, were still evaded, he would march to the Chambers at the head of his guards, and settle the matter by military force. On the other hand, thirty thousand of the national guards were under arms at their posts, and strong patroles, assisted by the *gens d'armes*, dispersed all groupes which assembled in the streets, and arrested those who seemed disposed to excite tumult. Each party prepared their strength for the struggle of the ensuing day.

A very warm debate took place next day in the Chamber of Deputies, on the question of acknowledging Napoleon II. It was urged, on the one hand, that the same circumstances of external danger which had led the Chamber to accept, if not to solicit, the abdication of the father, concurred, with his foreign residence and his non-age, to oppose the succession of the son. The other party declared, that leaving the throne vacant at this moment was, in fact, soliciting the foreign powers to fill it; and some members declared with vehemence, that the delay was an artifice of the Bourbon, or Orleans party. Manuel, who was considered as the organ of Fouché in the Chamber of Representatives, contrived to get rid of this debate in a singularly ingenious manner. He made a long speech, the bearing of which was, that there was no occasion for formally acknowledging Napoleon II., since, by the constitution, his reign was already begun, and he was actually in posses- *June* 24.

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sion of the throne in which it was proposed to place him. Amid shouts of *Vive Napoleon II.*, the assembly passed to the order of the day, upon the proposal to proclaim the new sovereign, because he was, in fact, Emperor of the French by virtue of the constitution, and they, at the same time, declared, that the appointment of a provisional government was only to procure the nation a necessary guarantee, in its present circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, for its liberty and repose. This declaration concerning the right of Napoleon II., made, as it were, incidentally, and by reference, was sufficient, it would seem, to satisfy, or to silence at least, the partizans of the imperial dynasty. But when it was proposed to swear allegiance to the new sovereign, a general cry of "No oaths, no oaths," seemed to intimate, that the members had been already too prodigal of these ill-redeemed pledges, and were disgusted at the thoughts of commencing a new course of perjury.

The provisional government, having thus ostensibly complied with the condition on which Napoleon resigned, were entitled to exact from him the farther measures which were necessary to render his abdication effectual. He consented, therefore, to issue a proclamation to the army, stating the fact which they were so averse to believe from any other authority. It was in these words: "Soldiers! while obeying the necessity which removes me from the French army, I carry with me the happy certainty that it will justify, by the eminent services which the country expects from it, the praises which our enemies themselves have not been able to refuse it. Soldiers! I shall follow your steps though absent. I know all the corps; and not one of them will obtain a single advantage over the enemy, but I shall give it credit for the courage it may have displayed.—Both you and I have been calumniated. Men very unfit to appreciate our labours have seen in the marks of attachment which you have given me a zeal, of which I was the sole object. Let your future successes tell them, that it was the country, above all things, which you served in obeying me; and that, if I had any share in your affection, I owed it to my ardent love for France, our common mother. Soldiers! some efforts more, and the coalition is dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows which you are going to strike. Save the honour—the independence of the French! Be the same men which I have known you for these last twenty years, and you will be invincible."

There were expressions in these proclamations calculated to offend the Chamber of Representatives, and besides, the presence of Buonaparte in Paris, although dethroned and without power, was still dangerous to the public tranquillity. Soldiers, the straggling relicks of the defeat of Waterloo, were daily gathering under the walls of the capital, maddened with their late defeat, and calling for new battles. Nothing but their disorganized and broken condition prevented him from becoming again the general of a small, but devoted army. To remove him from this temptation, the provisional government required him to retire to the palace of Malmaison, near Saint Germains, so long the favourite abode of the discarded Josephine. Napoleon had not been in its walls a single day, before, surrounded by Fouché's police, he found that he, who, in less than a month before, had disposed of the fate of myriads, was no longer the free master of his own actions. He was watched, and controlled, though without the use of actual force, and now, for the first time, felt what it was to lose that free

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agency, of which his despotism had for so many years deprived so large a portion of mankind. Yet he seemed to submit to his fate with indifference, or only expressed impatience when beset by his personal creditors, who, understanding he was not likely to remain long in France, attempted to extort from him a settlement of their claims. This petty persecution was given way to by the government as one of several expedients to abridge his lingering residence in France, and they had the means of using force, if all should fail. A bold effort might, indeed, have yet broken through the toils which surrounded him like a spell, but Buonaparte's time and spirit for daring seemed to be past. There was no chance that, with few means and many obstacles, he should attempt what he had feared to dare when his chances of success were so much more numerous. He himself was disgusted with the petty part which he now performed. He, in vain, offered the service of his sword to command the defence of Paris, as generalissimo in behalf of his son. The government took care not to accept an offer, which, excepting in name, would have restored to him all his former authority. He felt himself secluded from his friends, useless and impotent as the hilt of a broken sword, and it was on the tomb of Josephine that he gave his consent to become an exile from France.

An application was made to the Duke of Wellington to grant a safe conduct for the passage of Napoleon Buonaparte to America. It was refused, as a point on which the British general had no instructions from his government. The French ministers next proposed to Buonaparte, that he should leave the vicinity of Paris, and go to the sea-port from which he was to embark. He refused, on the ground that he did not wish to go there until he had the means of instantly setting sail. Decres, minister of the marine department, was directed by the provisional government to insist on Napoleon's instant departure, which they grounded upon the most imperious necessity, and even upon the safety of his own person. This discussion, with the messages which Decres was compelled to carry between the Tuilleries and Malmaison, occupied ninety-six hours, during which period of agitation, the minister stated to the Chamber, he had never once slept; so that time, and the space of three nights and days, had become confused in his imagination.

It does not seem that Buonaparte, the party principally concerned, partook of this agony. On the contrary, his resolution of departure once adopted, this singular man, alternately great and contemptible, seemed, after his decision, only to live for the little selfish purposes of his own enjoyment. He expressed great anxiety about providing a supply of petty articles of personal luxury, and his only communication with the Chambers was to request, that some particular books should be placed at his disposal. Wealth a despot rarely possesses, for it is employed in consolidating his power. Of the treasure which Napoleon carried with him to the head-quarters at Avesnes, the Prussians were now masters; and had he left France for America, as was designed by the government, it was supposed he would not have possessed above fifteen thousand Louis d'ors of personal property. He had been liberal to his family, and particularly to his sisters, who lavished great sums, which they drained from his privy-purse. But the Great Nation do not appear to have thought upon the probable pecuniary distresses of him who so lately had been termed the Fate and Destiny of France. So far from it, that Count

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Mollien, minister of the treasury, was threatened with impeachment, on an allegation that he had placed some small part of the public funds at the disposal of the person who lately commanded all the resources of the empire. The minister denied the charge, but candidly and generously expressed his regret that he had not the means to alleviate the pecuniary difficulties of his old master. Those who now governed were only anxious to accomplish Napoleon's removal from Malmaison and from France, and we transcribe an account of their proceedings from an eminent literary Journal, which we believe, in this case, to have had sources of intelligence not generally accessible.*

"They," that is the provisional government, "placed *near* (i. e. *over*) him General Beker,† a member of the Chamber of Deputies. This gentleman's duties and powers were of a very mysterious nature; he was to accompany Buonaparte every where, yet he had no public character of any kind; he was to guide his movements, yet he had no personal acquaintance with, or influence over him; and he was to guard his person without having any force assigned to him for that purpose.

"There can be but little doubt that Fouché was now playing, if not the king's game, at least against Buonaparte; and General Beker's orders were to see the ex-emperor soon and safely embarked, in a small squadron which the provisional government had assigned for his conveyance to America. However General Beker contrived it, or whatever were his secret means of persuasion, he performed his mission with great success, and after several plans, and much hesitation on the part of Napoleon, drove him to the determination of surrendering to the British squadron in Aix Roads.

"General Beker's accounts of his mission, as he gave them in the ministerial circles of Paris, afforded no clue to discover by what invisible thread he had led this terrible creature so quietly to an ignominious end; but it was surmised, that the personal fears of the ex-emperor (which we have already seen are more than becomingly strong) were operated upon. What the general told was, that he had never passed a period of more anxiety, and that there was no success more difficult than that which he had attained.

"He said that Napoleon had treated him, from the first moment, not merely with civility, but even with familiarity. On the day before the journey began, while walking together in the garden of Malmaison, the general made some observation concerning Maria Louisa, and the conduct of the court of Austria towards him. Napoleon laughed, gave him a little playful slap on the cheek, and said '*Allez, mon ami, tu ne connais pas ces gens-là!*'‡

"Before Buonaparte's departure, he sent for one of his early friends—he wished to take leave of him. Buonaparte said, 'I would not go without seeing you; we shall never meet again.' The other, unable to speak, burst into tears. Buonaparte put his hand on his friend's shoulders with an air of affection, and said—'*Mon cher, ne vous attendrissez pas; dans les grandes crises comme celle-ci, c'est le courage et non pas la sensibilité*

* Quarterly Review, Vol. XIV. No. 27. p. 81.

† By birth, we believe, a Swiss—by political principle, a Constitutionalist. General Beker had openly blamed the war in Spain, and refused to bear arms in that cause, after which he had been in disgrace with Napoleon, and lived in retirement.

‡ Go, my friend! you are not acquainted with this kind of folks.

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qu-il nous faut.' * In a long conversation which ensued, this person represents Buonaparte as calm, somewhat melancholy, but not '*abattu.*' † Buonaparte allowed that he had committed, in the late transactions, two great faults—the first was, that he had left the army; the other was, the getting into a discussion with the Chambers, and, above all, with a deputation of the Chambers—the large body might have been divided or dissolved; but the committee was armed with more power than the whole; was not liable to disunion, and not subject to be put off and delayed. 'Accordingly,' said he, 'when I spoke to them of the wants of the country, *men*, *cannon*, and *money*, they answered me with the *rights* of *men* and the social contract, and all was lost!'

"On the road to Rochefort, where he was to embark, and while he remained there, Buonaparte received several deputations from the army, urging him to put himself at their head, swearing to die in his cause. 'You see,' said he to Beker, 'that the provisional government mistakes the wishes of the people with regard to me.' On these occasions, he would sometimes wake up, as it were, into life and spirit, and express a resolution to return to the army, and conquer or die at its head; but these gleams of courage were very short. Indeed, those who approached him, described him as much exhausted, both in mind and body,—weak, undecided, and pusillanimous, very attentive to his own little comforts, fond of the table; and though, in general, somewhat lethargic, and inclined to *apoplectic seizure*, exceedingly alive to all that concerned his personal safety."

In this irresolute state of mind, he continued for some days at Rochefort, revolving various experiments of escape, from which he repeatedly shrunk when the moment of execution arrived. His train, including the friends and officers who still adhered to his fallen fortunes, might amount in all to about forty persons. He left Paris on the 29th of June, and arrived at Rochefort on the second of the succeeding month. From the time he left Malmaison, his history is that of an individual unconnected with public events, and we therefore postpone it for the present.

While the star of Buonaparte was thus waning, that of his rival again appeared on the eastern horizon. A proclamation, dated from Cambrai, apprized the French, that Louis XVIII., following the track of the victorious allies, was again within his lawful dominions, and demanded their allegiance. We transcribe at length this important document, and will then offer some reflections on its contents.

"THE KING TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"The gates of my kingdom at last open before me. I hasten to bring back my misled subjects; to mitigate the calamities which I had wished to prevent; to place myself a second time between the allied and the French armies, in the hope that the feelings of consideration of which I may be the object may tend to their preservation. This is the only way in which I have wished to take part in the war. I have not permitted any Prince of my family to appear in foreign ranks, and have restrained the courage of those of my servants who had been able to range themselves around me.

"Returned to the soil of my country, I take pleasure in speaking con-

* Do not give way to your feelings, my friend—in a crisis so difficult we must use resolution, not sensibility.

† Discouraged.

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fidence to my people. When I first reappeared among you, I found men's minds agitated, and heated by conflicting passions. My views encountered on every side nothing but difficulties and obstacles.—My government was liable to commit errors—perhaps it did commit them. There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct, or sometimes they even mislead.

"Experience alone could teach; it shall not be lost. All that can save France is my wish.

"My subjects have learned by cruel trials, that the principle of the legitimacy of sovereigns is one of the fundamental bases of social order,—the only one upon which, amidst a great nation, a wise and well-ordered liberty can be established. This doctrine has just been proclaimed as that of all Europe. I had previously consecrated it by my charter; and I claim to add to that charter all the guarantees which can secure the benefits of it.

"The unity of ministry is the strongest that I can offer. I mean that it should exist, and that the frank and firm march of my council should guarantee all interests, and calm all inquietudes.

"Some have talked latterly of the restoration of tithes and feudal rights. This fable, invented by the common enemy, does not require confutation. It will not be expected, that the king should stoop to refute calumnies and lies: the success of the treason has too clearly indicated their source. If the purchasers of national property have felt alarm, the charter should suffice to re-assure them. Did I not myself propose to the Chambers, and cause to be executed, sales of such property? This proof of my sincerity is unanswerable.—In these latter times, my subjects of all classes have given me equal proofs of love and fidelity. I wish them to know how sensibly I feel them, and that it is from among all Frenchmen I shall delight to choose those who are to approach my person and my family. I wish to exclude from my presence none but those whose celebrity is matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe. In the plot which they hatched, I perceive many of my subjects misled, and some guilty.

"I promise—I who never promised in vain (all Europe knows it)—to pardon misled Frenchmen, all that has passed since the day I quitted Lille, amidst so many tears, up to the day when I re-entered Cambrai, amidst so many acclamations.

"But the blood of my people has flowed, in consequence of a treason of which the annals of the world present no example. That treason has summoned foreigners into the heart of France. Every day reveals to me a new disaster. I owe it, then, to the dignity of my crown, to the interest of my people, to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot. They shall be designated to the vengeance of the laws by the two Chambers, which I propose forthwith to assemble.

"Frenchmen, such are the sentiments which he brings among you, whom time had not been able to change, nor calamities fatigue, nor injustice made to stoop. The king, whose fathers reigned for eight centuries over your's, returns to consecrate the remainder of his days in defending and consoling you.

"Given at Cambrai, this 28th of June, in the year of our Lord 1815, and of our reign the 21st.

(Signed) "LOUIS.

"By the King.

"Prince TALLEYRAND,

"*Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*"

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In vindicating himself from the charges brought against his government, Louis acted like a prudent monarch; and, in the language he held towards his misled or guilty subjects, that of one willing to blend justice with clemency. But he has been censured for following that path to the throne which was opened to him by the sword of his allies, and for claiming the throne as his hereditary right, and for affirming that the doctrine of legitimacy of sovereigns had been just proclaimed as that of all Europe. It is clear the solution of the first of these scruples must rest upon that applied to the second. For if Louis XVIII. had a lawful right to the throne from which he was expelled, his title to use his own proper force, or to avail himself of that of his allies for its recovery, cannot admit of an instant's doubt. The allied army were the auxiliaries of Louis, as the English troops had formerly been those of his ancestor, Henry IV., and a victory gained by them was essentially a victory in the king's cause, and of which he was, therefore, free to avail himself. The prudence of losing no time in reassuming, or endeavouring to reassume, the reins of government,—the policy of suppressing the machinations of the factious by his early reappearance in his capital,—the humanity and paternal spirit which induced him as speedily as possible to interfere, by his presence and his mediation, between the allied generals and his erring but suffering subjects, are all so plain and evident, that it is unnecessary to waste words upon them.

That the doctrine of legitimacy had just been recognized by the sanction of united Europe, was as true as that the treaty of Vienna had been subscribed by the plenipotentiaries of the four greatest powers of Europe, and adhered to by all the rest. That treaty had for its express object and purpose, "the maintaining entire the conditions of peace concluded at Paris on the 30th May 1814," and the stipulations determined upon, and signed at the Congress of Vienna, in order to complete the disposition of that treaty. Now, by the treaty of Paris, as well as by the stipulations of the Congress, the influencing cause of all the favourable conditions granted to France, is unequivocally declared to be, "her being replaced under the paternal government of her kings;" so that the right of Louis to the crown was in fact the *basis* of the whole treaty. We shall hereafter see, that the French, always ingenious in bottoming their diplomatic pleading upon some separate and detached principle, caught at the declaration of the Allied Powers, and of Britain in particular, that they did not consider themselves as bound to prosecute the war with a view to imposing any particular government; but it is clear that the reserving to themselves the privilege of making no further exertions in the behalf of the Bourbons, in case of events proving unpropitious to them, than was consistent with what they owed to their own states, by no means limited or prevented the allies from doing all in their power to contribute to the auspicious event of the restoration of their allies the Bourbons, should circumstances render that consummation attainable. Of this, we will speak more fully presently.

We will, however, though averse to abstract discussions on the origin and nature of government, take this opportunity of looking somewhat closely into the nature of this doctrine of legitimacy, which has become such a dreadful bug-bear to modern politicians. That the men who had aided to murder one king and dethrone another, should be vehement against the restoration of the latter, arose

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out of the nature of things. That those who had aided Buonaparte to attain his usurped power, had swindled him out of it in his adversity, and had assumed the government into their own hands, should be loth to part with it to the lawful owner, was equally natural; even granting they had no reason to have apprehended merited punishment, as one necessary consequence of his restoration. It was also a matter of course that they should exclaim, in their anguish of mortification and fear, "Give us for our king the English Wellington—the Cossack Platoff—any one but the lawful monarch, who comes with the right to punish our rebellion and treachery." These sentiments, so generally and so naturally entertained, not by the people of France at large, but by the demagogues who had seized the helm of state when it escaped the palsied grasp of Buonaparte, are precisely the feelings of thieves or robbers, who will throw away their stolen goods for the benefit of the first stranger that chances to pass by, rather than acknowledge themselves guilty of the theft, by restoring them to the rightful owner; *law* being to such depredators the same natural object of terror that *legitimate right* is to rebels and traitors. But that the gibberish with which these men sought to vindicate their fears, and white-wash their miserable cause, should have found tongues and pens to re-echo it in any other country—that there should be a certain class of politicians in Britain, who cannot even pronounce this word *legitimacy* (in itself, surely, not merely an innocent but a venerable sound,) save with spitting, hissing, and braying, as at once a term of ridicule and reprobation—that all this should be, might indeed be a matter of wonder, were those who have witnessed the strange actions, opinions, and revolutions of the last quarter of a century, entitled to wonder at any thing.

If there be faith in derivation, this alarming word legitimacy comes from the Latin, and implies neither divine nor indefeasible right in the party to whom the quality belongs, but a claim arising out of birth or descent. Such claims have been received at all times, and among all nations, even the most barbarous. The poet, indeed, has made a ranting hero exclaim, in a tone which would fit some modern agitators,

> I am as free as nature first made man,
> Ere the base laws of servitude began,
> When wild in woods the noble savage ran

But it seems doubtful whether such a state of absolute and unrestrained freedom ever existed, except perhaps in the solitary case of Adam, before the creation of Eve; for when our first parent had a wife and family, they became subjects to his paternal authority. It is speedily found expedient to transfer to the eldest son that office of head of the family which becomes vacant by the death of the father. It passes to him with its advantages of power and property, and, rightly viewed, with the relative duties of advising, restraining, and protecting the younger branches of the family. In one respect or other, such laws of succession subsist in all countries; the feudal constitutions, for certain reasons peculiar to their structure, gave even greater weight to the principle. It is recognized by all the nations of Europe, and, strange as it may seem, we have heard of no zealous friend of liberty, either in France or Britain, who has repudiated the succession of his fathers, because, to the prejudice of younger brothers and sisters worthier perhaps than himself,

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it has descended upon him by the tyrannical, absurd, and ridiculous principle of legitimacy.

A regulation so useful in ordinary life, is adopted from analogy into national government. While states, indeed, are small, and before laws are settled, and when much depends on the personal ability and talents of the monarch; the power, which, for aught we know, may be among the abstracted rights of man, of chusing each chief magistrate after the death of his predecessor, or perhaps more frequently, may be exercised without much inconvenience. But as states become extended, and their constitutions circumscribed and bounded by laws, which leave less scope and less necessity for the exercise of the sovereign's magisterial functions, men are glad to exchange the licentious privilege of a Tartarian couroultai, or a Polish diet, for the principle of legitimacy, because the chance of a hereditary successor proving adequate to the duties of his situation, is, at least, equal to that of a popular election lighting upon a worthy candidate; and because, in the former case, the nation is spared the convulsions occasioned by previous competition and solicitation, and succeeding heart-burnings, factions, civil war, and ruin, uniformly found to attend the latter.

The doctrine of legitimacy is peculiarly valuable in a limited monarchy, because it affords a degree of stability otherwise unattainable. The principle of hereditary monarchy, joined to that which declares that the king can do no wrong, provides for the permanence of the executive government, and represses that ambition which would animate so many bosoms, were there a prospect of the supreme sway becoming vacant, or subject to election from time to time. The king's ministers, on the other hand, being responsible for his actions, remain a check, for their own sakes, upon the exercise of his power; and thus provision is made for the correction of all ordinary evils of administration, since, to use an expressive though vulgar simile, it is better to rectify any occasional deviation from the regular course by changing the coachman, than by overturning the carriage.

Such, therefore, is the principle of legitimacy, invoked by Louis XVIII., and recognized by the allies. But it must not be confounded with the slavish doctrine, that the right thus vested is by divine origin indefeasible. The heir-at-law in private life may dissipate by his folly, or forfeit by his crimes, the patrimony which the law conveys to him; and the legitimate monarch may most unquestionably, by departing from the principles of the constitution under which he is called to reign, forfeit, for himself and for his heirs if the legislature shall judge it proper, that crown which the principle we have recognized bestowed on him as his birth-right. This is an extreme case, provided, not in virtue of the constitution, which recognizes no possible delinquency in the sovereign, but because the constitution has been attacked and infringed upon by the monarch, and therefore can no longer be permitted to afford him shelter. The crimes by which this high penalty is justly incurred, must therefore be of an extraordinary nature, and beyond the reach of those correctives for which the constitution provides, by the punishment of ministers and counsellors. The constitutional buckler of impeccability covers the monarch (personally) for all blameworthy use of his power, providing it is exercised within the limits of the constitution; it is when he stirs beyond it, and not sooner, that it becomes no defence for the bosom of a tyrant. A King of Britain, for example, may

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wage a rash war, or make a disgraceful peace, in the lawful, though injudicious and blame-worthy, exercise of the power vested in him by the constitution. His advisers, not he himself, shall be called, in such a case, to their responsibility. But if, like James II., he infringes upon, or endeavours to destroy the constitution, it is then that resistance becomes lawful and honourable, and the king is justly held to have forfeited the right which descended to him from his forefathers.

The principles of hereditary monarchy, of the inviolability of the person of the king, and of the responsibility of ministers, were recognized by the constitutional charter of France. Louis XVIII. was, therefore, during the year previous to Buonaparte's return, the lawful sovereign of France, and it remains to be shown by what act of treason to the constitution he had forfeited his right of legitimacy. If the reader will turn back to our sixth chapter, (and we are not conscious of having spared the conduct of the Bourbons,) he will probably be of opinion with us, that the errors of his government were not only fewer than might have been expected in circumstances so new and difficult, but were of such a nature as an honest, well-meaning, and upright opposition would soon have checked; he will find that not one of them could be personally attributed to Louis XVIII., and that, far from having incurred the forfeiture of his legitimate rights, he had, during these few months, laid a strong claim to the love, veneration, and gratitude of his subjects. He had fallen a sacrifice, in some degree, to the humours and rashness of the princes of his family—still more to causeless jealousies and unproved doubts, the water-colours which insurrection never lacks to paint her cause with; but, above all, to the fickleness of the French people, who became tired of his simple, orderly, and peaceful government, and to the dissatisfaction of a licentious and licensed soldiery, and of moody banditti, panting for a time of pell-mell havoc and confusion. The forcible expulsion of Louis XVIII., arising from such motives, could not break the solemn compact entered into by France with all Europe, when she received her legitimate monarch from the hand of her clement conquerors, and with him, and for his sake, such conditions of peace as she was in no condition to demand, and could never have otherwise obtained. His misfortune, as it arose from no fault of his own, could infer no forfeiture of his vested right. Europe, the virtual guarantee of the treaty of Paris, had also a title, leading back the lawful king in her armed and victorious hand, to require of France his re-instatement in his rights; and the termination which she thus offered to the war was as just and equitable, as its conduct during this brief campaign had been honourable and successful.

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CHAP. XVII.

Military Movements.—Flight of the French to their own Frontiers.—Retreat of Grouchy's Division.—Battle at Namur.—Grouchy escapes to Laon.—Advance of the Allies.—Capture of Avesnes by the Prussians—Their Severity to the French.—Moderation of the British—Who take Cambray and Peronne.—French Commissioners come to treat of Peace.—Armistice refused.—Conference at Haguenau.—Fouché secretly embraces the Interest of the Bourbons.—Advance of the Allied Armies.—Wrede crosses the Rhine at Manheim, and takes Chalons.—The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg enters France from Philipsberg—Defeats General Rapp, and invests Strasbourg.—The Arch-Duke Ferdinand defeats Lecourbe, and advances on Langres.—General Frimont drives the French from the Valley of the Arve.—Bubna takes the Tete-de-Pont at Arly.—The Grand Army, under the Sovereigns, enters France without Opposition.—Situation of the French Provisional Government.—They have no Influence either with the Army or the People—Yet retain their Animosity to the Bourbons.—Malleville's Address in Favour of the Bourbons.—Reflections on the Course he recommended.—Gareau denounces Malleville.—Fortifications of Paris.—The Army's Declaration against the Bourbons.—Propositions of Bory St Vincent in the Chamber of Representatives.—The Allied Armies come before Paris.—Declaration of the French Army.—Measures of Fouché and the moderate Party.—Operations of the Armies.—Skirmish at Versailles.—Paris Surrenders.—The Conditions of Capitulation.

WHILE the French factions debated, the victorious generals of the allies acted; and so successfully, that the imperfect means left for the defence of France against her invaders, were rendered useless by the rapidity of their movements. Well taught by experience, they no longer sate down to wonder at their own success, as if (were it lawful to alter the scriptural phrase) "sufficient for the day had been the glory thereof." All measures were hastily adopted by Wellington and Blucher to take the full advantage of the victory of Waterloo, and to prostrate their antagonists while they yet staggered under that terrible blow.

The retreat of the disorderly crowd which was once called the grand French army, had taken instinctively the route to their own frontiers. Closely followed, and harassed at every step by the Prussians, they flocked along the main road from Charleroi like a drove of out-wearied, and yet

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terrified cattle. Where that road divides into two branches, one leading to Avesnes and the other to Philippeville, the fugitives separated themselves, no one pretending to give any general direction, and followed either route as chance or choice directed each individual, or group of flyers. Notwithstanding Buonaparte's orders, no attempt was made to assemble any force at Avesnes: Soult contrived at Mezieres to collect about four thousand stragglers, destitute of cannon, baggage, and arms, with whom he withdrew under the walls of Laon. There they were joined by other stragglers, and at length by the corps of Grouchy and Vandamme.

This division of the French army had fought the battle of Wavres, it will be remembered, on the 18th; and, upon receiving the news of that of Waterloo, was the following day under the necessity of commencing a perilous retreat in front of the Prussian corps with whom they had been engaged, and which had formerly retired before them, but now instantly resumed the offensive. The attack of Thielman, which took place so soon as the French columns began to retreat, was made with such fury, that great slaughter ensued; Vandamme himself was wounded, several guns were taken, and the French division, with difficulty and loss, fell back upon Namur. Here Grouchy resumed his retreat, committing to Vandamme, with the rear-guard, the difficult task of protecting it. The French lined the decayed and imperfect and ruined defences of that once strong town, and defended them with success against the van-guard of the pursuers. But when the main body of the Prussians came up, scaling ladders were applied, the place carried by storm, the defenders driven through the streets, and pursued with great loss along the difficult and narrow defiles which the high-road passes as it leads from Namur to Dinant. Here they lost many men and cannon. But by dint of sacrificing the rear, the French generals were enabled to conduct to Rocroi, and from thence to Laon, about twenty thousand men, in much more tolerable plight as to arms, arrangement, and military equipment, than those whom Soult had rallied in that neighbourhood. And although Grouchy's retreat cost greatly more than one-third of his troops, yet, in the circumstances in which he was placed, it was by no common exertions of generalship that he prevented the same total dissolution of his army which had befallen that of Napoleon. The Avenger of Blood was in the mean time pressing on their footsteps.

Blucher, on the second day after the battle, was under the walls of Avesnes, which he carried by escalade, taking five and forty pieces of cannon. To give the French a feeling of those severities which they had often inflicted on the German and Spanish prisoners of war, he directed that the captive garrison of Avesnes should be employed to work on the fortifications of Cologne, and the officers confined in the citadel of Wessep; "all," as the Prince-Marshal's dispatch sternly expresses it, "to be treated with the necessary severity." It had been agreed between Wellington and Blucher, that, without paying attention to the strong barrier towns of Lisle and Valenciennes, &c. but leaving them to be masked by the other troops of the coalition as they came up, the victorious armies of Britain and Prussia should, with the least possible delay, march forward on Paris. After the capture of Avesnes, therefore, the Prince-Marshal continued his march upon Laon, and occupied St Quentin in his route. The same severity which dictated the order from Avesnes regu-

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lated the Prussian conduct on their march. Blucher acted on the avowed principle, that France should feel the effects of war as a future lesson, and, it must be owned, his soldiers willingly seconded the views of their chief. Nothing could be more strongly contrasted than the two parallel lines on which the Prussians and British marched to Paris; and the stern vengeance of the Prince Marshal will long remain recorded upon the former, in characters of ruin and desolation.

The British general kept the more northern road to Paris, and, owing to the necessity of halting two days after the severe action of Waterloo, only entered the French territories upon the 20th of June. An order, made public at Binche on that day, apprized the soldiers that they were about to enter the territory of an ally of the respective sovereigns of the union, and commanding, therefore, the most strict observance of discipline. This order was so punctually obeyed, that the march of the British troops through France was acknowledged, by the inhabitants themselves, to have been conducted with infinitely more attention to public and private property, than had ever marked the conduct of their own troops on similar occasions. The consequence was, that the British were hailed in every town where they arrived as friends and protectors, rather than regarded as an invading army. The country through which they marched was favourable to the Bourbon cause, and readily and spontaneously raised the white flag, and assumed the emblems of returning loyalty. Cambrai, a town well fortified, and strongly situated in a marshy and flat country, was summoned by a detachment from the right of Lord Wellington's army. It was garrisoned chiefly by national guards, who showing some symptoms of indecision, Gen. Colville, who commanded the British forces, hazarded an attack by escalade, made at four different points. The *coup-de-main* perfectly succeeded, in some degree with the aid of the citizens of the place, who were zealous royalists. The citadel surrendered in the course of the next day. The King of France soon after entered this town, and was received with great rejoicing. Peronne, a place so strong that it is said never to have been taken, (and was therefore hitherto termed Peronne la Pucelle,) fell next in their line of operation. Garrisoned like Cambrai with national guards, who had no good-will to the quarrel in which they had been engaged, this town, so capable of defence, surrendered to *June* 26. General Maitland, after a horn-work, which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme, had been carried by storm. The garrison, like that of Cambrai, laid down their arms, and was permitted to retire to their own habitations.

June 24.

While the British thus advanced with little opposition, the course of Blucher, who, owing to the delay occasioned by the capture of these two towns, had gained a day's march in advance, was not so bloodless. His army occupied a line from Senlis through Villers Coterets to La Ferté Milon. This position interposed the whole Prussian army between Paris and the body of French troops assembled under Soult and Grouchy at Laon, which had now advanced as far as Soissons toward the capital. The situation of the latter became extremely critical, and they were compelled to hazard a desperate attack on the Prussian centre at Villers Coterets, hoping to break through Blucher's position, and so force their way to Paris. The attack miscarried, with the loss of six guns and a thousand prisoners; but the French generals,

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nevertheless, found means, by a rapid movement to their right, to attempt a second attack on the left wing of the Prince-Marshal. Here they also sustained some loss; but nevertheless, by the skill and rapidity of their movements, avoided the attempts made to cut them off, and, crossing the Marne, gained the road to Paris through Meaux; and contrary, perhaps, to their own expectations, as well as those of their enemies, carried their forces unbroken under the walls of the capital.

The provisional government rejoiced in the arrival of these troops, chiefly as they gave them a colour of strength to give weight to the negociation which they had already commenced. Their commissioners and plenipotentiaries, La Fayette, Pontecoulant, with three others, with the versatile Constant for their secretary, had been dispatched to the head-quarters of the allies, with letters to Blucher and Wellington, soliciting an armistice, and declaring that France had removed the only alleged cause of the war, in receiving the abdication of Buonaparte. They were the bearers of letters from the provisional government to the Prussian and English generals. And at the same time, or soon after, letters were sent from Fouché and Davoust to the allied generals, requesting an armistice. The Duke of Wellington returned a civil refusal. Blucher's language was more harsh. "Paris and France," he said, "were at his mercy—he came to help the honest men against the knaves, and he warned Davoust not to treat Paris as he had done Hamburgh." This was bitter language; but Nelson, who knew the French character well, was of opinion, that when dealt with according to the punctilious decorum of ceremonious intercourse, they are apt to set down the courtesies which they receive as marks of timidity in those who use them. The commissioners were sent forward to Haguenau, where the allied sovereigns, advancing at the head of a large army, held their head-quarters for the present. They had here a conference with plenipotentiaries on the part of the allies.

That the name of Napoleon II. might be no objection to the treaty, the powers of the commissioners to treat were stated to be in the name, and for the benefit, of the French people. Their ostensible pleas, as already noticed, were founded upon the allegation, that Buonaparte's elevation having been the declared cause of the allies having taken up arms, the sole occasion of the war was removed by his abdication. They urged, that the allied powers had declared, that it was no part of their intention to force a government on the French nation, and that the Prince Regent, in particular, had declared, that, in acceding to the treaty of Vienna, he did not bind the British government to insist upon the restoration of the Bourbon family as an indispensable condition of peace. The plain answer to this plea was, that the clause in the treaty founded upon was so far from barring the Prince Regent from giving assistance to his dethroned ally, Louis XVIII.; that, on the contrary, it was qualified with the most express acknowledgment of his rights, and of the intention of Great Britain to support them so far as the events of war would enable her to do, although the Prince Regent, wisely distrustful of futurity, declined to pledge the nation to a prosecution of the war on that sole ground. In a word, so far from renouncing the restoration of the Bourbons at the outset of the contest, it was pronounced a main object of the war, to be pursued with all such energy as was consistent in the first place with prudence, and the regard

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due to their own states, in case reverses should render it of difficult attainment; and, in the second place, subject, as the prosecution of every such object must be, to the laws of international justice respecting France.

The battle of Waterloo, and its conquences, decided the first question, and gave the allies the full power of restoring the king. The fundamental question remained behind, how far it could be justly exercised, or was to be considered as an act of tyranny and oppression to the realm of France. The solution of this question must clearly depend upon the character of the present government towards Europe, and towards France.

The first was the more important subject of consideration to the sovereigns, who had taken up arms to compel France, from whom they had sustained for twenty years so many acts of aggression, willing or not willing, to adopt such a mode of government as would afford reasonable guarantees for the peace of Europe. This was the ground on which they attacked Buonaparte, and it is plain that this provisional government, composed of and supported by the very men who had been active in his cause, and selected by him as a ministry, had the same character of usurpation and violence which attached to his own. If the principles which they held out were of a more popular character, it was impossible for the allied sovereigns to forget that these were the very principles which had before been perverted to so much mischief, and professed in many instances by the very men who had carried on a revolutionary war in Europe before Buonaparte rose to distinction, for the express purpose of altering every other government to the model of the republic, one and indivisible. To have left these men in possession of power, would have indeed been to have thrown away the fruits of a victory, bought by so many invaluable lives, and the sovereigns would have acted as foolishly as he who, desirous to root up a poison-tree, should only lop its topmost bough, and spare its stem and its roots. On the principle of self-preservation, therefore, they were entitled, and called upon, to tear up from the roots a government capable of renewing the mischiefs to which it had formerly given rise, and conducted, too, by the very same men, under whose direction it had achieved all the evils of which its re-establishment threatened the renewal. And this they were entitled to do by the means of a just, because a necessary war, although every man in France had distinctly given his assent to this government, and was now willing to adhere to and maintain it. The principle would resolve into that by which war was declared against Buonaparte, namely, that every state's right to chuse its own government must be necessarily qualified by the condition, that the government so chosen shall be consistent with the safety and quiet of their neighbours. In justice, therefore, to the cause in which they had drawn their swords, the allies were compelled to refuse the terms of peace proposed by a government, who, no more than Buonaparte himself, could offer any guarantee for the tranquillity of Europe.

But we shall suppose the safety of Europe out of question, and that the war had been only undertaken with the purpose of supporting an unfortunate ally driven from his throne, which has been in all ages a common reason assigned for hostilities. It is clear that such a war must be just or unjust, according to the circumstances attending the expulsion of the prince whose cause is espoused. If he has lawfully forfeited his throne, the powerful ally who replaces him in his authority abuses the superior force which he possesses, and commits a gross crime against the national independence of the injured

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people, whom he again subjects to the power of a tyrant. Nay, if a case could be imagined in which a people, exercising their own right of free-agency as a state, should, for no other reason than because such was their pleasure, achieve a change of dynasty, we acknowledge no right in their neighbours to interfere in behalf of that which is set aside. But if a nation is divided into parties, one of which is headed by the dethroned prince, an ally of the power whose assistance we invoke,—if he in his just cause is likely to be borne down by the superior force of his enemy, at all times, and in all countries, it has been held the bounden duty of his confederates to afford him such assistance to assert his lawful rights as they can do without prejudice to their own subjects; and this has been the universal practice of Europe. Now, what proofs could the provisional government produce of representing the French nation, in whose name they pretended to treat? They could only refer to the momentary possession of the power which the abdication of Buonaparte had unexpectedly thrown into their hands. The self-chosen substitutes of an usurper, they could not even appeal to the poor farce of the *Champ de Mai* as a testimony of the adhesion of the French people. They dared not even attempt to command the few soldiers who remained to them, or the mob of the suburbs, in their own name, but had been compelled, greatly against their inclination, to use the name of Napoleon II., although in the conferences they affected to disown him. They had not, excepting in the vicinity of Paris, any personal partizans, and in the capital it was well known that the royalists greatly predominated. It is, indeed, probable, that nothing but the presence of the army prevented a complete counter-revolution taking place there, even before the appearance of the allies.

In the departments, the cause of Louis XVIII. was every where reviving. The whole north of France was fast declaring for the king, and Picardy was already levying troops in his behalf. Marseilles, and a considerable part of the south of France, hoisted the white flag on news of the battle of Waterloo, excepting Toulon, which was overawed by its garrison. The dispositions of Bourdeaux, Tholouse, and the countries of La Vendee and of Britainy, were well known, and, in short, nothing, excepting terror of the army and the federates, prevented a declaration in favour of Louis as universal as that which preceded his first restoration. Wherever he went, subjects crowded around him with congratulations and rejoicings, and made manifest what we have already said, that the inclination of the people was strongly in favour of his person, although they had been unable to oppose effectual resistance to the more violent and energetic partizans of Buonaparte.

How, therefore, and in what respect, were the provisional government in the right of representing the people of France, entering into terms for that great kingdom, and stipulating the conditions on which her government was to rest in future? If they had the right of representing any party at all, it was only those who adhered to the dynasty of Buonaparte, which they found it necessary to disown, as a preliminary to any negociation whatever. The only effectual adherents whom they boasted, were the army and federates, who had plainly shown they only submitted to the present authority as representing Napoleon II. So that if the sovereigns had gone into the views held out by the commissioners, of setting aside Louis and the Bourbons, on the

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one hand, and Buonaparte and his family, on the other, the provisional government possessed no means of fulfilling such a treaty on their part; and their announcing the intention to do so, would very likely have led to a hasty termination of their authority, by the soldiers pulling them out of the Tuilleries by the ears.

At the conferences at Haguenau, La Fayette stated his constituents to be in the same situation as the Convention Parliaments of England, and the army encamped in Hounslow-heath, at the time of the English Revolution. To have rendered this parallel apt, it required all the great circumstances of justice which attended the great event of 1688. The French should have been able to vindicate the reason of their proceedings by the aggressions of their exiled monarch, and by the will of the nation generally, nay, almost unanimously, expressed in consequence thereof. But the English history did afford one example of an assembly, exactly resembling their own, in absence of right, and exuberance of pretension, and it existed when the Rump-Parliament contrived to shuffle the cards out of the hands of Cromwell the Second, as the provisional commissioners at Paris were endeavouring to convey the authority from young Napoleon. This Rump-Parliament also sat for a little time as a government, and endeavoured to settle the constitution upon their own plan, in despite of the whole people of England, who were longing for the restoration of their lawful monarch, which speedily was shown to be the case, when Monk, with an armed force, appeared to protect them in the declaration of their real sentiments.

The conferences at Haguenau were speedily broken up; the French commissioners being given distinctly to understand, that the allies would not consent to the establishment of any other than the lawful sovereign. As their system and authority rested in deception, they dared not communicate this answer to the Chambers; but veiled it under a false and evasive declaration, that the allies did not mean to interfere with the internal government of France.

If any thing had been wanting to justify the rejection of terms offered by persons so little entitled to act in the name of the nation as the present provisional government of France, it is to be found in the now admitted fact, that the most sagacious and powerful of their own number had, long before, offered his services to aid in the restoration of the Bourbons. The mild government of Augustus obliterated the memory of the cruelties of Octavius the Triumvir; and from the consideration which the Duke of Otranto showed to heal the wounds of France, while they bled so profusely, he must be allowed to have made some atonement for the deeds of Fouché of Nantes. Whatever hopes he had entertained of increasing the liberties of the French, or of serving his own political purposes by the elevation of Napoleon, they had soon disappeared, and Fouché's most conspicuous part in the new imperial ministry became that of affording protection, or means of escape, to those who fell under the suspicion of Buonaparte. It has been supposed, that, even before Napoleon's defeat, he was in active correspondence with the king at Ghent; and although, doubtless, he would have disavowed this connection, in case of the emperor's success, yet the battle of Waterloo decided Fouché as a rational being, and one who had not, in the mist of his own prejudices and prepossessions, lost sight of the real interest of his country, that her safety was only to be sought in returning to

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the allegiance of the lawful sovereign. In the mean time, and it is there that we give him credit for his patriotism, he laboured to accomplish the restoration of the king, under such circumstances as should give least occasion for bloodshed, revenge, and retaliation. He availed himself of all the interest and skill which he possessed to moderate the republican rage of Carnot and Davoust, and to neutralise the efforts by which they were preparing a frantic and insane resistance; while, on the other hand, the services which he offered in secret to Louis were qualified by the condition, that, in a case where defection had been so general, vindictive measures should be avoided, and a general amnesty resorted to as speedily, and upon a footing as extensive, as should be found possible. Thus, like a ship beating up against the wind, which appears to move by the impulse of that resistless element, but is, in fact, directed by the unseen manœuvres of the pilot, Fouché, without openly opposing the opinions of his brethren, or of the Chamber of Representatives, gave the vessel of the state a secret impulse in a very different direction. The return of this statesman to his allegiance, a fact of which the allies were well aware, threw still more contempt on the negociation offered by the provisional government, since one of the most powerful of their body had thus, in secret, declared for the king's interest.

In the mean time, the tempest darkened around France. The remaining armies of the allies, far exceeding in number, upon each point, those of the British and Prussians, had already commenced their operations on the frontiers.

June 19. The Austrians crossed the Rhine at Manheim, Prince Wrede, with the Bavarians, forming the corps in advance. The Bavarian general carried Sarreguemines by force, and entered Nancy by the voluntary surrender of the inhabitants, who declared for the Bourbons. A body of three thousand French, with cavalry and artillery, forming a corps of observation between Metz and Longwy, were defeated, and driven into Metz. Toul and Maresall were invested, as they refused to surrender; and the Bavarians advanced on Chalons. A reconnoitring party of an hundred Bavarian hussars surprised the gate of the city, and rushed into the town. The garrison flew to arms, recovered possession of the gate by which the assailants had entered, and cut off their retreat. But the cavalry, instead of losing heart in a situation so precarious, charged through the town, overthrew all opposition, and escaped at the gate on the opposite side from that at which they had entered. The Bavarian advanced-guard had, in the meanwhile, come up, and desirous to succour the reconnoitring detachment, whom they supposed to be cut off, blew open the gate of Chalons with their flying guns, entered at the gallop, cleared the streets of the garrison, already stunned by the audacity of the first assault, and took possession of the town without much opposition. Chalons, a fortified town, was thus strangely assaulted and taken by an advanced-guard of cavalry, six guns, and about six hundred prisoners, falling into the hands of the victors.

June 24. Another Austrian army, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, so often distinguished in the campaign of 1814, and General Walmoden, crossed the Rhine at Philipsberg, and masking the strong fortress of Landau, advanced into France. Near the village of Sarbourg, *June* 26. they were suddenly at-

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tacked by the French, who at first obtained considerable advantage; but were finally repulsed, and driven across the Saar. On the *June 27.* next day, the battle was renewed near Haguenau; but General Rapp, who commanded the French, about eleven thousand strong, found it necessary to fall back to Vendenheim, where he took a strong position, with his right covered by the Rhine, his left by some strong heights, and a ravine along his front, which could only be passed by the bridge over the high road at two other points. The superiority of numbers, joined to the present high state of spirits among the Bavarian soldiers, forced this difficult position; and General Rapp, after great loss, was compelled to retreat to Strasbourg, which was instantly invested and blockaded by the victorious Austrians.

The Arch-Duke Ferdi- *June 26.* nand, at the head of a third Austrian army, crossed the Rhine at Grenzach, occupied Basle, and on the next day, defeated the French General Lecourbe, with great loss, near the village of Wicklesheim. A second attack, between Donnemarie and Belfort, drove the French General from another very strong position, where he lost several pieces of artillery, and more than a thousand men. The arch-duke continued to pursue, and in a third well-disputed action, carried, *June 29.* and finally obtained possession of a very strong position near Montbelliard. Chevremont, Besencourt, and Montbelliard, were successively stormed and taken by the Austrians, who, having nearly destroyed Lecourbe's army, proceeded to advance on Langres, in full communication with the invading army under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg.

A fourth Austrian corps, under General Frimont, *June 28.* crossed the Arve near Geneva. The army of Suchet had previously made some progress in this direction, which was now speedily checked by the advance of the Austrians in great force. The French division, posted near Carouge, offered to evacuate the strong ground in the valley and defiles of the Arve, and twenty-four hours were granted for this purpose. The city of Geneva, of which Suchet had possessed himself, was occupied on the same day. And the victorious corps of Austrians advanced upon Paris by the way of Chalons, a line of advance already occupied by the Bavarians.

The *élite* of that Austrian army which had defeated Murat crossed Mont Cenis, to take *June 26.* the route of France, under General Bubna. They attacked the strong *tete-de-pont* of Arly, near Conflans, where a body of French troops defended themselves bravely. It was at length carried, with the loss of two thousand Austrians and half the French defenders. The road to the interior was thus completely open along the Swiss frontier.

Besides these immense armies, there yet remains to be mentioned the Grand Russian army, at the head of which, with many Prussian, Austrian, and other German troops, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, themselves advanced into France. They crossed the Rhine at Spires, and *June 27.* advancing by the route of Haguenau and Saarebourg, had reached Halle when the *July 3.* fate of Paris was decided.

From the magnitude of these military operations, it was evident that Europe, grown wise by experience, had combined her united

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and gigantic force for the execution of her purpose, and, trusting as little as possible to the fickle chances of war, had brought into the field such a preponderating strength of numbers, as, employed with ordinary discretion, could hardly fail, either effectually to improve victory, or speedily remedy defeat. Nor was this an unnecessary precaution, considering the advantages which Buonaparte possessed, acting as sole and uncontrolled commander-in-chief against the various generals of a confederated army—advantages of which he had so ably availed himself in the campaign of 1814. He was even heard to assert, that, if he had won the battle of Waterloo, the coalition would not have subsisted twenty-four hours; and without resting much on the declaration of a person who never allowed truth to stand in the way of his interest, or even the humour of the moment, there is no doubt that such an event might have called forth the steadiness of the allied sovereigns, and exhibited the wisdom of their precaution in assembling such an immense army. But Providence had ordained otherwise, and the allied armies of reserve advanced on every side unopposed, as to a triumph instead of a battle. The strong places of Metz, Lisle, Valenciennes, Conde, and other frontier fortresses, were blockaded. They were chiefly defended by troops of the line, who could no longer keep the field, and did not therefore fall, like Cambray and Peronne, into the power of the allies by storm or submission. The number of allied troops which entered France on this memorable occasion, has been roundly computed as high as a million, but certainly exceeded eight hundred thousand men.

The government against whom these immense armaments were directed, were placed in a predicament of singular difficulty. The Additional Act, or new Constitution, through which they held their power, had two fundamental principles, one negative, the other positive: the latter vested the hereditary right to the crown in Napoleon and his dynasty; the former declared, that in no chance should the Bourbon family be recalled to the government. The provisional government, notwithstanding each basis had been equally recognized by the ratification of the Champ de Mai, and that they could reject neither, except upon such principles as might be fatal to both, shewed, as we have seen, no reluctance to relinquish the cause of Napoleon II., providing that the allies did not insist upon the restoration of the Bourbons. But while the sovereigns refused thus to divide the difference concerning the points in dispute betwixt them and France, the French soldiers and federates, who constituted the only strength of the government, gave plain symptoms that their adhesion was not to the provisional rulers, but to the cause of Napoleon. When Mouton-Duvernet harangued, in the name of the national representatives, the disbanded soldiers, who, in troops, crowded the roads to the capital, they answered to his exhortations, "Why should we fight any more? we have no longer an emperor;" an answer which sufficiently shows how completely these military partizans of Buonaparte considered the interest of the conflict as ended by his abdication. The federates, that is, the armed part of the rabble, held the same opinion and predilections with the army. The royalists were increasing in numbers and audacity, and gained daily accessions from the constitutionalists. Indeed, if any of the latter still continued to dread the restoration of the Bourbons, it was partly from the fear of reaction and retaliation on the side of the successful party, and partly because it was apprehended that the late events might have made on the mind of

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Louis an impression unfavourable to constitutional limitations, a disgust to those by whom they were recommended and supported, and a propensity to resume the arbitrary measures by which his ancestors had governed their kingdom. Those who nourished these apprehensions could not but allow, that they were founded in the fickleness and ingratitude of the people themselves, who had shown themselves unworthy of, and readily induced to conspire against the mild and easy rule of a limited monarchy. But they involved, nevertheless, tremendous consequences, if the king should be disposed to act upon rigorous and vindictive principles; and it was such an apprehension on the part of some, joined to the fears of others for personal consequences, the sullen shame of a third party, and the hatred of the army to the princes whom they had betrayed, which procured for the provisional government a show of obedience. But, far from the mass of the people being animated by any zeal in the cause of freedom and national independence, those watchwords which the directors endeavoured to substitute for *Vive l'Empereur*, far from the nation rising in a mass to annihilate and destroy the invaders, they assumed the badges of royalty in many of the departments, and in almost all the others passively awaited the current of events. The Representatives found themselves totally unable to excite any enthusiasm, excepting the momentary explosions which were discharged within the walls of their own Chamber, gratifying no ears, and heating no brains, excepting their own. Men were sick of hearing a jargon, so often sounded in their ears in the earlier times of the Revolution, and the phrases of liberty and equality had lost all their currency since they had been discovered to be only words. The ruling party in the Chamber, however, were of that thorough-paced class of theorists, who never grow wise by experience; and although it was likely that no resistance would be made by the army, excepting in the name of the Emperor, whom they had just condemned to deportation, and that resistance of any kind, and in what name soever, must be totally ineffectual, they continued to maintain the quarrel upon a ground which probably interested few bosoms in France but their own.

An instance occurred to show how determined the Chambers were in their opposition to the only remedy which could be applied to the miseries of France. Monsieur Malleville, a representative for the department of Dordogne, had distinguished himself soon after the opening of the Assembly, by proposing a law against seditious writings, emblems, and rallying cries in favour of the house of Bourbon. The lapse of ten days, and the great event which had such an effect on the minds of individuals, as well as on the destiny of France, caused Monsieur Malleville to be one of the first to fall under the penalties of his own law. He published an opinion on the state of France, addressed to the two Chambers and the Provisional Government, in which he exposed the difficulties of the crisis. He demanded of them, by what powers they assumed the right of naming a new sovereign for France, and whether their powers would be recognized by the allies. Since the calamity of the 21st, he contended, they had no other mission, save to exert the power, while it was still in their possession, for preventing the dangers of anarchy, and, if possible, to save the country. The nation, he said, was divided into two parties, Buonapartists and Royalists —to reject both these sovereigns, in *June* 15.

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order to chuse a third dynasty, even were the Chambers empowered by the nation to do so, would be to contradict the desires of nine-tenths of the population, and to hear their act disavowed by them in consequence. By Buonaparte's abdication, the competition was ended on his part, and there remained, therefore, only one candidate, who possessed a party of well-wishers in France. This candidate was the ally of the invading sovereigns, who regarded him still as monarch of France; and although they recognized the independence of the nation, would not conceive it in any respect attacked by his resumption of the government. These sovereigns were now in a state of war with France, of war proceeding from what they termed a breach of treaty; they had obtained over France the rights which victory has been in all ages supposed to confer, and, without the interference of action and powerful mediation, it was to be apprehended they would use them to the uttermost. The dismemberment of France would be the certain consequence of a positive rejection of Louis XVIII. He was, therefore, neither a bad Frenchman, nor an indifferent patriot, who recommended the only measure which could preserve the honour, power, and territory of the nation. The writer denied that the government of the Bourbons was inconsistent with national liberty. On the contrary, he reminded those whom he addressed, it was under the reign of Louis, not under that of Buonaparte, that a free constitution had first been given to France; and it was in the course of amelioration, by the free discussion of the Chamber, when it was destroyed by the predominance of Buonaparte. Those, said Monsieur Malleville, who oppose the return of the Bourbons, are sophists, who, moved by their own fears and interests, offer a fruitless resistance to an event which would soon take place in their despite, and are dragging the nation after them into approaching ruin. He adverted to the sixty-seventh article of the Additional Act, which deprived every subject of the right to propose the restoration of the Bourbons, and to the scruples founded upon it; on which he argued, that the Chambers and Provisional Government were neither in a condition to observe or to violate that engagement. Louis XVIII. was about to remount his throne, without the aid of the Chambers; he was called to it at once by the declared preference of the great body of the people, no longer overawed by their government, and by the success of his allies. Nothing was required of the Representatives and the Provisional Government, excepting to cease a fruitless and dangerous opposition, to which he urged their oath could not possibly bind them. He proceeded to point out circumstances, which ought to have had peculiar weight with these pretended friends of liberty. The only purpose which their opposition could serve, would be to answer for some time as a rallying point to individuals, who were willing to sacrifice the cause of the nation to their own interests and prejudices, and to those who, with force and obstinacy, would persist in maintaining the cause which Buonaparte had himself abandoned. This conduct, he urged, could not but enhance the hatred and animosity of the fanatics of royalty, increase the fury of the factions, prolong the calamities of civil war, and finally perhaps deprive the nation of the confidence of the king, and suggest to him the unhappy plan of surrounding his authority by military forms, and supporting it by other force than that of the nation. He implored, therefore, the French of every description, as they loved li-

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berty, and were willing to preserve the object they had so long fought for, and so lately gained—a free and limited constitution—to hasten to acknowledge the king, while there was yet some merit in doing so; and instead of receiving a master from the hands of the invaders, to lay before him voluntarily their own homage, and that of the nation, informing him at the same time, that they could only be safely and securely enjoyed under the shadow and guarantee of a free constitution. By this timely acknowledgement, he urged, with great force and truth, they would have the opportunity of pointing out the imprudence of his courtiers—the abuses of his ministry—the alarms and suspicions which had been spread abroad among several classes of his subjects. Such respectful remonstrances, accompanied with timely submission, could not fail to be favourably listened to by the monarch; and thus in resuming his crown, Louis would form a new compact with his subjects, confirming not only their former constitutional rights, but erecting a barrier against those acts of real or apprehended aggression, which had been founded upon as justifying the interruption of the king's authority.

It was as clear as the sunbeam, that the Chambers, supposing them to have the liberty of their country at their heart, had no other probable course to save it than that recommended by Malleville. The government of Louis was already restored, without their consent or interference, over a great part of France; and it only remained, by a timely surrender on their part, to secure his re-ascending the throne as a constitutional monarch, since otherwise a few days might place him there in the character of a conqueror, free from any engagements with the ostensible representation of France, and at liberty, so far as not checked by his own wisdom, to listen to the importunity of those counsellors in his family and court who were likely to urge despotic and vindictive measures. In attempting a negociation on this basis, we have the best access to know that the provisional government would have had the powerful mediation of Great Britain for obtaining all concessions from Louis which might have been judged necessary to secure the privileges of the nation, as well as her powerful guarantee, together with that of Russia, that they should be observed by Louis. And thus, from the old and inveterate obstinacy of prejudice, which looks rather to men than to measures, these representatives, in shewing an unavailing hatred to the Bourbons, lost the opportunity of deriving some solid national advantages, even from the greatest calamity which ever befel the arms of France.

But so different were the sentiments of the Chamber of Representatives, that Malleville, *June 30.* furiously denounced by Gareau for expressing the only course by which wise men saw a glimpse of safety for France, would have been subjected to severe penalties, but for the protection which was claimed for his character as a representative. The accuser, Gareau, declared that the army had been *terrorised* (*terrorisés*) at the audacity and enormity of this criminal proposal; and it was not the least whimsical part of this occurrence, that (like the patients in Bedlam, who think all beyond the bounds of their college in a state of derangement, and themselves alone possessed of a sane mind,) he demanded that Malleville, for the absurdity of the doctrines he had announced, should be declared deranged, and sent to the hospital for lunatics.

While these republican statesmen

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held this haughty language, their temporary power was crumbling away on all hands, and fugitive members of the Chambers, driven from the frontiers where they had resided as imperial commissioners, came to report to the assembly, that the invading armies, like the billows of an irresistible and tremendous inundation, were surrounding and overflowing at all points the barriers of the frontier. Bouvier-Dumoulard announced the total occupation of the department of the Meurthe, by movements so rapid, that, although thirty leagues in extent, it had been the work of one day. The arrival of the army commanded by Grouchy and Vandamme under the walls of Paris, augmented the forces destined for the defence of the capital to about forty thousand men, exclusive of national guards, who shewed no inclination for actual service, and federates, of whom only about seven thousand had received arms. But, at the same time, they announced that the English and Prussian armies might be every moment expected to assault the capital.

We have already noticed the fortifications of the city. On the northern side of the Seine they were of a most formidable description. The heights of Belleville and Montmartre, which cost the allies so much loss the last year, were now so completely strengthened with redoubts, entrenchments, and field-works, as to render this line of defence, which surrounds as with a belt the northern side of the city, seemingly impregnable. A large quantity of artillery, to the number of six hundred pieces, had been collected by the efforts of Napoleon, at the expence of dismantling Brest and Havre, and other sea-ports, but they had not all as yet been mounted. On the line of Montmartre there were about two hundred guns in position. The right flank of this line rested on the Seine, and was strengthened by the castle and wood of Vincennes, and by a fort constructed about half way betwixt the barriers of Trone and Vincennes. The left flank extended as far as Saint Denis, the ancient mausoleum of the Kings of France, which was converted into a place of arms, every house being garrisoned, with ditches and entrenchments around the little town. The level space betwixt Saint Denis and Montmartre was inundated by means of two small brooks and the Canal de l'Ourcq, which made it as strong as the rest of the line. But though Paris was thus fortified upon the one side of the Seine, it was totally defenceless upon the other, unless by battle. The extensive plains of Grenelle, Montrouge, Bicetre, and Ivri, extend to the wall of the city, which is merely an inclosure about ten feet high, built to prevent smuggling and assist the police. Buonaparte had attempted some slight entrenchments on these defenceless plains, but had deserted them in the conviction that nothing effectual could be done to cover the capital upon that exposed side, unless the Parisians could be prevailed upon to offer that desperate species of defence in the streets and houses which immortalized Saragoza. The village of Issy, and other hamlets on this side of Paris, were, however, occupied as military posts, and fortified by palisades, and houses loop-holed to accommodate musketry.

The Chambers and provisional government endeavoured to make such interest as was possible with the troops, by whom these defences were to be made good, and to fix their attachment upon themselves and the abstract principles which they professed as the ground of the continued resistance. In this they had little success. The soldiers, faithful to the principles by which they had been guided since the

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18th of March, adhered to the cause of Napoleon and his dynasty; more reasonable as well as more honourable in thus acting up to a fixed and steady principle, than those who were willing that the allies should dictate to them the choice of any monarch excepting the lawful one. When, therefore, Garat, and other commissioners, from the assembly of deputies, visited the army of Paris in its entrenchment, and endeavoured to excite them to cry *Vive la Liberté, Vive la Nation*, they found that their rallying shout was still *Vive l'Empereur!* or, at most, *Vive Napoleon II.!* It was, however, an easy matter to induce them to express sentiments hostile to the Bourbons; and so far the Chambers and the soldiers acted on the same negative principle. The army, indeed, made a profession of political faith, by *June* 30. an address to the Chambers, signed by Pajol, D'Erlon, and other general officers, in which they declared, that the princes of the House of Bourbon were renounced by the French nation; and that, in consenting to their recall, the representatives would subscribe the death-warrant of the army, which had been for twenty years the palladium of France. The Bourbons, they said, offered no guarantee to the nation. When formerly received with the most generous confidence, they had treated the army as rebels and slaves. "Inexorable history," concluded these military orators, "will relate what the Bourbons have done to replace themselves on the throne of France—she will relate also the conduct of the army, that army so essentially national, and posterity will judge which has best merited esteem."

The violence and imprudence with which the army committed themselves, by pledging their faith to an opposition which they were shortly after compelled to abandon, was imitated by the Chamber of Representatives, whose character of statesmen and legislators ought to have rendered them more cautious. It was in vain that Manuel (acting under the guidance of Fouché) reminded the Representatives, that they were not mere soldiers, who could acquit by an obscure death the duties they owed the public, but that they were bound to act so as to save the state if it were possible. Carefully avoiding to pledge their faith to any particular person or family, or to put the stamp of rejection on any, he proposed the Chamber should declare in general, that on *June* 30. no condition would they acknowledge for chief any prince who should refuse to ratify the national liberties by such a compact as might guarantee them. This proposal was rejected, because expressed so indefinitely as to leave an opening for the Bourbons to reascend the throne, and as placing the Chamber in opposition to the army, by whom the cause of Louis XVIII. was proscribed. A speech and motion of Bory de Saint Vincent carried the imprudence of the assembly to the utmost, and plainly showed, that rather than adopt a liberal constitution, with the dynasty of a peaceful and legitimate sovereign, these lovers of freedom, in their wounded pride, and their sentiments of hatred and fear for the Bourbons, were willing to consign France to the horrors at once of foreign and domestic war. This hot-headed enthusiast demanded a solemn pledge from the assembly, that they would adhere to the proscription of the Bourbons, "as their reign," he said, "could not be reconciled with the safety of national domains. The partizans of this family have threatened us," he proceeded, "with the royalist insurrections of La Vendée, and the defenders of the country

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would be base indeed could they not retaliate by patriotic Vendees. You are told one hundred thousand men are at your gates: It is a falsehood—our forces are equal to those of the invaders, and they double their numbers if you reckon the national guards and federates. This, therefore, is not the time to assume a suppliant posture." Monsieur Bory de Saint Vincent therefore moved, 1. That Napoleon II be instantly proclaimed emperor. 2. That the national guard be invited to partake the dangers of the troops of the line. 3. That representatives be deputed to the army, not to controul the military manœuvres, but to cement the union of the citizens and soldiers, and prove to the foreign sovereigns that it was incapable of being dissolved. These extravagant proposals, which inferred a declaration of a war of extermination, were received by the Chamber with applauses, and ordered to be transmitted to the army and the departments.

Cautiously and prudently, yet with great art and success, Fouché and his party were counteracting these violent proceedings and declarations, and labouring to keep open that door for reconciliation between Louis and his subjects, which the violent republicans were striving to shut. He submitted to the Chamber a letter in his own name to the Duke of Wellington demanding an armistice, in which their tone and style of thinking was so happily imitated, that it was adopted by acclamation, without their observing, that in fact it left a distinct opening to treat for the restoration of the Bourbons, upon the principle always of their guaranteeing constitutional liberty. He declared, that *June 27.* the Chambers were busied with the arrangement of a constitution, which should be fixed at an equal distance from the extremes of despotism and licentiousness, and that when it was signed by the prince who should be called to reign over France, the sovereign should receive the crown and sceptre from the hands of the nation. In an address or proclamation of the Chambers of a later period, the same *July 1.* prudent silence was observed concerning the name of the sovereign, and the assembly only pledged themselves never to acknowledge any chief of the state who should not acknowledge the rights of the nation, and ratify them by a solemn compact. The private correspondence of Fouché was much more explicit, and held out to the sovereigns, as the natural conclusion of the war, the restoration of the king upon such a basis as should prevent the adoption of any violent measures in vengeance of a defection, which had been too general to be a safe or prudent subject of punishment, and as should at the same time secure the constitutional rights of the nation, and restore the mutual confidence between the king and his subjects, the interruption of which was the chief obstacle to his again ascending the throne.

These sentiments were in every respect acceptable to the British minister and general. As members of a free state, they were bound not to suffer the extinction of the liberties of France, and in a political point of view, it was highly desirable for the interest of Louis himself, that his government should be founded upon a principle liberal enough to conciliate that numerous class of his subjects who considered constitutional rights as a boon which they had acquired by the various sufferings of the nation under the different changes of the revolution, and who were unwilling to quit their interest in privileges so valuable in themselves, and which had in many respects been so dearly purchased.

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The obstinacy of the Chambers, however, rendered it apparent, that the prosecution of warlike measures was still necessary to attain this desirable conclusion.

The allied armies, as might have been expected, even from generals of far inferior talents to those by whom they were guided, made no attempt to renew the doubtful and slaughterous assault of 1814, upon the strong position of Montmartre and Belleville. They resolved to cross the Seine, and thus rendered vain all the preparations for defence on the northern quarter, by attacking Paris on the unfortified side. The necessary manœuvres could now be executed at leisure and with security, since there was no hostile army in the field, by which their rear or communications could be endangered.

Blucher, according to this plan of operations, crossed the Seine at Saint Germains, and advanced on the heights of Meudon. The French army also shifted their ground from the northern to the southern frontier of Paris, and made a gallant attempt to defend Versailles. They were finally unsuccessful, and the Prussian army was completely established on the heights of Meudon, having their left wing at Saint Cloud, and their reserve at Versailles. The plain of Grenelles and Montrouge, only defended by garrisoned villages, and a slight half-finished entrenchment, was all that lay betwixt them and Paris.

By a combined movement, the Duke of Wellington also crossed the Seine, by forming a bridge at Argenteuil; and thus Paris was completely invested on its defenceless side. The English general might have increased the distress and alarm which prevailed in the capital, by intercepting the necessary supply of provisions. But it is his glory to add no horrors, which can be avoided, to those necessary to warfare. Success was certain by other means, and, to the astonishment of the Parisians, the usual supplies for their market reached their destination in safety, after having been permitted to traverse the hostile camp. This trait of generosity, which resembled that ascribed to their own Henry IV. upon a similar occasion, greatly softened the public mind towards the approaching conqueror.

Meantime the different factions began to shew themselves in Paris. All the national guards wore at this time the three-coloured cockade; but those who favoured the king made the white part of that emblem bear so large a proportion as to hide the other two, while such as held opposite sentiments contrived that the red and blue colours should eclipse the white as much as possible. The colonels of their legions endeavoured to appease the differences to which these distinctions gave rise, recommending to their soldiers unanimity, and their proper duty of maintaining the national tranquillity. In other classes the difference of political opinions broke out with acts of violence. The federates threatened and insulted whomsoever they suspected of being royalists; and, it is said, one or two individuals were killed in the streets, for crying *Vive le Roi*, or wearing the lily or white cockade. On the other hand, some royalists undertook and actually executed the perilous task of spiking several guns on the heights of Montmartre. Every thing seemed to threaten an immediate collision of the opposite factions, when an incident took place which gave temporary spirits to the defenders of Paris.

The corps of General Vandamme and Girard, consisting of about twenty-five thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry, lay in the plain of Montrouge, the cavalry occupying

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the Bois de Boulogne. Grouchy, with a part of the troops which he brought from Laon, continued to garrison Montmartre. In advancing close to Paris, the Prussians had left only a small detachment of about 1500 horse in Versailles. General Excelmans attacked and surprised the Prussians on this point, while *July* 3. General Piré executed a combined movement on Rocquancourt. The Prussian detachment being thus at once engaged in front and rear, the French obtained possession of Versailles, and took several hundred horses. These last proved the only permanent fruits of their victory, for Versailles was immediately regained by a superior force of Prussians.

Notwithstanding this partial and temporary success, the defence of Paris was becoming every moment less practicable. The Prussians carried successively all the outposts around Paris, and even the village of Issy, close under the walls. The armies were in presence of each other, the head-quarters of the French being at the barrier de l'Enfer, an outlet of Paris. Blucher had already sent for a battery of Congreve's rockets, and was supposed to be animated by a strong inclination to make effective use of that terrible instrument of destruction. There was an awful pause of hostilities as if by mutual consent, but every thing announced that the most dreadful fate impended over this fine capital, unless averted by timely capitulation.

A general council of war was held in Paris on the night betwixt the 2d and 3d of July. Of fifty general officers present, only two augured the possibility of defending the capital, and the risk of its total destruction, in so hopeless an attempt, was obvious and imminent. The parties which existed within the walls of Paris, and the inflamed passions of the lower classes, threatened scenes of internal pillage, bloodshed, and massacre, to add to the horror of an assault by the besiegers. Soult and Massena both acknowledged the necessity of surrender. The latter observed, that his own defence of Genoa would establish his character for obstinately maintaining an honourable defence; but that, situated as Paris was, he saw no other measure practicable, but that of applying for terms of capitulation. Such an opinion, formally engrossed and subscribed by most of the general officers, was communicated to the provisional government, as the sentiments of the council of war. They debated for some time, whether the surrender of Paris ought to be tendered to the King of France, or to the generals of the allied armies. The former opinion was supported by Fouché and Caulaincourt, but the influence of Carnot over Quinette and Grenier, caused the latter to be adopted, as the only means of delaying the worst, in their estimation, of evil days—that, namely, of the king's restoration.

The Baron de Bignon, provisional minister for foreign affairs, with General Guilleminot, chief of the general staff of the French army, and the Count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, now left the city as plenipotentiaries to meet with commissioners from the allied generals. The preliminary conferences were held at Buonaparte's favourite residence of St Cloud; and, in the very council-room, where he had so often predominated as sole arbiter of the affairs of Europe. It was resolved, that the capitulation should be a military convention, without any relation to political questions. The following were the conditions subscribed and agreed to.

Art. I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies com-

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manded by his Highness the Prince Blucher, and his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

Art. II. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

Art. III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depots shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration, which belong to the army.

Art. IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the Commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.

Art. V. The military, and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty, immediately after their recovery, to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

Art. VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

Art. VII. The officers of the line employed with the *Federés*, or with the Tirailleurs of the National Guard, may either join the army or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

Art. VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St Denis, St Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

Art. IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gens d'armerie.

Art. X. The Commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities so long as they shall exist.

Art. XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected, and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

Art. XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

Art XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

Art. XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days beforehand.

Art. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

Art. XVI. The present convention

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is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependant.

Art. XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

Art. XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

This military convention being afterwards censured, Carnot published a Memoir on the subject, in which he made it clear that the circumstances of the capital, and of the army which defended it, rendered the treaty unavoidable. "Any other place," he observed, "than Paris, would certainly have been able to hold out longer; but who would ever have justified us in having exposed to general massacre, to all the horrors of a besieged town, a capital which contains 600,000 individuals? Buonaparte had fortified only the right bank of the Seine, which is naturally covered by the heights of Montmartre and Belleville. The left side of the river remained without defence; the scarcely perceptible traces of a few lines formed all that had been done for it. I had made observations on that subject to the emperor; but he was persuaded that he would never be attacked on the side of the plain of Montrouge. However, the allies having become masters of St Germain, had passed the greater part of their forces to the left bank; and the river having become fordable in almost every part on account of the lowness of the water, it was impossible to intercept their communications; they might, by assault, have rendered themselves in an instant masters of the capital; and supposing that they had failed in a first, or a second attempt, they could have returned to the charge until they completely succeeded. They had their rear open, could always re-commence with fresh troops, and choose the most favourable moments for their attacks. We, on the contrary, were obliged to be continually on our guard at all the outlets of the immense circuit which we had to defend, and always with the same troops, worn out with fatigue by the forced marches they had made since the fatal battle of Waterloo. Let it be imagined what impression must have been made upon the inhabitants by the continual entrance of a considerable number of wounded soldiers, who would soon have filled the hospitals and private houses, without any other hope than that of merely warding off for a few days an inevitable catastrophe. Who knows even whether the internal sensation which such proceeding must have occasioned, would not have hastened that catastrophe? Who can say whether the troops themselves, whose firmness had already been shaken, would have been able, in that tumult, to preserve that unity of discipline which was so necessary for them?"

The Memorial next adverts to the danger arising from the allies having got possession of the village of Aubervilliers, which rendered it difficult for the defenders to maintain the fortified line from St Denis to La Villette, which, if forced, would enable the besiegers to enter Paris at the barrier of St Denis, notwithstanding the fortifications of Montmartre. Carnot then states the position of the troops on the opposite side of Paris, where the main attack was apprehended.

"The Prussians occupied the village of Issy, at the entrance of which we had a post, and where there was established a kind of tacit suspension of hostilities. Their line was removed from ours, refusing its right, their plan

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being in all likelihood to direct their principal effort upon Vaugirard.

"The enemy's army was much stronger than our's, yet we had reason to hope, by our position, to be able to resist him with advantage in case of an attack on his part, but not, in my opinion, to attack him ourselves with decisive success. In such a case, a complete victory is necessary; the enemy's army must be totally routed, or nothing undertaken; otherwise, as we would be obliged to remain after the action to cover Paris against his fresh reinforcements and his corps of reserve, he would have always kept us in the same perplexity, deprived by the first action of a great part of our force. It would have been necessary for us to have had a sufficient number of troops to form a corps of observation to act on the enemy's flanks with the view of harassing and pursuing him, after having made him experience a first reverse. But we were far from being able to detach a part of our force, and it would have been great imprudence in us to leave the point which it was above all necessary for us to cover. The enemy, as I have already said, had refused his right, over which we might have had some advantage, and it would have been necessary for us to have followed it: but its retreat was secured by the heights of Chatillon and Meudon, and while we should have been engaged on that side, in endeavouring to obtain a success which could decide nothing, the enemy would have directed his attack on Vaugirard, where we should not have been in a condition to resist him.

"Such would have been the most probable result of an inconsiderate attack; and yet it would have been necessary to have made that attack, had the enemy continued longer to refuse the convention which had been proposed to him; for we had to fear, above all, that, without attacking us, he would continue to close and press upon us more and more, to intercept the remainder of our communications, and finally, by forming entrenchments, so to fortify himself around the city, as to prevent our cutting a passage to gain the Loire."

Such is the reasoning of Carnot, which we insert here, to shew that the surrender of Paris was an event necessary in a military point of view, as equally important and fortunate when considered in a political light.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Disturbances in the Capital.—The Army evacuates Paris.—Entrance of the Allied Troops.—Conduct of the Provisional Government.—Dissolution of the Chambers.—Entrance of the King.—Difficulties of his Situation.—He appoints a Ministry.—Fouché named Minister of Police.—He recommends Lenity.—Ordinances of the 24th of July.—They are not strictly executed.—Disturbances in Paris and the Provinces.—Submission of various Corps of the Army.—Catastrophe of General Ramel.—Submission and Murder of Marshal Brune.—Macdonald endeavours to re-organize the Army of the Loire.—Their disorderly State.—They are disbanded.—Disturbances in the South.—And at Nismes.—General de la Garde attacked and wounded.—New Commotions in Paris.—Trials and Executions of Labedoyere and the Two Fauchers.—The King assembles the Chamber of Representatives.

THE convention of Paris did not seem to have altered the dispositions of the parties within the city. The royalists made an effort to declare themselves, and take possession of the capital for the king, whose white flag was now flying at Saint Denis, and who was arrived there in person, with the princes of his family and his household. But the attempt was premature, and was prevented by the orders of Massena, that all persons should continue to wear the national cockade.

The troops and federates were outrageous upon hearing that the capitulation had been signed. Vociferations, menaces, seditious declarations, began to be heard about three in the afternoon. Small detached groups of haranguers were formed at short distances, and solitary soldiers scattered about seemed to be waiting for a signal of alarm. And, in fact, at six o'clock a kind of commotion took place in different parts of the town. Muskets were fired on all sides, in the midst of the streets, on the bridges, and on the boulevards; cries of rage, menacing gestures, clamours, soldiers riding about, discharges of fire-arms repeated from the heights of Montmartre to beyond the barriers of the Fauxbourg St Antoine. All this apparatus of sedition, of violence, and of tumult, occasioned the greatest anxiety and agitation of mind among the citizens. Some of the soldiers endeavoured to break off the treaty, by firing on the posts of the allies, who had the generosity to disdain the provocation. Others discharged the cannon on the heights of Montmartre, to the great alarm of the citizens. The federates, upon the night of the 3d of July, paraded the streets in frantic

July 4.

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groups, escorting the bust of Buonaparte. They insulted several of the posts of the national guards, and even fired on some of their centinels. In some instances mischief happened; but the firmness of the national guard, their numbers, and their moderation, easily subdued these tumultuary rabble, whose principal inducement to riot was the hope of pillage. It was equally necessary to reduce to civil submission the students of the Polytechnic school, and other seminaries, who had taken up arms, and now refused to lay them down, or forego the independence and life of adventure, which they attached to the character of soldiers. Nothing could more strikingly illustrate the policy of Buonaparte, who, in giving a military education, and instilling military feelings into the youth of France, had succeeded so perfectly in rendering them the voluntary and precipitate implements of continuing the state of war and confusion to which he had abandoned his capital. News of insurrections in the suburbs, of a general mutiny in the army, of a meditated storm by the allies, continued to agitate Paris during the whole night intervening betwixt the 2d and 3d days of July.

The troops of the line perpetrated several disorders in the posts where they were quartered, before they could be made sensible of the necessity of the armistice; and the garrison of St Denis failed not to pillage some part of that little town. Only one mode could be devised of rendering them tractable, and that was an instant distribution of pay. The banking-house of Perigaux, Lafitte, and Co. furnished a large sum for this purpose, on receiving security in government stock. At length the soldiers were collected by their officers, and slowly, sullenly, with dejected countenances, in which shame and wounded pride were blended with disappointed ferocity, defiled through the city and the suburbs to their place of destination. Occasionally their wonted shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, burst from their ranks, no longer in the tone of triumphant exultation, but of determined despair. In this state of dejection they commenced their march for the Loire, many deserting their ranks and colours, and renouncing a service which seemed no longer to promise victory or glory.

On the 7th of July, the national guards, at the several barriers of Paris, delivered up their posts to the allies; and their various forces of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to the number of perhaps 50,000 men, took possession of the capital of France, defiling along the Boulevards and the alleys of the Champs Elysees. It was a scene very different from the joyous procession of 1814, when the foreigners and Frenchmen, animated by the same universal joy, mingled their ranks as part of the same general procession. The appearance of the allied military, on the present occasion, was strictly regular, but severely solemn; they showed no exultation, but neither did they intimate any desire to fraternize with the inhabitants, who looked on them with a mixture of fear and humiliation, especially when it was remarked that the troops were all either British or Prussians, the nations of the confederacy whom they least liked to acknowledge as victors, from recollection of the wrongs they had inflicted upon the latter, and the constant hostility in which they had so long stood to the other. The victors marched with all the stern apparatus of loaded arms, lighted matches, and the other preparations for instant action, which form the awful distinction between a peaceful procession and the actual operations of war. The city was occupied as a

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captured town, and precautions were taken against insurrection. The British took possession of the heights of Montmartre; the bridges, squares, and principal posts of the city were occupied by military posts, and cannon were planted on the Pont Neuf and Pont Royale, ready loaded, and attended by soldiers having their matches lighted.

The Chamber of Representatives, in the meanwhile, proceeded in their sittings. as if they had been still under the protection of the French army. They continued to labour and polish the constitution, which they intended to impose on the king who should be elected, and they maintained the same air of indecision as to the person of the monarch. They acted as if they said to the allies, "Allow us the task of making the constitution, and do you take that of chusing a king for us—from any family but that of Bourbon—or even from the Bourbons, if you will forbear to name Louis, or his three nearest relations." The statue of Buonaparte was removed from their hall, as a prince whom a proclamation of the provisional government had declared "abandoned by fortune and by the nation." The place was supplied by a three-coloured banner, that it might appear to present a symbol of national power emanating from the people.

They next published a declaration, blending together the most sacred rights of society and of constitutional freedom, all of which had been already granted to them by the royal charter, with other questions in which their own interests were peculiarly committed.

"The Chamber declares, that a monarch cannot offer any real guarantee, if he does not swear to observe the constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people: it hence follows, that every government which should have no other titles than the acclamations and will of a party, or which should be imposed by force; every government which should not adopt the national colours, and would not guarantee,

"The liberty of the citizens,

"The equality of civil and political rights,

"The liberty of the press,

"The liberty of worship,

"The free consent with respect to levying of men and taxes,

"The responsibility of ministers,

"The irrevocability of the sale of national property,

"The inviolability of property,

"The abolition of tithes, of the old and new hereditary nobility, and of feudality,

"The entire oblivion of all opinions and political votes expressed up to the present moment,

"The rewards due to the officers and soldiers,

"The succours due to their widows and children,

"The institution of juries,

"The non-removal of judges,

"The payment of the public debt,

"would only have an ephemeral existence, and would never secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe."

By this specious declaration the Chamber proposed themselves as the assertors of privileges, which, so far from having been attacked by Louis, had been first communicated to the nation during his brief reign, and as the righters of those erroneous measures which the king had already, by repeated proclamations, declared his own intentions of undoing and correcting. But they blended those topics on which their interference was unnecessary, with the demands in favour of an insurgent and rebellious army, with the requisition of an entire amnesty, which would have been little less than a ratification of all the pro-

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ceedings which had taken place since the landing of Buonaparte at Cannes, and with the adoption of the national colours, instead of the white flag and cockade. This last point was pressed on the king by Fouché in an interview he had with his majesty at St Denis. "It was here," said the statesman, "that your majesty's great ancestor, Henry IV., swallowed a mass for the good of his people, and will not your majesty consent to sacrifice a ribband?" His majesty is said to have answered, "that for himself, he was indifferent on the subject, but that his family were so much determined against the measure, that they would rather he should return to Hartwell than consent to it." If this statement be correct, the princes of the house of Bourbon were, in one instance, wiser than its representative. For the act of renouncing the royal colours, and adopting those of the Chambers, would have been an acknowledgment of the justice and legality of the government of Buonaparte, and the legislature he had convoked,—an admission that the king only held his crown by the gift of the Chambers,—a ratification of the mock Senate, or House of Peers, elected for their devotion to Buonaparte,—above all, an acknowledgment that those who had so lately dethroned and banished their sovereign, had a right to repeat the experiment so soon as ever they felt themselves strong enough to carry it through.

The Chamber of Representatives, however, continued their deliberations, though there appeared no chance of the king subscribing to the result. After as much grave discussion as if their resolutions could have any serious effect, upon the questions whether there should be suffered to exist a rank of nobility independent of the Chamber of Peers? Whether the number of the peers should be limited or unlimited? How the king's guards should be constituted, and what force they should comprize? What ought to be their rank, their decorations, their facings, and form of epaulet? After the discussion of these, and other objects equally minute, they achieved a new scheme of constitution, which it took till five o'clock *July* 6. to read over.

In the meanwhile, the communication between the Parisian royalists and Louis, who still remained at St Denis, became close and constant. Arms were sent out from Paris to equip his followers, and preparations were made for his public entry. It would have been something equally absurd and indelicate that Louis should enter Paris, while the men by whom he had been so lately dethroned and proscribed continued to exercise the authority of legislators within its walls. Fouché, who was in close correspondence with Louis, recommended that he should temporize with the Chambers, which he asserted might be gained, on according to them a guarantee of the charters, as promised by the king. The Duke of Wellington, to whom this proposal was submitted by Macirone, who acted as a secret agent of Fouché on this occasion, saw at once the danger of recognizing as independent legislators a Senate and Chamber of Representatives, convoked and chosen on purpose to secure the late usurpation. "I am of opinion," was his reply, "that, the allies having declared the government of Napoleon an usurpation, all authority which emanates from it ought to be considered as null and of no effect. All that remains for the Chambers and commission is to give in their resignation, and declare that they only took on themselves their temporary authority, to insure the public tranquillity and the integrity of the kingdom of Louis XVIII."

The commission having shewn no disposition to take this step voluntari-

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ly, the ministers of the allies directly required of the provisional government to surrender the supreme power which they had hitherto exercised. A squadron of cavalry, and two battalions of infantry, marched into the Place du Carousel, and the commissioners, on their appearance, evacuated the council chamber of the Tuilleries. But they previously sent a message to the Chambers of Peers and Representatives in the following terms:

"*Mr President*,—Hitherto we believed that the intentions of the allied sovereigns were not unanimous upon the choice of the prince who is to reign in France. Our plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurances upon their return.

"However, the ministers and generals of the allied powers have declared yesterday in the conference they have had with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis the XVIII. upon the throne, and that he is to make this evening, or to-morrow, his entrance into the capital.

"Foreign troops have just occupied the Tuilleries, where the government is sitting.

"In this state of affairs, we can only breathe wishes for the country, and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

"Marshal Prince of Essling, and the Prefect of the Seine, have been charged to watch over the maintenance of the public order, safety, and tranquillity.

"I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

"The DUKE OF OTRANTO,

"COUNT GRENIER,

"QUINETTE,

"CARNOT,

"CAULAINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.

"Paris, July 7, 1815."

In this document the government attempted a last deception upon the French, by representing to the Chambers and the public that they had been left in doubt, until after the occupation of Paris, of the ultimate designs of the allies. We have already mentioned, that the first negociators whom they dispatched to the headquarters of the sovereigns at Haguenau, had been at the first conference distinctly informed, that though the allies had no purpose of dictating as to the internal government or constitution of France, yet they insisted on her receiving back the pacific and friendly dynasty of the Bourbons, as the best guarantee for the tranquillity of Europe. But this answer the government did not venture to make public; and the concealment of the truth at first now forced them on a second falsehood.

The Peers were in debate upon the declaration of national rights of the French nation which had been concocted by the Representatives, when the fatal message of the provisional government was read to them by the Compte de Valence. They dispersed in silence, resigning to superior force the power and rank which force alone had conferred on them.

The Representatives, contumacious by profession, were less passive under the sentence of dissolution. Monsieur Manuel concluded an animated protest with the words of Mirabeau. "We are here by the will of the people; we will not be removed otherwise than by the point of the bayonet." They continued accordingly to sit and debate for some hours, after receiving the message of the government, until the president prorogued the meeting till eight o'clock the next morning. This adjournment he performed in defiance of several voices, who called upon him to maintain the literal perma-

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nence of the sitting, upon some such principle, we must suppose, as that of the Eternal Club, mentioned in the Spectator. They dispersed, however, and a few of the most zealous returning to the hall the next morning, found the entrance centinelled by the national guards, who, with great calmness, refused them admittance. Frenchmen can laugh on all occasions, and the disappointed and indignant legislators became the ridicule of the by-standers, who accompanied the arrival and retreat of each member with a laugh and acclamation, loud in proportion to the excess of his mortification.

On the 8th of July, Louis re-entered his capital, attended by a very large body of the national guards and royal volunteers, as well as by his household troops. In the rear of these soldiers, came a numerous etat-major, among whom were distinguished the Marshals Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, Oudinot, Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Moncey, and Lefebvre. An immense concourse of citizens received, with acclamations, the legitimate monarch; and the females were observed to be particularly eager in their expressions of joy. Thus was Louis once more installed in the palace of his ancestors, over which the white banner once more floated. Much, however, remained to be done for consolidating, and rendering permanent, the power he had once more acquired, and still more was necessary for reconciling the passions and prejudices of his people. It is certain, that whatever regret attended the retreat of Louis, whatever joy greeted his return, the manner in which his restoration had taken place was calculated to injure his cause in the eyes of a great proportion of the French people. A measure in itself just and necessary, it had nevertheless been accomplished by the destruction of the military power of France, the slaughter and discomfiture of her finest armies, the devastation of her provinces by hostile troops, the taking of her frontier fortresses, and the occupation of her capital itself by foreign victors. The constitutionalists, who might have most wished the return of Louis, would not perhaps have desired it at a price so dear to national pride; and even the royalists looked askance at the means by which an event they so greatly desired, had been finally achieved.

It was at this crisis that the voice of Burke might be heard speaking, as it were, from his tomb, and recommending an energy of exertion, too much perhaps to be expected from the age and infirmities of Louis, but certainly not more than was necessary for the welfare of his kingdom. In foreseeing the restoration of the Bourbons, when it was accounted an event altogether beyond the bounds of probability, this great political prophet also foretold the perils by which they would be surrounded. "What support, or what limitations, the restored monarch must have, may be a doubt, or how it will pitch and settle at last. But one thing I conceive to be far beyond a doubt:—that the settlement cannot be immediate, but that it must be preceded by some sort of power, equal at least in vigour, vigilance, promptitude, and decision, to a military government. In such a preparatory government, no slow-paced, methodical, formal, lawyer-like system, still less that of a shewy, superficial, trifling, intriguing court, guided by cabals of ladies, or men like ladies; least of all, a philosophic, theoretic, disputatious school of sophistry; none of these ever will, or ever can, lay the foundations of an order that can last. Whoever claims a right by birth to

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govern there, must find in his breast, or must conjure up in it, an energy not to be expected, perhaps not always to be wished for, in well-ordered states. The lawful prince must have in every thing but crime, the character of an usurper. He is gone, if he imagines himself the quiet possessor of a throne. *He is to contend for it, as much* AFTER AN APPARENT CONQUEST as before. His task is to win it; he must leave posterity to enjoy, and to adorn it. No velvet-cushion for him. He is to be always (I speak nearly to the letter) on horseback. This opinion is the result of much patient thinking on the subject, which I conceive no event is likely to alter."

Louis XVIII. had not the energy here required, nor could it be expected from him. He had, however, an excellent disposition, and was disposed to make every sacrifice to the welfare of his subjects. Of this he had already given a proof, by the dismissal of the Compte de Blacas. The terms in which it was conveyed, showed that the king's private feelings suffered on this occasion.

June 19. "I owe it to the repose of the few days that I have to live, to the tranquillity of the world, and to the counsel of my allies, to remove from my government persons who are very dear to me, and among whom I particularly distinguish you. Carry with you into your retreat the testimony of the satisfaction of your king, and the certainty of being always his friend."

Louis had, therefore, to form a ministry; and as he was, in the difficult choice, obliged to pay deference to the opinions of others, and those founded upon arguments which jarred with each other, it was no wonder that the texture of the new cabinet was somewhat anomalous. By a royal decree, the king announced his intention to govern by means of a privy-council, to be assembled by special convocation, and by a council of ministers. *July* 9.

"Wishing," are the words of the decree, "to give to our Ministry a character of unity and solidity, which may inspire all our subjects with a just confidence, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

"The Prince of Talleyrand, Peer of France, is appointed President of the Council of Ministers, and Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"Baron Louis, Secretary of State for the Finances.

"The Duke of Otranto, Secretary of State for the Department of General Police.

"Baron Pasquier, Secretary of State for the Department of Justice, and Keeper of the Seals.

"Marshal Gouvion St Cyr, Peer of France, Secretary of State for the Department of War.

"The Duke de Richelieu, Peer of France, Secretary of State for the Department of the Household.

"The Port-folio of the Minister of the Interior shall be provisionally confided to the Minister of Justice."

The Duke de Richelieu, who had long held the important government of Odessa, in the south of Russia, and who was a man of unquestioned honour and talents, was supposed to be named with some purpose of conciliating the Emperor Alexander. It was, in a very great degree, the English influence, which so commended Fouché to the king's councils, not from respect to his character, but from a sincere belief that his interest was strongly and intimately connected with that of the king; that his acquaintance with the state of parties and conflicting inte-

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rests in France, was more extensive than that of any other individual; and, above all, because, by employing this sagacious, though unprincipled statesman, the king gave a token of a disposition to conciliate the erring part of his subjects. The revolt had, indeed, been so general, that it became indispensable to put the minds of the nation at ease concerning the extent of the punishment to be inflicted, lest fear should drive those who had but too good reason for entertaining it into desperate courses. The reposing the formidable powers of the police in the hands of Fouché, a companion of their crime, was an assurance that measures of re-action would not be hastily resorted to. His instructions to the prefects on the duties of the police were also of a nature consolatory to those who had reason to apprehend rigorous enquiry and punishment. "The will of the king," said these instructions, "has cast a veil over common errors and faults. Thus his majesty has left the punishment of crimes and treasons to the laws; and that suspicion might not be extended, he has been pleased to designate the accused, and to limit their number. There is then security for all; no ground, no pretext for disquietude or irritation is left to malevolence. All things in their existing state are under the guarantee of the law, and the ægis of a monarch, who wishes to be the father of all Frenchmen. Stability is the first object of his majesty's attention, and of the measures which he has prescribed to his ministers. Every sort of reaction, being subversive of stability, would be a crime. It would disturb the tranquillity of the state by destroying all confidence."

The king, notwithstanding, stood pledged by his declaration from Cambrai, to punish as well as to pardon; and had he not shewn some determination to avenge his own cause, and that of the state, France would probably have imputed such unbounded lenity to imbecility, cowardice, or a sense that he had no title to resent the usage he had received. The latter sentiment had already spread wide through the kingdom; there seemed to be a general idea, that the whole revolution of the 20th March was a mere frolic, in which the perpetrators harmlessly indulged themselves; and that if the sin of rebellion, as we are assured in Scripture, resembles that of witchcraft, it is only because the punishment of both is expunged from modern codes of legislature.

Accordingly, an ordinance, moderate in the circumstances, appeared soon after the king had entered Paris, declaring thirty-eight peers of France to have virtually resigned their dignity, by accepting functions with which it was incompatible, by sitting in the Chamber of Peers nominated by Buonaparte. Amongst this list were the Marshals and Generals Rapp, Suchet, Mortier, Augereau, Lebrun and Savary, and the well-known political characters Cornudet, Lacepede, Pontecoulant, Segur, Valence, and others, distinguished as jacobins or imperialists. A second ordinance, of the same date, provided as follows: *July* 24.

"Article I.—The generals and officers who have betrayed the King before the 23d of March, or who have attacked France and the government with arms in their hands, and those who by violence have obtained possession of power, shall be arrested and carried before the competent councils of war, in their respective divisions, viz.—

"Ney, Labedoyere, the two Lallemants, Drouet d'Erlon, Le Febre Des-

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nouettes, Ameilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton-Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambrone Lavalette, Rovigo.

"2. The individuals whose names follow, viz.—

"Soult, Alix, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehée, Fressinet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Peré, Barrere, Arnault, Pommereuil, Regnault de St Jean d'Angely, Arrighi (Padua), Dejean (the son), Garnau, Real, Bouvier Dumolard, Merlin of Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mollinet, Hullin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin Janson (the eldest son), Lofgne Dideville, shall quit the city of Paris in three days, and shall retire into the interior of France, to places which our minister of general police shall point out, and where they shall remain under his superintendence, until the Chambers decide upon such among them as shall be sent out of the kingdom, or be delivered over for trial to the tribunals.

"Those of the above list shall be immediately arrested who do not repair to the place assigned them by our minister of general police.

"3. The individuals who shall be condemned to quit the kingdom, shall have the power to sell their goods and property in the delay of one year, to dispose of it, and to send the produce out of the kingdom, and to receive during that time the revenue in foreign countries, furnishing, however, the proof of their obedience to the present ordonnance.

"4. The lists of all the individuals to whom the 1st and 2d articles shall be applicable, are, and remain closed by the nominal designations contained in these articles, and shall never be extended to others for any cause and under any pretext whatever, other than in the form, and according to the constitutional laws which are expressly departed from for this case alone.

"LOUIS."

It is sufficiently evident, that as the execution of these ordinances was submitted to Fouché, and the police under his management, it was not likely that they would be severely executed. It was known that this minister had recommended to the king measures amounting to an act of general and unlimited oblivion. He urged, in a report on the state of France, that it was impossible to aim at any one of those heads who were considered as dangerous, without threatening thousands, and exciting a general sense of insecurity, which would sooner or later produce fresh convulsions. If it were wished to remove a few individuals, it was but necessary, according to this statesman, to give them a signal through the police, and they would disappear of themselves. Arrests and sentences he promised to avoid, by such a dexterous application of the power in his own hands, as should neither destroy security, nor compromise the king's character for clemency. In the same tone, we must understand Fouché's part of the well-known correspondence betwixt him and his late colleague Carnot. The former, placed under the superintendence of the police by the ordinances of 24th July, demanded of Fouché, in a succinct billet, "Whither am I to go, traitor!" to which the Minister replied as laconically, "Wherever thou wilt, simpleton."—The threats, therefore, of trials and superintendence by the police, were presumed to be merely thrown out to hasten the departure of the obnoxious individuals. In many cases, this course succeeded. The

July 20.

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members of Buonaparte's own family, and other individuals attached to his person, began gradually to disappear from the scene. But there were sterner and bolder spirits among the disaffected, whom mere apprehensions of danger were not adequate to dismay.

These men soon ceased to dread a rod, which was believed to be only held up in mockery. The disaffected renewed their union and their signals. The king had, with his usual happiness of expression, told a lady, who happened incautiously to appear at court with a bouquet of violets, to the great horror of the bystanders, that the violets were included in the amnesty. The imperialists and jacobins substituted the pink for the emblem of their faction; and thus the vegetable world, in itself so peaceful, seemed, as in the days of the roses of York and Lancaster, destined to furnish the badges of violence and bloodshed. Groups were formed on the Boulevard of the Temple, distinguished by this emblem, and by their high tone and insolent language to those who wore the white cockade or the lily. Frays ensued betwixt these individuals and privates of the king's body-guard; and the national guard restored order with difficulty, and after many wounds.

In the provinces equal distraction prevailed. The king, hemmed in with swords drawn for and against him, seemed about to suffer as much from friends as from enemies. His allies, who had entered France in his cause, were closely engaged in beleaguering fortresses, which were held out in his name, and under his colours. Metz, Strasbourg, Valenciennes, Huninguen, and almost all the frontier fortresses and garrison towns in the east of France, continued to hold out with the most determined obstinacy. Even the commander of the old gothic tower of Vincennes, within two miles of Paris, affected to refuse admission to the allies, yet to keep his little garrison in the king's name. In one point of view, it seemed as if the king had been at the head of his late rebels, in opposition to those auxiliaries who had just restored him to the throne; and thus he was environed on each side by friends, who acted as enemies, and by enemies, who affected to behave as friends. It appeared that, in succeeding to the nominal authority of the late provisional government, the king had become heir at once to their impotence and their embarrassments.

Yet, amidst all this confusion, the funds of France continued to advance. The monied men, sagacious of the event, were little alarmed by the partial resistance and discontents which had no acknowledged head or object; and the presence of the immense armies of the allies, however oppressive in many respects, gradually compelled the refractory to submit, and the discording to coalesce. Accordingly, the distractions which we have traced, began by slow degrees to settle into a general recognition of the royal authority. The largest body of the French army, being that which, leaving Paris in consequence of the capitulation, had retired behind the Loire, was called upon by Davoust, its general, to assume the white cockade—a severe sacrifice, he admitted, but necessary to preserve union among Frenchmen, and to combine their forces against the strangers, who were reaping the advantage of their dissensions. Davoust's address is in part worthy of preservation, because it shows how completely this dangerous army acted as a separate and deliberative body, as well as the terms on which they condescended to patch up their broken allegiance. "The com- *July* 11.

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missioners of the army," says this curious document, "in rendering an account to the army of the late events of the capital, and the entrance of the king, have informed me of the overtures which have been made to them to induce the army to recognise that its union with the system of the government could alone prevent the dissolution of the state.

"The commissioners, in their communications, give the assurance, that under a constitutional government no re-action is to be feared; that the passions will be neutralized: that the ministry will be one and responsible; that men and principles will be respected; that arbitrary dismissals shall not take place either in the army or in other orders of society; and finally, the army *shall be treated conformably to its honour*: These are the terms transmitted by the commissioners.

"As a pledge and a proof of what they advance, they state as a certainty, that Marshal St Cyr is appointed minister of war; that the Duke of Otranto is minister of police; and that he only accepts this office with the assurance, that the government will proceed in a spirit of moderation and wisdom, of which he himself has always given the example.

"On these conditions, national interests ought freely to unite the army to the king. These interests require sacrifices: They should be made willingly, with a modest energy; the army subsisting, the army united will become, should our misfortunes increase, the centre and rallying point of all Frenchmen, even of the most violent royalists. Every one must feel that union and the oblivion of all dissensions can alone effect the salvation of France, which will become impossible, should hesitation, difference of opinion, or private considerations, bring dissolution to the army, either by its own means, or those of foreign force."

It was, perhaps, as much the gradual advance of a strong allied army of observation, as the force of Davoust's arguments, which determined the army of the Loire to assent to their general's proposal. A sullen, reluctant, and ungracious submission, or rather capitulation, was transmitted to the king, which, in the circumstances of the times, he was compelled to accept. Davoust was immediately afterwards removed from the command, and the tried prudence and loyalty of Macdonald were employed in re-organizing these mutinous and disorderly troops. Lecourbe, who commanded the army of the Jura, also sent in his adhesion to the king, after a swaggering address to his army, in which he boasted they had sustained ten battles in their retreat from Huningen to Befort, but omitted to add, that they had been beaten in every one of them, and finally compelled to surrender Lyons to the Austrians. Suchet, Rapp, Hamelinaye, Bagniol, Mocquery, and other French generals commanding in different departments, sent in their various acts of adhesion to the restored government, but without deigning to express any contrition for their defection. They all alleged, as the cause of their assuming the white cockade, that "the king had assured to the army an honourable existence;" which shews, that the fear of being disbanded was what had kept them together. *July* 23.

At Toulouse, Gen. Decaen seemed disposed to take measures of resistance. But the spirit of the department was strongly royalist, and the inhabitants, arising in considerable force, cut off his communication with the army of the Loire, on which he found it necessary to proclaim the king's ordinances, disarm the federates, and announce his submission to the king. So soon as this general order was read *July* 17.

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to the troops, they in a great measure disbanded themselves, and dispersed with their arms and baggage, while the white flag was hoisted amid the universal joy of the citizens. Some days afterwards a shocking event took place: An affray having happened betwixt some of the soldiers and the inhabitants, General Ramel, commander of the department, was attacked by the people. He wounded several with his sword, and received in return a wound from a pistol-shot. The general barricaded himself in his apartments, but in spite of the national guard, who endeavoured to protect him, the assailants battered down the door, burst into his room, and dispatched him with their sabres.

Clausel held out Bourdeaux until the passage of the Gironde was forced by a British squadron, when his troops reluctantly submitted, and he himself fled. Brune, who commanded in Provence, did not escape so easily from the consequences of his rebellion. He had expressed great inveteracy against the king, in a country where the royal cause was popular; and, even after the capitulation of Paris, had hoisted the black flag, and declared his intention of opposing the cause of Louis till death. Compelled at length by the insurrection of the people, the approach of the Austrians, the arrival of Lord Exmouth's squadron off the coast, and a disembarkation of British troops at Marseilles, he was reduced

August 1. to the necessity of acknowledging the royal authority. But as he was the subject of much personal hatred, he was exposed to the fury of the royalists of the south, who had already given cruel proofs of their zeal, by the murder of forty or fifty citizens of Marseilles, supposed to be attached to Buonaparte.

Brune, therefore, retreated to Avignon, where he arrived on the 2d August. He was instantly recognised by the people, who, being violent royalists, crowded around him with oaths and menaces. He retreated into an inn, and barricaded his apartment. The mob burst in, tore up the floor of the chamber above, and fired at Brune, who was wounded in the shoulder. In this extremity he is said to have committed suicide with his own pistol. At any rate he was there slain, and the rabble shewed how they would have used the living victim, by the disgraceful cruelties which they exercised on the senseless corpse, which was dragged through the streets, and thrown into the Rhone. This violence did not help to reconcile such minds as were alienated from the royal cause.

While this tragedy befell the late commander of Toulon, Marshal Macdonald was labouring to restore to some order and discipline the army of the Loire, as it was now called. He had ordered Marshal Suchet to join him with the army of the Alps, which that general, although he also had recognised the king's authority, seems to have delayed as long as possible, to retain the advantages of a separate command. Macdonald's first step was to withdraw all authority from the persons pointed out by the ordinances of the 24th of July, one or two of whom he caused to be arrested. He next endeavoured to reduce the numbers of this disaffected army, by restoring to the half-pay list all those officers whom Buonaparte had summoned from it into active service. He then gave furloughs to nearly one fourth of the privates for temporary absence; but despondence, which had gained possession of the soldiers' minds, thinned their ranks even faster than Macdonald's precautions. The army mouldered away by desertion, and whole corps were reduced to their officers and subalterns. The fiercest among the deserters formed troops of banditti, who infested the department

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of the Loire and its vicinity. Still the individuals who remained continued to use the most violent language against the government. Major Von Hauer, appointed by the allies to enquire into the state of the army, found them agitated by all their old prejudices, and heard General Marcongey, in presence of all his staff, mention Monsieur as an unfrocked monk, and the Duke of Berri as a drunken debauched rake. He ran on comparing the conduct of Louis XVIII. with that of Henry IV., the former, he said, having superseded deserving and brave veterans, to make way for coxcombs, insolent fops, and old doting wig-blocks. The Austrian major could only interrupt this philippic, by informing the orator, that the king was to chuse seven thousand men out of the old imperial guards for his own body guard, and that he, Marcongey, would retain the command of the first corps. The Frenchman, on receiving this hint, became prudently silent.

Thus, inveterate prejudices and insurrectional movements continued to manifest themselves, and even the dry bones of these skeleton corps seemed to be still actuated with the same evil spirit, which possessed them during their vigour. The effectual remedy, of disbanding the army, and uniting its fragments upon a new principle, was at length resolved on. A great reduction was made by *August* 9. an order, which consigned to half-pay a variety of officers who had served a certain number of years, or had attained certain periods of life, regulated according to their respective ranks; and about the same period, Marshal Macdonald carried into effect the sweeping measure of disbanding all the regiments of the line and light troops, and organizing the army in a few form, and upon another principle, into what were called Departmental Legions. It was proposed, by this new organization, to substitute for the old regiments of the line brigades of provincial corps, which, though consisting in part of the same individuals, might get rid, it was supposed, of old and dangerous habits of association; and being newly officered and modelled, might have acquired more auspicious habits of discipline. But there were many obstacles to the formation of these new corps, from the desertion and the mutinies of the soldiers,* and from the objections of the allied sovereigns, who seemed unwilling that this army should revive under any form of existence whatsoever. Of the immense army with which Buonaparte took the field in June, only about sixty thousand remained, under the title of Departmental Legions, and this comprehended corps raised among the western and southern royalists.

In the meanwhile, the disbanded soldiers and deserters added to the miseries of France. Considerable bodies of deserters, federates, and other irregular bands, continued to display the tri-coloured banner, and to carry on a desultory and predatory war in the Cevennes, in Franché Compté, and other provinces, where the strength of the country, and disposition of the inhabitants, permitted them to find refuge. These were pursued, dispersed, and gradually destroyed by detachments of the allies, not without great loss and destruction to the country. It is, however, but doing justice to the French soldiers to add, that by far the greater part returned to peaceful occupations, which they resumed and continued to

* See Marshal Macdonald's proclamations, October 9th and 10th.

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pursue as if their industry had never been interrupted by the idleness and license of a military life.

In the west and south the contending factions assumed the aspect of civil war. The royal bands of the south, and the hardy peasants of La Vendee, openly maintained the doctrines most dreaded by the constitutionalists. Attached by early prejudice to the cause of the priests and nobles, these bold, but simple and credulous peasants, took arms, as in a crusade, for the crown and the cross, and confounded an attachment to the ancient regime with all its errors, with the cause of true loyalty. They were opposed by the inhabitants of the small towns, and particularly by the whole protestant population, so that religious zeal came in to animate the furies of civil war. The royalists were observed to assume cockades of green, or green and white, (the livery of Artois,) as if maintaining the cause of the princes of the house of Bourbon, rather than that of the king. These quarrels gave rise to mutual acts of robbery, pillage, and assassination; and, though they existed only in particular districts, alarmed the whole kingdom.

It was chiefly at Nismes, and in the department of the Garde, that these convulsions broke forth. The natives of that province are an impassioned and fiery race, with a character like that of the Gascons, blended between the French and Spanish. They are divided into protestants and catholics, the last of whom are far most numerous. But the protestants are wealthy, have the commerce of Nismes in their possession, and are at the head of its population. These religious parties have been at variance since the wars of the League. At the period of the revolution, the protestants, who owed, it must be confessed, no great veneration to the house of Bourbon, espoused its tenets, and became both objects of envy and hatred to the catholics, by their forwardness in purchasing the domains of the church and of the emigrants. During the year 1814, the apprehensions which were insinuated into the public mind, concerning the insecurity of national property and toleration under the reign of Louis XVIII., made a sinister impression on the protestants of the Garde, which was increased by the violent expressions of the catholics. It followed, that when, after the landing of Buonaparte, the department furnished two thousand catholics to the army of the Duke of Angouleme, several hundred protestants joined the forces of the Buonapartist General Gilly. It was also alleged by the catholics, that, when the duke was obliged to capitulate, the royal volunteers, who had joined him, were persecuted by their protestant fellow-citizens, expelled from their dwellings, insulted, and even murdered. They computed that three hundred of them, who had been amissing since the convention, had fallen sacrifices to the ancient feud, which had so long wasted the department.

On the 1st of July, a royalist force was again collected at Aigues-Mortes and Beaucaire to act against Gilly, who still commanded for Buonaparte in the department of the Garde. This corps consisted chiefly of catholics; but there were also some protestants, and what is remarkable, a protestant was chosen general. Gilly saw himself obliged to evacuate Nismes, when, under pretext of securing the town, and especially the artillery, a party of royalist volunteers, led by a partisan called Trestaillon, rushed in, and, being joined by the rabble, who are chiefly catholics, commenced a horrid scene of murder and pillage upon the wealthy Huguenots, without distinguishing between the Buonapartists and the royalists of the obnoxious

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sect. The commander, Trestaillon, boasted that he had murdered fourteen protestants with his own hand; and the scene, though on a smaller scale, too much resembled that of the infamous St Bartholomew. Most of the protestants quitted the town, and many assumed arms in their own defence, and were joined by the peasants of their own persuasion from the remote vallies of the Vannage, the Gardonnesque, and the Avennes.

The disorder occasioned by these violent proceedings, was of long duration. Houses were burned, and lives taken on both sides; but the protestants, now the weaker party, were by far the greatest sufferers. Mons. de Calviere, the prefect of the department, with the Count de la Garde, a loyal and highly esteemed officer, who commanded for Louis in the district, in vain endeavoured to stop these disorders. General Neipperg was compelled to employ moveable columns of the Austrian troops to disarm both parties. At length the king sent the Duke of Angouleme into the south, to stop, by his authority, the horrors of this religious war.

Nov. 4. He arrived at Nismes, used his utmost exertions to appease the minds of the inflamed factions, honoured with every mark of public approbation General de la Garde, who had been active in restraining the excesses of the royalists, and thus contradicted the report that there were members of the royal family who regarded their criminal disorders as good service to the king. Before the departure of the prince, a deputation of the reformed religion obtained an audience, and petitioned for the liberty of re-opening their temples. His royal highness not only acquiesced in their demand, but expressed his surprise and dissatisfaction at the conduct of those who should have so far mistaken the paternal intentions and the liberal principles of the government, as to have necessitated their temporary disuse of public worship. On leaving the town, he commanded Gen. de la Garde to see his promises fulfilled. The character of this officer ought to have inspired confidence into both parties; for, on the one hand, he was a determined loyalist, and, as such, had emigrated at the very commencement of the revolution, and a second time expatriated himself during the return of Buonaparte; and, on the other hand, his zeal for the king's service was tempered with good sense, liberality, and a respect for the rights of his fellow citizens.

But immediately on the departure of the Duke of Angouleme, new violences broke out in the disturbed departments. A body of royal volunteers repaired to the *Nov.* 8, Pont de Lunel, to pay their respects to the duke, and to offer their services. In passing through the town of Calvisson, of which the inhabitants are chiefly protestants, they shouted, *Vive le Roi! A bas les Buonapartistes!* The people replied with shouts of *A bas les Brigands!* As the royalists passed through Calvisson, on their return in the evening, (having been dismissed by the duke of Angouleme, with thanks for their offered services,) the quarrel betwixt them and the inhabitants of Calvisson came to blows, in which skirmish the catholics were worsted, one man killed and many wounded. This affair gave rise to new fermentations at Nismes. The protestant women wore sprigs of laurel, in honour, it was alleged, of this petty victory of their party at Calvisson; but more probably as a mark of triumph at re-opening their churches. The catholic rabble arose and attacked the Huguenots in the streets, while another party rushed to the protestant place of worship, which

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had formerly been a catholic church. The congregation was insulted, the worship interrupted, and the most shameful disorders committed.

The Count de la Garde called out the troops, and hastened to the spot to restore good order. This excellent officer was personally obnoxious to the rabble, from the exertions he had made on former occasions to protect the Huguenots, and particularly by his activity in arresting and securing Trestaillon, who had been the leader of the catholics in the former atrocities. While endeavouring to persuade the mob to disperse, he struck with the flat of his sword a fellow who was particularly insolent; the ruffian fired a pistol by which La Garde received a wound which had nearly proved mortal This desperate attempt to assassinate the king's officer, while acting in protection of the public tranquillity, at length called forth the energetic exertions of the royal government, disgraced by the conduct of banditti, who affected to be guided by a fanatical zeal in the cause of the king and catholic church. Troops were quartered at Nismes in numbers sufficient to enforce the preservation of the public peace, and an ordinance of the king directed proceedings to be commenced against the promoters and abetters of these tumults, as well as against the assassins of General de la Garde. The tranquillity of the disturbed districts was thus gradually restored.

Nov. 21.

The report of these transactions made a strong impression on the public mind in Great Britain, and meetings were called in different parts of the kingdom to express the sympathy of the British people with the sufferings of those of their persuasion in France, and to request the interference of government with the restored King of France for protection of the protestants. As political party mingles itself in this country with public feeling of almost every kind, it was observed that the desire of fixing some blame upon the new government of France heated the zeal of many, although it would be unfair to doubt that they were also animated by sincere zeal for the professors of the reformed faith. The meetings, therefore, were numerously attended while they confined themselves to votes of censure and remonstrance, but when a subscription was opened for behalf of the sufferers, it filled slowly: the amount, we believe, was trifling, and the alarm for the protestant cause was observed to subside into indifference.

There was, indeed, great injustice in throwing upon Louis XVIII. and his ministers, evils which arose from the distracted state of the country. His power during the first period of his restoration was so limited by circumstances, that he had hardly the power of commanding in his own palace, much less that of settling the affairs of a distant and distracted province. So soon as Louis had the means of doing so, his conduct plainly shewed, that, though a sincere catholic, he respected liberty of conscience, and was sensible of the advantages of toleration.

While the fanaticism of the royalists agitated the south of France, with La Vendee, Limosin, and Poitou, the eastern frontiers, including Alsace, Lorraine, the three bishopricks, Ardennes, Champagne, Burgundy, Franche Compté, and Dauphiné, presented a danger of another description. A moral opposition to the royal government was almost universal in these provinces. In others, the parties were more equally balanced; but, in general, to use the words of the Abbé de Salgues, "never since the cruel epoch of 1793, did the provinces of France present a more revolutionary aspect: never did the multitude, the eternal

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sport of factions, the sanguinary instrument of all the chiefs of revolt and anarchy, display a more eager disposition to insurrection and violence. Never was the poison of calumny infused with greater care, or the fire of discord fed with more zeal and perseverance."

The central provinces were restrained by their neighbourhood to the seat of government, and by the presence of the allied troops. But the capital was in great agitation, chiefly in consequence of the great number of officers and soldiers belonging to the army of the Loire, who, in spite of all orders to the contrary, repaired thither in numbers, and took every opportunity of quarrelling with and insulting the royalists, the king's body guard, and the officers of the allied armies.

In the midst of this tumult, it seemed at one time as if the disaffected were about to make some strange and desperate effort for a general explosion. In the gardens of the Tuilleries, and amid crowds of royalists of the inferior order, who assembled each night to dance under the king's windows, cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were frequently heard; and, notwithstanding all the martial preparation of the allies, there were indications of a tendency to tumult among the inhabitants of the suburbs. In addition to the English and Prussian troops, which already occupied the strong posts of Paris, thirty thousand Russians, the selected force of the emperor's fine army, entered the city, and, after defiling in long procession before the allied sovereigns, took up their quarters in Paris and its vicinity. The King of France also employed some measures of intimidation.

It had long appeared to the spectators of this extraordinary scene, as if the slowness of Fouché's police to take any steps in consequence of the proclamation of the 24th July, encouraged the disaffected to believe the list of attainted persons then published to have been drawn up merely for the purpose of striking terror; but without the government meaning, or, to speak more properly, daring, to bring any of the accused persons to arrest and trial. Suddenly, as if to contradict such rumours, the public learned that Labedoyere, remarkable for having been the first to adopt the cause of Buonaparte after his landing, and the last to defend him after his abdication, had been seized in Paris, and was to be brought to trial. This enthusiastic Seid, so called because his fanatical attachment to Buonaparte bore a resemblance to that of the character so named to the false prophet in Voltaire's tragedy of Mahomet, had been for some time with Excelmans' division of the army of the Loire, and upon its hoisting the white flag, had returned to Paris, in order, as was suspected, to communicate with those attached to his party on the means of accomplishing an insurrection, or, as he himself alleged, to find the means of transporting himself to America. No proof of new machinations, however, was offered on his trial before the council of war, which turned entirely on the part he had played at Grenoble in the preceding month of March, when he showed the first example of open defection from the royal cause. This charge would admit neither of defence or palliation, and the accused hardly attempted either. He allowed that he might possibly have been misled by illusions, by old recollections, by false ideas of honour, and that his notions of patriotism might have been chimerical. But when he attempted to ground an exculpation on the conduct of Louis XVIII. and his ministry before the arrival of Buonaparte, the court refused to permit him to enter into matter foreign to

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his exculpation. The facts charged being clearly established by proof, General Labedoyere received sentence of death accordingly. It was executed, notwithstanding the intercession of his wife, who threw herself at the king's feet; and notwithstanding also of a sort of extenuating apology, which appeared in the Independent, a paper conducted under the auspices of Fouché himself. This apology ingeniously urged in the criminal's behalf, that "still young, he had never served except under the colours of Napoleon. He had known Louis XVIII. only ten months. The first sovereign, whose abdication appeared to him only a sacrifice dictated by necessity, re-appeared suddenly before him. A habit contracted during fifteen years of considering the emperor, whom all the monarchs of Europe had acknowledged, as his legitimate chief, resumed all its force. It awakened affections which had been but ill extinguished. The illusion of the military glory—of the former power of the prince, rendered in the eyes of some of his partisans greater by his misfortunes and his exile, acted on an ardent and elevated imagination, which easily fancies the dictates of duty to be obeyed, even at the very moment in which the most sacred of duties are trampled on. It must be confessed, it was added, that the multiplied vicissitudes of our revolutions, and frequent changes of government have shaken, and have sometimes had the effect, during these 25 years, of rendering doubtful in France the notions of morality on the legitimacy of princes and the fidelity of subjects."

But while these facts are admitted, it ought to be remembered that the welfare of society depends upon repressing crimes against the state, without regarding the motives by which those who engage in them may have been misled; that the defection of Labedoyere was contrary to the oath he had taken; and that if the doctrine of allegiance had become vague and doubtful in France, it was of the last consequence that it should be confirmed by a solemn example. So soon, therefore, as the sentence of Labedoyere was confirmed by the Court of Revision, to whom he appealed, it was carried into execution. The criminal was conducted in a carriage to the plain of Grenelles, and there shot by a detachment of gens d'armes. He died with great firmness; and although, while it is a crime for a soldier to betray his trust, or a subject to rebel against his sovereign, his execution must be considered as amply deserved; yet his youth, high courage, enthusiastic disposition, and handsome person, together with his falling the first victim of a crime which had included so many thousand accomplices, attracted much compassion. *August* 19.

Some weeks afterwards, two subordinate agents, called Cæsar and Constantine Fouchers, brethren, who had played a distinguished part as marshals de camp and commanders of federates, in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux, were also tried and condemned. They were of the true jacobin breed, as appeared from their bearing testimony at their trial against titles of nobility and distinctions of rank, and are said amply to have deserved the distinction which selected them as objects of punishment, by the severities they had exercised on the royalists of Bourdeaux. They refused (as became their sect) all consolation offered them from religion, and walked arm in arm to the place of execution, with the air of serenity and firmness. They would not allow bandages to be *Sept.* 28.

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tied over their eyes, and one of them gave the signal for the execution.

These examples, but especially that of Labedoyere, struck terror into the disaffected, and restored to Paris the appearance of tranquillity. Here, therefore, Fouché's policy would have induced him to halt and temporize with the other persons included in the edict; but he was on the eve of losing the power of protecting those with whom he had acted. The king, by the advice of Talleyrand, had lost no time in summoning a meeting of the Chamber of Representatives, and the temper of the members deputed to serve in that body, occasioned a great change in the cabinet of the Tuileries.

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CHAP. XIX.

The Royalists attack the Ministry,—and prevail.—The Chamber of Deputies is assembled—Its Character.—Talleyrand and Fouché resign—Their alleged Reasons.—A new Ministry is appointed.—Arrest of Ney.—The Court-Martial declares itself incompetent to try him.—He is tried by the Chamber of Peers, and found Guilty of High Treason.—Attempts to save him—His Execution.—Severities inflicted on France by the Allied Armies.—Dispersion of the National Museum.—Treaty of Peace—Its Conditions.—Speech of the King on opening the Sittings of the Chamber of Deputies.

THE parties of France, so far as they were avowed and ostensible, were now again merged into two. The first was that of the royalists, to whom late events had given considerable additions—the second that of the constitutionalists, with whom must now be numbered the late imperialists and republicans, neither of which factions were longer in condition to exist as a separate party. The views and politics of these parties were decidedly opposed to each other.

The royalists clamorously demanded the punishment of those who had been most guilty in the late rebellion. They insisted that the infliction of just and legal punishment upon a few leaders would at once intimidate the remains of the disaffected, now so loudly insolent, and put a stop to the private and unauthorized acts of revenge which were practised in the south. They affirmed, that a real and effectual amnesty must be preceded by the punishment of the principal culprits, and that the doctrine of the oblivion of the past, which had been preached up for five and twenty years, had been for that long space of time the regular signal for fresh miseries; that, pronounced after the first disorders of the revolution, this forbearance had led to the murders at Avignon, from thence to the massacres of September, and from thence to the death of the king. "The revolution," they said, "would never have been so fruitful in crimes, had it not been also fruitful in pardon and amnesty." The proclamation of the 24th of July was, in the eyes of these zealous royalists, an incomplete list of a very few principal criminals, most of whom had been permitted to elude, by flight, the punishment due to their crimes, while it was proposed as the boundary of public vengeance, and thus formed a screen for others not less guilty than those whose names were

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inserted in it. A complete purification of the bureaux, or public offices, was the next measure which they demanded. If the authority of prefects and sub-prefects were reposed in the hands of true loyalists, it was urged that early reports would be obtained of the manœuvres attempted by the discontented. Above all, they demanded a change of ministry in the higher departments, and a dismissal of these statesmen who had served Buonaparte until Fortune turned her back upon him. This class of versatile politicians, whom Cardinal du Retz termed the humble servants of events, might be, they said, the saviours of the country one day, and yet stand prepared to destroy it the very next.

These last observations were particularly urged against Fouché, and they were followed up by remarks more pointed and personal. The former character of this statesman was brought forward in all its atrocity. "By selecting Fouché as his minister," said one of these politicians, "the king has revealed one thing to us—which is, that he thinks the French people really guilty of the crimes committed in their name, and particularly of the greatest of all, since he does not think that we have a horror of those crimes and the authors of them." It was also strongly urged, that Fouche's past life was in opposition to his present situation; that his private friendship and affections were at war with his duty as a minister; that he could not with decency prosecute other criminals for an offence in which he had cordially joined them; that, upon comparing what he had been with what he now was, and his past relations with the present, it appeared that, if endowed with any feelings of decency, he could not in a moment abandon his former principles and party, his connections and his habits; or, if he could do so, that his conduct ought to inspire suspicion and disgust, rather than confidence. His versatility was the worst possible pledge for his fidelity, and it was not probable that his duty would be well performed, when, in order to do so, he must renounce all obligations previously contracted; since it is difficult to be just, when justice must fall on our own friends and accomplices. Talleyrand (although he had not joined the usurper during the last invasion) had little more quarter. His reputation was said to consist in exaggeration and quackery. "Under the directory and the emperor, it was the great victories of the French arms," said these reasoners, "and not the talents of the minister, that simplified the negociations, and laid Europe at the feet of France." Upon the whole, they urged it as a most distressing prospect for France, that the statesmen who had the greatest share in creating the public misery, should now pass for being the only ministers capable of repairing them.

These arguments were urged on all hands by those most attached to the king's person, and by the members of his own family. They received weight from the continued disturbances of the country and increased audacity of the agitators, which seemed to imply that the lenient measures hitherto employed by the recommendation of Fouché and Talleyrand had been far from attaining the end which the king had proposed to himself. The proclamation of the 24th of July had, excepting in the solitary case of Labedoyere, passed for a dead letter. Most of the persons named in it were already out of reach; and as to the decree of banishment, many of those to whom it related were seen openly in Paris long after its appearance. This was so far from obtaining the king any credit for lenity, that it exposed him to the

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odious suspicion of desiring a revenge, which was frustrated by the inactivity of his minister, and of being supposed at once weak, timid, and implacable. The change of ministry, which the king was thus induced to meditate, was hastened by the complexion of the Chamber of Deputies, which were now soon to commence their sitting.

The king had assembled this body by a summons as early as the 13th July, in which, referring to the Chamber, when it should be assembled, the permanent laws of elections, his majesty made some provisional regulations, extending the national representation to 396 in number, and the qualification was fixed at the payment of 1000 francs of contribution. The highness of this qualification was favourable to the court candidates; for both the persons of the law, the higher orders of commerce, and what remained of the old landed proprietors, were favourable to the king, while the majority of inferior citizens, retail-dealers, and smaller land-holders, were chiefly attached to the revolution, through which these ranks had been the chief gainers. But above all, the presidents of the various electoral colleges had been chosen by the king, with a cautious eye to the loyalty of their principles. Much, necessarily, depended upon their influence as returning officers, and as it was warmly exerted in favour of the royal party, the Chamber of Deputies was soon understood to be of that complexion. A number of new peers also, chosen from the royalist party, had been introduced to fill up the higher Chamber, diminished by such as were deprived of their honours by accepting of the same dignity under Buonaparte. The king had declared the peerage hereditary, which at once gave it a dignity and consistence, and rendered it more devoted for the time to his family. The ministers, therefore, had little support to expect from that assembly, any more than from the Representatives, if deserted by the king.

Talleyrand and Fouché did not think it prudent, and perhaps the latter did not consider it as altogether safe, to retain their character of ministers till the Chamber commenced its sessions. It was already understood that there would be some proposal to include Fouché among the persons whom it was intended to subject to punishment; and that neither his having served the king in the capacity of minister of police, nor the royal declaration, that no more names should be added to the list of 24th July, would be admitted to screen him. He resigned to the king his ministerial office, assigning a reason which formed a strange contrast with the earlier part of his political life. "It was proposed," he said, "to support the throne by terror; he could not, and would not, be the agent of such a system." To break his fall, Fouché was nominated the French envoy to the court of Dresden.

Talleyrand, and others of the ministry, also gave in their resignation; and a letter, containing their reasons for this step, was soon afterwards made public. It called to the king's remembrance the desperate state of the kingdom when they had undertaken the charge of public affairs, and the zealous efforts they had made in the king's service. They charged the royalists with fanatical violence, and alleged that the party terming themselves such would prefer the sacrifice of the peace, the glory, the strength, and political existence of France, to seeing her free and happy under a liberal constitution. "It had been their wish," they said, "to have given such a direction to the king's government as would have united all Frenchmen in love, honour, and obedience to the king. But they were impeded by the ignorance, pas-

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sions, and prejudices of those who surrounded the monarch. They found their plans thwarted by the adoption of measures in which they did not participate, and by the excitation of the royalists in the southern provinces, whom they were not permitted to suppress. The Duke of Otranto (a circumstance strangely quoted as an act of service to Louis,) had disarmed la Vendee while Napoleon still reigned, and now it was again in arms. The minister of war refused to send troops to suppress the insurrection, and it was intimated to them as the intention of the court that it should not be opposed. We cannot," they proceeded," conceal from you, sire, that these attacks are levelled at your throne; you suffer legitimate authority to be despised, and the authority of faction supplies its place. Factions produce revolutions, and those who triumph to-day may be overthrown to-morrow; your throne will no longer have even the support of their illegitimate authority. Your ministers, always devoted to your person, still endeavoured to oppose this re-action; the princes of your house, the nobles of your court, designated as crimes, and as attacks upon your crown, their efforts to restore order and submission to the laws; we lost all influence with your majesty; we became guilty in the eyes of the nation.

"The elections were made; a factious minority directed them; that minority alone is represented. The choice which they recommended to your majesty for the Chamber of Peers indicates the same spirit.

"Ministers without authority, a prey to the persecutions of the court, without support in the public opinion, exposed to the opposition of the Chambers, what should we be able to reply to the clamours of the people, when at length they shall demand the reason for so many calamities?"

They next adverted to the severe terms upon which the allies insisted, in virtue of private treaties between them and Louis, of which the ministers had been suffered to remain ignorant. "The articles demanded," they said, "would consummate the ruin of the nation; it became them not to give an assent which would have rendered them culpable to France. Since your majesty," they concluded, "has confided authority to our hands, we have constantly been without the power of doing good,—without the power of preventing evil. Our opinions have no influence; the cabals of your court have prevailed. We have to obey, through respect to your majesty, and to sanction by our signature, acts which we disapprove. We would have sacrificed our lives to save your majesty and the country, but those who are near your majesty know that the revolution which they would excite would surround the vessel of the state with new perils; that they would give to factions to whom you are opposed the means of seeking a resting place beyond the legitimate authority of your majesty; that they would raise pretenders to the throne where you are seated. It is not by means of a faction that your majesty ought to reign, but by a constitution,—by a royal prerogative, recognized and established. Let that faction tremble and suspend their efforts to substitute passion in their place. Their agents would be the first victims, and they would cause the greatest misfortunes to your majesty."

In this manifesto of the displaced ministers of France there was some undeniable truth, but there was also much of the usual cant of statesmen, who wish to represent the safety of the country as essentially connected with their remaining in power. Although Louis was deprived of the services of Talleyrand and Fouché, it did not follow as a necessary consequence that he

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should throw himself headlong into the passionate councils of the princes of his family. It seems, on the contrary, as if he had wisely sought counsellors, who, if inferior in experience to those who had just resigned, might have been more deserving of confidence; and who might enforce severity where it was necessary, without being charged with inconsistence, or indulge in lenity, without the possibility of its being imputed to selfish or to partial motives. The choice of the new ministers was a pledge of the royal intentions.

The Duke of Richelieu was placed at the head of the administration, who, noble by birth and connections, and possessing, therefore, an interest with the pure royalists, was a man of sound sense, knowledge of the world, and liberal principles, unlikely to sacrifice to ancient prejudice or superstition the peace and happiness of the country. He became minister for foreign affairs; Des Cazes, minister of police; Barbé-Marbois, minister of justice; and Corvetto, minister of finance; all belonging to the moderate or constitutional party. All three had been employed under Buonaparte, and could not be supposed favourable to a system of re-action. The political character of Clarke, (Duke of Feltre) promoted to the situation of minister at war, was different. He was believed to incline to the royalist party. Dubouchage, minister of the marine, and Vaublanc, minister of the interior department, were both decided royalists. The ministry thus composed, under a premier of sense and moderation, was supposed to have a character sufficiently royalist to make it acceptable to the Chamber of Deputies, with as many checks, at the same time, as might enable them to avoid the opposite extreme of a re-actionary spirit, directed against all the consequences, good and bad, that have arisen from the revolution.

While these changes were meditated, other circumstances announced that the time of indulgence towards state prisoners was passed, and that of vigour and severity had taken place. Marshal Ney, who was on all hands regarded as one of the most guilty of those who had figured in the revolution of 20th March, had been arrested at the chateau of Bessonis, near Aurillac, which belonged to some relations of his wife. A singular circumstance led to his apprehension: Buonaparte, whose favours were destined to be dangerous to him, had, on his return from Egypt, presented Ney with a sabre of exquisite beauty and workmanship. Murat alone possessed a weapon of the same form and elegance of mounting. This remarkable sword being left upon a sopha in one of the public rooms, was remarked by a chance visitor at the chateau. He described it on his return to some persons of his acquaintance, who, knowing the weapon from his discourse, immediately affirmed either Murat or Ney must be concealed at Bessonis. The local authorities learned the rumour, and caused Ney to be arrested, whom otherwise *August 5.* Fouché's police would probably never have disturbed.

An order of the minister of war appointed him to be tried by a military tribunal, consisting of marshals and lieutenant-generals. Amongst these, Moncey, Duke (as he was called) of Cornegliano, refused the embarrassing duty of acting upon the court-martial. An ordinance of the king deprived the recusant of his dignities, and condemned him to three months imprisonment. A court was appointed, of which Jourdan was president; Massena, Mortier, and Augereau, with Generals Gazan, Claperede, and Villate, the members. The public already anticipated the favourable issue of a trial, where most

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of the judges had more than one reason for feeling in common with the prisoner. To the surprise of all, Marshal Ney declined the authority of the court-martial, and requested to be judged in conformity to the ordinance of the king of 24th July. The court-martial, by a majority of five
Nov. 9. to two, declared themselves incompetent to the task imposed on them, glad, perhaps, to have gotten rid so easily of an office, in discharging which it would have been difficult for them, placed as they were, to have reconciled their feelings to their duty. It is not so easy to judge what could be the motives of the accused, in declining a court where he might assuredly have expected considerable favour.

Two royal ordinances appeared immediately, one of which appointed the Chamber of Peers to proceed to the trial of Marshal Ney, as a peer of France, accused of high treason; and the second provided the rules and forms to be used on the occasion. All previous obstacles being thus removed, this celebrated soldier was at length brought to trial before the
Nov. 21. Chamber of Peers. Accused of the same crime with Labedoyere, his conduct shewed the difference betwixt the feelings of a man who has committed such an act from enthusiasm, and one who had, against his own conviction of his duty, fatally yielded to the temptation of the moment. Ney confessed his error with a humility that approached to meanness: He had been misled, he said, but he was incapable of voluntary and premeditated treachery. Since he had yielded to the culpable weakness of the time, he had not enjoyed a moment's peace of mind. He had often meditated blowing out his own brains, and almost regretted he had not adopted that desperate remedy. This contrition availing nothing, he endeavoured to shelter himself under that article of the capitulation of Paris, which promised, that no one should be molested on account of political opinions. It was replied, that these conditions were granted by the allies in their own name, and were only intended to regulate their own actions, but that the Duke of Wellington and Prince Marshal Blucher pretended to no right of pardoning the state crimes committed against the King of France, nor did they mean to extend their protection to such criminals as were within the walls of Paris, beyond what was necessary to protect them from military violence. This plea being therefore repelled, the unfortunate Marshal was directed to hold himself ready to expiate his guilt by a violent death.

Efforts were made to save Ney's life, by an attempt upon the prison of the Conciergerie, where he was confined; and by invoking the interference of the Duke of Wellington, in favour of a man forsaken, as it were, by the whole world. The British general did not think himself entitled to act as mediator between so great an offender and the prince whom he had betrayed. Every door of hope was now closed. The sentence of death being read to the criminal, he interrupted the speaker as he detailed his rank and titles—"Michael Ney," said he, "and presently a heap of dust—that sums it all." A Vendean grenadier of La Roche Jaquelein's army reminded him of religious duties: "I have been in many battles," said the veteran, "and always fought the better of having made my peace with God." The Field-Marshal yielded to the suggestion, and sent for a confessor. When the fatal moment arrived, he was transported in a coach to the gardens of the Luxembourg palace. When he perceived the detachment drawn up for his execu-

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tion, he resumed the dauntless demeanour of the "bravest of the brave," committed his case to posterity, ordered the soldiers to aim straight at his heart, received the fire, and expired. Alas! what can posterity learn from the history of Ney, excepting that great personal courage and consummate military skill may unite in the same character with much political versatility, and a total want of fixed and steady principle.

Lavalette, director of the posts under Buonaparte, was next brought to trial for assuming the exercise of his ancient office the morning after the king left Paris. But his condemnation and escape from punishment, which are connected with the assistance he received on that occasion from three English gentlemen, fall properly under the annals of 1816.

While the King of France adopted these political and judicial measures for the regulation of his government and the intimidation of future offenders, his situation, in relation to the allies, had become painful and embarrassing in the extreme. Nothing could be so strongly contrasted as the manner and conduct of the allied monarchs towards the French at the first and second occupation of Paris. In 1814, the incident resembled the first weeks, or honey-moon, as it is termed, of an union, from which the parties have formed the most extravagant hopes of future happiness. In 1815, the scene was rather like the forced accommodation, by which a couple, who have separated from incompatibility of temper, are compelled once more to take up their residence together. There was doubt, fear, shame, jealousy, and vindictive resentment, to darken, with all their various hues of shade, the political atmosphere of Paris. The allies, on their first entrance, had subjected the metropolis to a heavy contribution. This was followed by others; and the quartering of two large armies, supplied with every necessary at the charge of the country, was a heavy burthen to Paris and its environs, even had the Prussians used the rights of war less severely. As their disposition did not lead them to spare the French, their presence would have been intolerable, but for the strong compulsion of necessity. And although the English did not assume the same licentious exertion of authority, yet their army being supplied by requisitions, the exactions necessary for this purpose were grievously felt by the country. To render the French more impatient, and their king more embarrassed, the allied armies continued to advance into France, to possess themselves by force of some barrier fortresses, and to besiege others, although the garrisons had made a submission (in appearance at least) to Louis XVIII. their ally. The ministers of the French king remonstrated against these encroachments. "The allied sovereigns," they said, "declare that they only made war against Napoleon, and yet all their measures belie their words, since at the present moment, when the war ought to be finished, it is only about to commence. The present position of France is so much the more afflicting, as were war openly declared (which it is not), it is utterly impossible that she could suffer in a greater degree all its evils, and all its horrors. Every where, wherever the armies are (always excepting the English), pillage, fire, rape, and murder, have been carried to their fullest extent; avarice and vengeance have left nothing for the officers or soldiers to desire. To speak with freedom, they exceed even the atrocities of which the French armies have been too often justly accused. These measures can have no other results than to extend the limits of this devastation. The armies spread themselves in our provinces,

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and all the horrors which we have depicted follow in their train."

But the allies replied, that, without doubting the inclinations of Louis XVIII., for whom they professed much regard and attachment, they were determined, on this second occasion, to exact such indemnities and guarantees as should effectually secure both Louis and themselves against the risk of future loss, risk, and disturbance, from the mutability and enterprizing ambition of the French people. The discussing the basis and conditions on which the peace was to rest, added new difficulties to the thorny crown worn by Louis XVIII. As a grateful ally, who had been just restored to the crown by the auxiliary forces of the confederated sovereigns, it seemed ungracious and unbecoming in Louis to cavil at the stipulations which they deemed it necessary to adject to the peace, for his sake as well as their own, while, as an independent monarch, he was bound to resist articles which went to place the country which he was called to rule, entirely at the mercy of foreign powers.

The allied sovereigns, however, had the power, and seemed determined effectually to use it. The French not only groaned under the burthen of free-quarters for eight hundred thousand men, but heavy requisitions, imposed from time to time, were applied to the clothing and subsistence of the troops. Nay, an army of eighty thousand Spaniards, after all opposition on the part of France had long ceased, penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, for the purpose, it may be presumed, of sharing the spoils of the once Great Nation, since no other object can be assigned for their march. The Duke of Angouleme, after much correspondence, convinced these forward assistants that the house of Bourbon had no occasion for their aid, and they, after living for some time at free quarters, retreated across the frontier, with assurances on either side of the highest consideration.

The Prussians had, from the commencement, shewn the greatest severity against the French. The magnificent bridge of Jena was undermined by the order of Blucher the day after the allies had obtained possession of Paris, and would have been blown up but for the earnest interference of the Duke of Wellington. They were also rigorous in exacting requisitions, and were maintained so much to their satisfaction, that they declined to receive the pay due to them by their own state until they should return to their native country;—a patriotic resolution, which prevented France from being benefited by the spending of that money, and at the same time prevented the soldiers from acquiring those bad habits incident to the possession of more than is necessary for their maintenance.

In the excesses imputed to the allies the English had no share. They were exculpated, as we have seen, from the slightest accession to them, even by Talleyrand and Fouché, in the report which accuses the troops of the other powers. They chanced, however, to be called upon to assist in a great act of national justice, more humiliating and more offensive to the pride of the French nation than any injury that could have been offered to them.

The splendid collection of pictures and statues deposited in the great Museum in the Louvre, had been assembled, as the spoils of war, from Italy, Flanders, and Germany, and the proprietors now demanded back those specimens of art, of which they had been unjustly deprived. The French provisional government so greatly apprehended the dispersion of this collection, that they endeavoured to make its integrity one of the conditions of the surrender of Paris. Blu-

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cher replied, that there were in the Louvre pictures belonging to Prussia, which Louis XVIII. had promised, during the preceding year, to restore, and he sternly refused to cede the right of his monarch to the recovery of his property. The French commissioners offered to make the Prussian pictures an exception; upon which the Duke of Wellington replied, that he was there as representative for the other powers of Europe, and could not agree to give up the rights which they also claimed in these fruits of spoliation. He recommended the omission of the article demanded, and the reserving the affair for the discussion of the sovereigns. Early in August, the Prince-Marshal removed, without ceremony, the pictures which he claimed on the part of Prussia and her dependencies; and as they were not of the very first order, little notice was taken of the measure. But

Sept. 11. in the course of the next month, Lord Castlereagh, in the name of the Prince Regent, demanded the restoration of the various master-pieces of art to the countries from which they had been transported. He required, in name of the allies of Britain, more especially the weak and helpless, a restoration of the ornamental spoils which had been rended from them by violence.

"The allied sovereigns," said this spirited representation, "have perhaps something to atone for to Europe, in consequence of the course pursued by them, when at Paris, during the last year. It is true, they never did so far make themselves parties in the criminality of this mass of plunder, as to sanction it by any stipulation in their treaties; such a recognition has been, on their part, uniformly refused; but they certainly did use their influence to repress, at that moment, any agitation of their claims, in the hope that France, not less subdued by their generosity than by their arms, might be disposed to preserve inviolate a peace, which had been studiously framed to serve as a bond of reconciliation between the nation and the king. They had also reason to expect that his majesty would be advised voluntarily to restore a considerable proportion, at least, of these spoils to their lawful owners.

"But the question is a very different one now, and to pursue the same course, under circumstances so essentially altered, would be, in the judgment of the Prince Regent, equally unwise towards France, and unjust towards our allies, who have a direct interest in this question.

"His Royal Highness, in stating this opinion, feels it necessary to guard against the possibility of misrepresentation.

"Whilst he deems it to be the duty of the allied sovereigns, not only not to obstruct, but to facilitate, upon the present occasion, the return of these objects to the places from whence they were torn, it seems not less consistent with their delicacy, not to suffer the position of their armies in France, or the removal of these works from the Louvre, to become the means, either directly or indirectly, of bringing within their own dominions a single article which did not of right, at the period of their conquest, belong either to their respective family-collections, or to the countries over which they now actually reign.

"Whatever value the Prince Regent might attach to such exquisite specimens of the fine arts, if otherwise acquired, he has no wish to become possessed of them at the expense of France, or rather of the countries to which they of right belong, more especially by following up a principle in war, which he considers as a reproach to the nation by which it has been adopted; and so far from wish-

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ing to take advantage of the occasion to purchase from the rightful owners, any articles they might, from pecuniary considerations, be disposed to part with, his Royal Highness would, on the contrary, be disposed rather to afford the means of replacing them in those very temples and galleries, of which they were so long the ornaments."

Whatever might be the internal conviction of Louis XVIII. concerning the justice of what was required of him, the dishonour of yielding up spoils in which the nation gloried so much, and the sense of the unpopularity it would bring on his reign, induced his ministry to evade, as long as possible, compliance with the demand. In the meanwhile, the commissioner of the King of the Netherlands, receiving no answer concerning the paintings of the Flemish school which belonged to his master, required of the Duke of Wellington, as commander in chief of his master's troops, the means of enforcing restoration of his master's property. The duke laid the question before the ministers of the allied monarchs, who judged the request reasonable; and, as all milder applications failed, the pictures were removed under the escort of an armed force. The Italian States, and others, who had been plundered of those treasures of art, now put in their claim for restitution, and the halls of the Louvre were stripped of its most valuable ornaments.

The French might have forgiven the British general the battle of Waterloo and the taking of Paris, but the removal of these pictures, to which they attached so much consequence, as marking at once their long train of conquests, and ascertaining the right of Paris to be termed the first city for the arts, they never can, and they never will, pardon. Every Frenchman, of what political sentiments soever, royalist, imperialist, or constitutionalist, considered the removal of the first paintings and first statues, from the first city in the world, as an act of sacrilege, too horrible to be thought of, or looked upon. The princes of the house of Bourbon shut themselves up in their palace; the connoisseurs shed tears of anguish and resentment; Denon, the celebrated guardian of these ravished treasures, was literally seized with a fit of the jaundice; and the very porters and *crocheteurs* of Paris refused to lend their assistance to remove the subjects of art, though high pay was offered them.

The late ministers of Louis failed not, in a Memorial, which we have already quoted, to hold up this among other aggressions of the allies, as one of the grounds on which, in despair of the safety of the commonwealth, they tendered their resignation. "Foreigners," said they, "possess France as a conquered country; to civil discords they add the ravage of provinces; they dissipate the funds which ought to find their way into the treasury; they devour the provisions of the people, who are threatened with an approaching famine; they carry off the magazines of arms, the ammunition of war, and the cannons from the ramparts of our cities. The white flag floats only over ruins! They despoil us of our public monuments, the tokens of our former glory; they seize the monuments of art, which alone remain to us after twenty years of conquest. It is dishonour, sire, which the people are most reluctant to pardon, and your majesty has remained silent in the midst of all these attacks on the national honour!"

It was easy to reply to this tirade, that three years of defeat had cancelled the claim founded on twenty years of victory; and that their own national vanity, which had ascribed the forbearance of the foregoing year to fear on

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the part of the allies, had now called down this mortifying castigation. But the best exposition of the merits of this question was made by the conqueror of Waterloo.

The Duke of Wellington heard with contempt the absurd and affected clamour which was propagated against him, until it was roundly alleged, that, in being accessary to the removal of these specimens of art, he had broken the convention of Paris, which he had himself ratified. He then *Sept.* 23. made public, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, the grounds of his proceeding, and shewed plainly, that, so far from this property being guaranteed to France by the capitulation, a proposed article to that effect had been refused as inadmissible. The very proposal of such a stipulation argued the sense entertained by the French commissioners of the title of the allies to remove these pictures; and the rejection of that article, not only reserved entire, but greatly advanced their claim. The rest of the letter is in the same style of manly good sense, which characterizes all the duke's compositions.

"The conduct of the allies, regarding the Museum, at the period of the treaty of Paris, might be fairly attributed to their desire to conciliate the French army, and to consolidate the reconciliation with Europe, which the army at that period manifested a disposition to effect. But the circumstances are now entirely different. The army disappointed the reasonable expectations of the world, and seized the earliest opportunity of rebelling against their sovereign, and of giving their services to the common enemy of mankind, with a view to the revival of the disastrous period which had passed, and of the scenes of plunder which the world had made such gigantic efforts to get rid of.

"This army having been defeated by the armies of Europe, they have been disbanded by the united council of the sovereigns, and no reason can exist why the powers of Europe should do injustice to their own subjects, with a view to conciliate them again. Neither has it ever appeared to me to be necessary, that the allied sovereigns should omit this opportunity to do justice, and to gratify their own subjects, in order to gratify the people of France. The feeling of the people of France, upon this subject, must be one of national vanity only. It must be a desire to retain these specimens of the arts, not because Paris is the fittest depository for them,—as, upon that subject, artists, connoisseurs, and all who have written upon it, agree that the whole ought to be removed to their ancient seat,—but because they were obtained by military successes, of which they are the trophies.

"The same feelings which induce the people of France to wish to retain the pictures and statues of other nations, would naturally induce other nations to wish, now that success is on their side, that the property should be returned to their rightful owners, and the allied sovereigns must feel a desire to gratify them.

"It is, besides, on many accounts, desirable, as well for their own happiness, as for that of the world, that the people of France, if they do not already feel that Europe is too strong for them, should be made sensible of it; and that whatever may be the extent, at any time, of their momentary and partial success against any one, or any number of individual powers in Europe, the day of retribution must come.

"Not only, then, would it, in my opinion, be unjust in the sovereigns to gratify the people of France on this subject, at the expense of their own people, but the sacrifice they would make would be impolitic, as it would

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deprive them of the opportunity of giving the people of France a great moral lesson."

During these agitating transactions, the articles of peace, so necessary for all parties, were at length finally adjusted. They were of course dictated by the conquerors, with such modifications as the king could obtain by his personal influence with the allied sovereigns, or through the mediation of the Emperor Alexander, to whom the Duke of Richelieu had access as a valued servant.

The allies assumed, for the basis of the treaty, the principles consecrated by those of Chaumont and Vienna, but they were qualified by stipulations tending to humble the pride of France, to deprive her, at least for some years, of the power of unsettling her own government, or disturbing the peace of Europe, and to indemnify the victors in some degree for the enormous expenses of this wonderful campaign. They were fixed by the protocol of the conference of the 2d of October, in the following terms :—

"1. The boundaries of France, as they were in 1790, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, shall form the fundamental principles of the territorial arrangements, so that those districts and territories of former Belgium, of Germany and Savoy, which, by the treaty of Paris of 1814, were annexed to Old France, shall remain separated therefrom.

"2. Where this principle is departed from, the boundaries of 1790 shall be modified and better arranged, according to mutual conventions and interests, both in regard to civil jurisdiction, so as to cut off inclosed districts, and assign on both sides a more regular territory, and also in regard to military jurisdiction, so as to strengthen certain weak parts of the boundaries of the counterminous countries.

"In conformity to this principle, France cedes to the allies—Landau, Saarlouis, Phillippeville, and Marienburg, with those circles of territory which are more fully laid down in the plan of treaty proposed by the four allied cabinets, on the 29th September.

"Versoy, with the necessary territory, shall be ceded to the Helvetic Confederation, in order to bring the Canton of Geneva in direct communication with Switzerland, and the French line of customs shall be there established in the manner most convenient for the administrative system of both countries.

"The works of Huningen shall be demolished. The French government binds itself to erect no others within a distance of three leagues from Basle.

"France relinquishes her rights to the principality of Monaco.

"On the other hand, the possession of Avignon and the Venaissin, as well as of the county of Montbelliard, and the possession of every other territory which is included within the French lines, shall be anew secured to France.

"3. France pays to the allied powers, by way of indemnity for the expense of their last armaments, the sum of 700 millions of francs. A special commission shall fix the mode, the periods, and the securities for this payment.

"4. A military line of the following 17 fortresses, viz. Conde, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Buche, and the Bridge-head of Fort Louis, shall be occupied by an army of 150,000 men, which the allied powers shall appoint. This army, which shall be placed under the command of a general chosen by these

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powers, shall be wholly maintained at the expense of France.

"A special commission shall fix all that relates to its maintenance, which shall be regulated in the best way for supplying all the wants of the army, and at the same time the least burthensome to the country.

"The longest duration of this military occupation is fixed at five years. However, on the expiration of three years, after the allied sovereigns have weighed the situation of things and of mutual interests, as well as the advances which may have been made in the restoration of order and tranquillity in France, they will come to a common decision with the King of France, whether the above term of years may be shortened."

The payment of 700 millions of francs, or about twenty-nine millions sterling, was supposed to be an assessment sufficient for the punishment of France, though inadequate to repay the expenses of the allies, and particularly of Britain. A sum of one hundred and eighty-seven millions was set apart by the sovereigns, as the expense of fortifying the north-eastern frontier of the Netherlands and Germany. Twelve millions and a half were to be divided among the states of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland, which, though prevented by the rapidity of events from bringing up their troops, were nevertheless parties to the European league. For the corresponding reason, fifty millions were to be equally divided between Britain and Prussia, upon whom the burthen of the war had chiefly fallen. The balance of the contributions being about five hundred millions, was thus divided:—Prussia, Austria, Russia, and England, each were to receive one fifth; and the other states, who had acceded to the treaty of the 25th March, were to receive the remaining fifth, to be divided amongst them, according to the number of the troops supplied by each power.

The sum of fifty millions, fixed for the pay and other necessaries of the army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, which were to continue to occupy a part of France, was to be divided as follows—

Russia, ...	7,142,857f.	16c.
Austria, ...	10,714,285	71
England, ...	10,714,285	71
Prussia, ...	10,714,285	71
The other Allies, ...	10,714,285	71

The Duke of Wellington, well deserving that high trust, was named generalissimo of the allied army; and respecting the nature and extent of the powers entrusted to him, the allied sovereigns declared, that "although chiefly guided with respect to this measure, by motives tending to the safety and welfare of their subjects, and being very far from having any intention of employing their troops in aid of the police, or of the internal administration of France, or in any manner that might compromise or interfere with the free exercise of the royal authority in this country, the allied sovereigns have, however, in consideration of the high interest which they take in supporting the power of legitimate sovereigns, promised to his most Christian Majesty to support him with their arms against every revolutionary convulsion which might tend to overthrow by force, the order of things at present established, and to menace, also, again the general tranquillity of Europe. They do not, however, dissemble, that in the variety of forms under which the revolutionary spirit might again manifest itself in France, doubts might arise as to the nature of the case which might call for the intervention of a foreign force; and feeling the difficulty of framing any instructions precisely ap-

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plicable to each particular case, the allied sovereigns have thought it better to leave it to the tried prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington, to decide when and how far it may be advisable to employ the troops under his orders, always supposing that he would not in any case so determine, without having concerted his measures with the King of France, or without giving information as soon as possible to the allied sovereigns, of the motives which may have induced him to come to such a determination."

Such being the regulations respecting the requisitions made upon France, it only remains to notice the effect of the other articles of the treaty. Landau, Saarlouis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, are all places of strength and importance, particularly the three first, which lie conveniently to forward any plans which France might entertain of foreign aggression. To the sixteen fortresses which were destined for temporary occupation, the allies had proposed to add Lisle and Strasbourg, but desisted in consequence of the earnest remonstrances of the French monarch. There is, indeed, little doubt that, but for the good will the allied sovereigns bore to Louis XVIII., the necessary delicacy towards him, the desire to give him respect in the eyes of his subjects, and the wish to establish a solid peace, France would have been compelled to restore the conquests of Louis XIV., as well as those of the Republic and Buonaparte. As it was, the campaign of 1815 and the battle of Waterloo lost to France the temporary possession of her whole defended frontier from Cambray to Alsace, and put the keys of the kingdom in possession of foreigners, enabling the army of occupation, on any occasion of necessity, to march straight to Paris without opposition.

The treaties or conventions establishing this memorable treaty were four in number;—one for establishing peace between the allied powers and France; the second relating to the occupation of the fortresses, and the subsistence of the troops by whom they are to be occupied; the third fixed the amount of contributions, and aranged the mode of raising and paying them; the fourth ascertained the time and mode of paying the foreign creditors of France. Their effect on the public mind in France will be best conceived by the tone of the King's speech to the Chamber of Deputies, when he opened their session on the 17th of October:

"Gentlemen—When last year I assembled the two Chambers for the first time, I congratulated myself upon having by an honourable treaty restored peace to France. She began to taste the fruits of it; all the sources of public prosperity were re-opening, when a criminal enterprise, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, arrested their course. The evils which this ephemeral usurpation caused our country deeply afflicted me; yet I ought to declare here, that had it been possible to affect none but myself, I should have blessed Providence. The marks of affection which my people have given me in the most critical moments, have consoled me in my personal sufferings; but those of my subjects, of my children, weigh upon my heart, and in order to put a period to this state of affairs, more burthensome even than the war itself, I have concluded with the powers, which, after having destroyed the usurper, still occupy a great part of our territory, a convention which regulates our present and future relations with them. It will be communicated to you without any restriction, as soon as it has received its last formality. You well know, gentlemen,

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and all France will know, the profound grief I must have felt; but the very safety of my kingdom rendered this great determination necessary, and when I took it, I felt the duties it imposed upon me. I have ordered that there should this year be paid, from the treasury of my civil list, into the treasury of the state, a considerable portion of my revenue. My family were no sooner informed of my resolution than they offered me a proportionate gift. I have ordered similar diminutions in the salaries and expences of all my servants, without exception. I shall always be ready to share sacrifices which imperious circumstances impose upon my people. All the statements shall be submitted to you, and you will know the importance of the economy which I have commanded in the departments of my ministers, and in all parts of the government; happy if these measures shall suffice for the burthens of the state. In all events, I rely upon the devotedness of the nation, and the zeal of the two Chambers."

The deep sentiment of affliction and humiliation thus sounded from the throne, was echoed back from all parts of France. Yet such is the temper of the people, that the sensation was manifestly less acute upon the occupation of their country by strangers, and the heavy mulct to which they must look forward for years as a burthen on their agriculture and commerce, than the pangs they had felt at the removal of the Corinthian Horses or the Venus de Medicis.

Before quitting this important subject, the reader may expect from us some general remarks upon the line of policy adopted by Louis XVIII. after his restoration.

The circumstances in which the King of France was placed, were of such unexampled difficulty, that any erroneous measures which he adopted must be considered as matter of regret rather than censure. Perhaps he chose the least exceptionable course, in neither giving way to the headlong zeal of the royalists, nor altogether throwing himself into the arms of Fouché. In the former case, he must have rendered desperate all that numerous and powerful class, who had in various degrees countenanced or yielded to the usurpation of Buonaparte, would have missed the opportunity of subjecting the army to his authority, and in fact given the signal for a civil war of the most rancorous description. On the other hand, by going entirely and without reserve into the measures recommended by Fouché, the king would have lost entirely the confidence and attachment of the royalists, his only adherents who acted upon principle, and thrown himself into the arms of the very party, nay the very men, to whose love of revolution Louis XVI. had sacrificed branch after branch of the royal authority, until they were enabled to approach to and hew down the defenceless trunk. It seems to have been the policy of Louis to steer a middle course betwixt these extremes, to adopt the counsels of the royalists in so far as might strike a wholesome terror into those who trade in revolutions, but to qualify it by showing a slowness and reluctance to use severity, and giving the guilty time and opportunity of making their escape from menaced punishment. Unhappily (for the king's choice was a choice of difficulties,) this course had its peculiar inconveniences, of which it was not the least, that the royal measures seemed irregular and uncertain, and, fluctuating between severity and lenity, kept remembrance of the national guilt and apprehension of its punishment too long afloat in the minds of the people. Even in the ordinary administration of justice, our horror of the crime fades away, and our sympathy

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for the criminal increases, in proportion to the length of time which elapses betwixt the delinquency and its punishment. This is much more the case in respect to state crimes, which, however fraught with mischief to the state, are frequently committed by men otherwise estimable, from misguided enthusiasm or erroneous political principles. In such cases, though we may recognize the justice of the punishment, there is always a natural disposition to sympathize with the misguided sufferers; and when an insurrection has been subdued, and the state is once more settled, men forget the loss which the public has sustained, and justice has an appearance of vindictive persecution. In another point of view, this delay in closing the public prosecutions against the adherents of Buonaparte was of incalculable disadvantage to the king's affairs. It prolonged discussions of every kind upon a painful and humiliating subject, and kept the attention of the French people, vain and irritable as they are, impolitically fixed on the mortifying and feverish consideration of their late grand fault, with its deserved punishment. All have heard the homely story of the sailor, whom his officer had ordered for punishment, and was at the same time admonishing on the nature of his offence. "Sir," said the seaman, "if you mean to flog me, flog me—if you mean to speech me, speech me—but don't flog me and speech me both." The French nation was something in the situation of the poor sailor; their feelings were severely agitated by the prolonged discussion concerning the nature and consequences of their grand act of national defection, and by the state of the proceedings against the principal delinquents, whose punishment was suspended, but not remitted. The result of these feelings was unfavourable to the king, who appeared to hesitate betwixt the desire of vengeance and the fear of taking it. These unfavourable impressions would have been prevented, had the king, after obtaining possession of Paris, found himself able to bring to instant trial and execution such of the principal delinquents as might be selected as the most proper objects of punishment. This blow having been struck, and a few of the most guilty persons condemned to death or exile, the subject should have been put to rest for ever by a general and unconditional amnesty, which ought to have been disturbed by no further debate or discussion, under any pretence whatsoever. Some such measure, under circumstances which might have shown that it flowed from lenity, and neither from timidity nor weakness, would have proved a healing balsam to the festering and envenomed wounds which remained so long uncovered and inflamed. But as the great number and strength of the guilty faction seems to have prevented any strong measures against their leaders, the activity and remonstrances of the royalists were sufficient to prevent the adoption of an effectual act of oblivion; and the compromise between the two systems adopted by Louis XVIII., had the fate of most moderate measures. The republicans and imperialists were incensed without being intimidated; the zeal of the royalists for the king's person was cooled, although their animosities and violence remained unchecked and unabated. We repeat, however, that though a better line of policy than that of Louis XVIII. might be easily pointed out, we are far from alleging, that, surrounded as he was by almost insuperable difficulties, it was in the king's power to adopt that firm and steady attitude which is necessary to give the air of justice to punish-

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ment, and of dignity to clemency. In the earlier period of his restoration, his sole efficient force, exclusive of that tendered by the royalists, or the constitutionalists, and which could only be used on their own conditions, was the military strength of the allies, a fulcrum, no doubt, capable at the moment of shaking France to the centre, but of which Louis could not have availed himself without exciting prejudices against him in the mind of his subjects, of more lasting evil, perhaps, than the dangers which a frank application to the allied sovereigns might have enabled him to remedy.

Here, then, as at a great and natural landmark, we interrupt our account of the affairs of France for this year. The history of the proceedings in her legislature and cabinet, subsequent to the opening of the Chambers, will fall naturally under the details of the next year. And devoutly do we hope and pray, that France may at no future period occupy such a disproportionate space of the annals of Europe, as, for her own misfortune, as well as that of other nations, it has been her fate to do for the last quarter of a century.

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CHAP. XX.

Buonaparte's arrival at Rochefort.—His Indecision.—He Surrenders to the British and goes on board the Bellerophon.—Arrival at Torbay.—Arguments respecting the Mode of Treating him.—It is resolved to send him to St Helena.—He protests against the Measure, and threatens Suicide, but is safely embarked and landed on the Island.—Disturbances among the North Country Seamen.—East Indies.—Nepaul War.—Unsuccessful attempt to storm Kalunga, and Death of General Gillespie.—Kalunga evacuated.—Operations of General Ochterlony.—Spirited Resistance of Amur Sing.—His Advice to the Rajah of Nepaul.—Taking of Almerah.—Defeat of Amur Sing, and his Surrender of the disputed Provinces.—Disagreements with the Chinese.—Conquest of Candy.—Reflections.

OUR narrative must now return to the fate of Buonaparte, whom, almost forgotten by the French people, and even by those who had done and dared so much for his sake, we left at Rochefort under the surveillance of General Becker, anxious equally to avoid those toils in which he was enveloped on shore by his late ministers, and the dangers which awaited him, in case of embarkation, from the British blockading squadron.

He entered Rochefort on *July* 3. the day of the capitulation of Paris, and remained six days at the hotel of the maritime prefect, Baron Bonnefoux. Pressed by General Becker and by Bonnefoux to hasten his departure, the day of the king's entry into the capital was that in which he left the shore —— 8. and embarked on board La Saale, a small French frigate, which, with the Medusa, her consort, was destined by the provisional government to escort him to America. The wind was favourable for his voyage, but a British man-of-war, the Bellerophon, commanded by Captain Maitland, lay in sight, and that officer's complete acquaintance with the station, together with the moon being clear and at the full, rendered it impossible that the frigates could escape his vigilance. Napoleon's brother, Joseph, now arrived and informed him of *July* 11. all the events which had taken place at Paris,—the capture of the capital, the dissolution of the provisional commission, and the restoration of Louis XVIII. This was a death-blow to any hopes he might yet entertain of being recalled to power by some unexpected change of circumstances, by the necessities of the provisional government, or the voice of the army. His situation at Roche-

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fort became hourly more precarious; Count Bonnefoux had already hoisted the white flag in that town, an order for the arrest of Napoleon might be instantly apprehended, and his safety, indeed, only depended on the precarious protection of his late minister, Fouché. His first idea was to land on the small island of Aix, which is well protected by batteries, and there to defend himself to extremity,—his next, to effect a secret escape. For this purpose, Buonaparte at one time determined to employ a Danish brig, with two shallops, and at another purchased a small French vessel, hoping she might escape the vigilance of the cruisers in the darkness, or if she were boarded, that he might remain concealed under some obscure disguise. The entreaties of Bertrand and his wife prevailed on Buonaparte to abandon a scheme which seemed hopelessly desperate. His last resource was in negociation. He sent a flag of truce to the commodore of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass to America. The permission, as might have been anticipated, was positively refused. The dangers with which the ex-emperor was surrounded now pressed him more closely. It was almost impossible that an attempt to seize him would not soon be made either by some zealous royalist, or by the constituted authorities. Thus hemmed in by land and sea, he resolved rather to surrender to the arms of England than to abide the consequences of his usurpation of the throne of France. Las Casas and Lallemand were dispatched to Captain Maitland with a proposal that he should receive on board of his vessel Napoleon Buonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of the Prince Regent. They attempted to stipulate for his living at freedom and on his parole in any part of Britain he might chuse; but Captain Maitland, to use his own words, "that no misunderstanding might arise, explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Casas that he had no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort, and that all he could do was to convey Buonaparte and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his Royal Highness should deem most expedient."

Napoleon's condition admitted of no choice. In the morning of the 15th July he left the Isle of Aix under a flag of truce, and about eight o'clock presented on the quarter-deck of the Bellerophon the most mortal enemy of Britain, a captive to her arms. The appearance and dress of this remarkable person are thus described by one of the officers of the Bellerophon, in a letter dated July 24:—"He is about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned with great symmetry and strength; a small, round, and handsome foot. His countenance is sallow, and as it were deeply tinged by hot climate; but the most commanding air I ever saw. His eyes grey, and the most piercing that you can imagine. His glance, you fancy, searches into your inmost thoughts. His hair dark brown, and no appearance of grey. His features are handsome now, and when younger he must have been a very handsome man. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant, but he appears active notwithstanding. His step and demeanour altogether commanding. He looks about 45 or 46 years of age. He dresses in green uniform, with red facings, and edged with red, two plain gold epaulettes, the lapels of the coat cut round and turned back, white waistcoat and breeches, and military boots and spurs, the grand cross of the Legion of Honour on his left

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breast." His address to Captain Maitland was sufficiently dignified. "I am come," he said, "to claim the protection of your prince and of your laws." He showed some arrogance in exacting the punctilious respect due to his former rank, which the British officer, unwilling to be deficient in generosity towards a fallen enemy, and having no order to the contrary, was contented to yield to him.

Delayed by contrary winds on her passage, the Bellerophon did not arrive at Torbay until the 24th of July, so that government had full time to prepare for the reception of this extraordinary prisoner. A letter of the following tenor was forwarded on his behalf to the Prince Regent, immediately on the vessel's arrival:

"Royal Highness,—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality (*m'asseoir sur les foyers*) of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON.

"Rochefort, 13th July."

The Bellerophon was immediately ordered round to Plymouth, with strict orders that no one should be allowed to go aboard as visitors, and that neither Napoleon nor any of his party should be permitted to land. Armed boats performed the service of rowing round the vessel by day and night, and preventing all communication. But beyond their circuit, the bay was absolutely crowded with small craft and boats of every description, filled with those whose curiosity led them to gaze on this remarkable person. Buonaparte seemed to be not insensible to this kind of admiration, or unwilling to gratify their curiosity, and set down to his own account the shouts of the spectators at his appearance, though perhaps they were rather designed to gratulate the triumph of the nation, implied in his being in British custody. Meantime, his further destiny was the object of much speculation.

There was a diversity of sentiment in Great Britain concerning the mode of disposing of this extraordinary prisoner. There was one class of reasoners, who, looking rather at Buonaparte's deserts in time past, than at his present circumstances, or the relation in which he stood to our government, contended that we should best do our duty to Europe by delivering him up to the King of France, to be by him capitally executed. This opinion was entertained and expressed by many, who considered the great moral lesson which such retribution might produce, without sufficiently attending to circumstances, which would have utterly destroyed its effect, and rendered it an act of cruelty, if not of perfidy. The right of the judge to inflict punishment is as essentially necessary to legalize an execution as the demerits of the criminal; nor has it been ever doubted that a murder may be committed on the person of a man, who, if possible, deserved to suffer death a thousand times. Respecting France, Buonaparte held by the treaty of Fountainbleau the character of an independent prince. Whatever his former crimes and usurpations had been, he had subsequently been recognized by Europe (unwisely, indeed, but still formally recognized) as Emperor of Elba, and as such had the right to make war upon, and conquer if he could, the neighbouring realm of France, with the moral guilt, indeed, that attends all wars undertaken to gratify unjust ambition, but without

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incurring any specific penalty by the code of nations. Such is the legal view of the case; but there is one more obvious and natural, which speaks to the feelings of every one. If the French nation, or a large portion of them, were so blindly devoted to Buonaparte as to place him at their head once more, was it to be supposed that he incurred a capital punishment in availing himself of their disposition in his favour? Napoleon had already held the government of France for many years, acknowledged by the sovereigns whom he had humbled, and who were now, in their turn, inflicting on him a lesson of humility. Was it wonderful that he should have endeavoured to resume an authority once so generally recognized in Europe and in France, still longed for by a large body of the citizens and the whole army? If, like Murat, he had undertaken an enterprize desperate and hopeless, and fallen at Cannes or at Grasse into the hands of the government he had attempted to unsettle, there would have been some colour for treating him as a desperate disturber of the public peace. But the number of his faction, as it made his strength and his temptation, made also his apology, and the general error which received him as a sovereign and installed him in the Tuilleries, was, in a court of justice, a sufficient apology for his accepting their homage. It is only in oriental revolutions that unsuccessful ambition is punished with death, nor can we consider Buonaparte taking the advantage of a tempting opportunity to resume his authority, as entitling a rival who could not keep the field against him without foreign aid, to put him to death as the penalty of his failure. His former murders, his tyranny, his unbounded ambition, were covered by the amnesty of Fontainbleau, and the purple robe of the Emperor of Elba.

But if the King of France could not legally punish Buonaparte capitally, still less could Great Britain, in fair and honourable interpretation of his surrender to Captain Maitland, deliver him up to be so placed in danger of his life. It has been indeed adjudged, that where rebels surrender to their own government, the quarter granted to them only insures them from being put to the sword, and by no means against the consequence of subsequent judicial proceedings against them. But the case is different if the surrender is made to the military force of a power different from that which has been offended. In such cases, to deliver up prisoners of war to the vengeance of those who thirst for their blood, has been, in all times, accounted the act of a mean or perfidious government. It was clear that Buonaparte was entitled to claim something by his surrender to the British officer, and the least which could be assigned to him was personal security; but the safety of life and limb, implied in every unconditional surrender, would have been strangely infringed had he been instantly transferred to the French government, to be by them put to death. In fact, no such thing was required at our hands, and the French government, far from desiring to have him delivered up to them, would have been very much embarrassed by such an offer. And however much those who keenly felt the injuries inflicted on Europe by the last usurpation of Buonaparte may have desired to see them expiated, we are certain they would rather that this capital offender had survived for ages, than that a single drop of his blood should sully the fair honour of their country.

Another and far more absurd opi-

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nion was entertained by some favourers of Buonaparte in this country, who imagined that his arrival in Britain conferred upon him all the privileges of a British subject, afforded him the protection of her laws, entitled him to claim his Habeas Corpus, to fix his own residence, and to transfer to England the centre of those intrigues, by which he might in future be able to disturb the peace of the continent. The Morning Chronicle published a letter upon this subject from one Mr Capel Lofft, and stated besides, that "Mr Waddington was desirous of bringing the question before the Common Hall; and he sent a copy of his resolution previously to the Lord Mayor, who probably considered it to be drawn up in terms too strong and violent for public discussion." It is probable that Buonaparte reckoned upon the existence of some such wrong-headed persons in England, when he finally resolved to surrender himself to the captain of the Bellerophon. But foreigners, unused to the general and uninterrupted freedom allowed by our laws to the circulation of opinions of every sort, are apt to consider the reveries of wild and speculative persons, which the daily papers give them an opportunity of intruding on the public, as sentiments seriously entertained by an efficient party having weight in the state. They are ignorant, that, in Britain, the restless and violent politicians who speculate and bluster in the public prints, have but little influence of any kind upon the practical maxims by which the state is managed. Indeed, the sentiments of the people of England, in general, though as subject to constant agitation as the magnetic needle, soon re-assume the polar direction of common sense and sound reason. The crowds who sailed round the Bellerophon, and cheered Buonaparte as he shewed himself on deck, would have done the same honour to the wildest lion in Africa: but would have been equally surprised at an attempt to give the devastating monster the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act. When, therefore, the said Mr Capel Lofft protested that "the intelligence that the great Napoleon will not be permitted to land, and is to be sent perhaps to St Helena, was almost overwhelming to him, though long accustomed to suffer much and to expect every thing;" foreigners were struck mute with astonishment at such extremity of folly, or concluded it must be backed by a strong body of desperate fanatics, ready to bear Buonaparte on their shoulders into St James's or Windsor Castle. But Englishmen, who know well how easily the most absurd sentiments will find crack-brained individuals to support, promulgate, and advocate them, from the mere humour of singularity, only indulged in a hearty laugh at the sentimental distress, the sufferings, and the expectations of Mr Capel Lofft, and the meditated motion of Mr Waddington, which was too strong for the Lord Mayor's digestion. That Buonaparte was a prisoner of war was evident, from his surrender to a captain in the British navy, after his power had been destroyed in a dreadful battle betwixt his forces and those of Britain; and if there is a maxim of public law more clear than another, it is that which puts into the hands of the victorious combatants the power of disposing of the captive enemy who surrenders at discretion. It is a right constantly exercised during a period of hostility. Each nation shuts up its prisoners of war in places of confinement; or if any of them are allowed freedom upon their parole, they are deprived of it and placed under actual restraint the instant it is discovered that their tie of honour is not to be trusted. Buonaparte stood in this latter predica-

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ment. Sad experience had shewn that the most favourable treaty could not bind him as a prince, and that he possessed both means and inclination to renew scenes of confusion in Europe. As a gentleman and a soldier, his word could be still less trusted, since Lefebvre and other officers, who had broken their parole in England, were received by him, not only with impunity, but with favour and preferment. It had been too much his object to disregard and even to deface those points of honourable feeling and sentiment by which the military character is at once dignified and softened, and to sacrifice, on all occasions, faith and honour to instant convenience and advantage. A just, though severe retribution, has rendered him the victim of his own want of faith and indifference to character.

After mature consideration, the ministers of Great Britain, who would have had on their heads all the blood which might afterwards have been shed on this man's account, had they omitted to secure his person when in their power, determined that his future residence should be on the island of St Helena, a place which seemed in a singular degree to combine the necessary quality of absolute security with facilities of exercise and domestic freedom, which could hardly have been united with it elsewhere. It was determined that he should be considered as a captive general, whom circumstances, arising out of his own character and conduct, prevented from being set at large on his parole, but to whom, nevertheless, the British nation was desirous, from a respect to misfortune, to soften captivity as far as it could receive alleviation.

The intention of the British government was communicated to Buonaparte by Lord Keith. It would seem he had buoyed himself up with hopes of being permitted to reside in some part of Britain, whence he might have watched and inflamed at pleasure such causes of irritation as should occur on the continent, or perhaps in Britain itself, and he was furious at the disappointment. He gave his indignation vent in a protest, which, we presume, contains the essence of his cause of displeasure.

"I protest solemnly, in the face of heaven and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person and of my liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. Once seated on board the Bellerophon, I was immediately entitled to the hospitality (*Je fus sur le foyer*) of the British people. If the government, by giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour, and sullied its flag. If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their integrity, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon. I appeal, therefore, to history; it will say that an enemy who made war for 20 years on the people of England, came freely in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they answer it in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him. *Aug.* 4.

"NAPOLEON."

In this morsel of bombastic expostulation, Napoleon assumes, as granted, the very question on which the decision of the justice of the proceed-

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ings of Great Britain depended, by declaring that he came freely on board the Bellerophon; which is no otherwise true than as a criminal may be said to walk freely to the gallows, when the executioners stand by to drag him thither in case he pauses or resists. At Rochefort, he could not stay without falling into the hands of the royalists. On the isle of Aix, he could not remain, for it was neither tenable against force, nor against blockade. He had conceived various modes of escape, and found each and all of them impossible: He had tried to gain a free passage by negociation, it had been refused. He had made an attempt to annex his present proposal of residing as a prisoner at large in Britain, as a stipulated condition of his surrender, and it had been rejected. The absurdity of the charge against the captain of the Bellerophon having spread an ambush for him, is grossly evident. Captain Maitland, with the feelings of an English officer and a man of honour, had given Napoleon's emissary, Las Casas, distinctly to understand, that he was empowered to give him no conditions whatever; and if ever a prisoner of war could be said to surrender at discretion, that prisoner was Napoleon Buonaparte. The doom inflicted on him was indeed more severe than probably would have been imposed on any other individual in similar circumstances: but the severity was that of caution, not of cruelty, and it was rendered necessary by the character of the person to whom it was applied. What attention to his word of honour could be expected from one who had encouraged a breach of parole amongst his own officers, by promoting and distinguishing those who had committed that dishonourable crime? Or why should the British government have trusted, that he whom the treaty of Fontainbleau, with all its advantages, could not restrain from trafficking in his old trade of ambition, would be contented to reside a private and suspected individual in Great Britain, bound only by his verbal engagement, which, in restraining the passions of a tyrant, is, says the eastern proverb, like a band of flax around a blazing faggot?

When the late emperor of France understood that the British government were peremptory in their resolution, and that he was to be removed from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland, commanded by Sir George Cockburn, and destined to convey him to St Helena, he had recourse to one of those mean tricks, which, mixing with and degrading what is grand in his character, have procured for him the apt name of Jupiter-Scapin. He declared publicly, that he would never be removed into the Northumberland alive, and solemnly reiterated his protestation with such an affectation of desperate sincerity, that all who heard him expected some tragical event. The road by which ancient warriors escaped to death from defeat and captivity, is closed against Christians by the Divine command; and far be it from us to censure the losing gamester of ambition, for not adopting the desperate course of the congenial gambler, ruined at the hazard table. We blame only the poor unworthy artifice, by which Napoleon endeavoured to work upon the feelings of those around him, and view, in the meanness with which he quietly sneaked from the Bellerophon into the Northumberland, without any attempt to realize his threats, the disgrace of a detected trickster.

On Monday, 7th August, Buonaparte, with the part of his train who were permitted to attend, being the faithful Bertrand, with Montholon, Las Casas, Gourgaud, and the wives of Bertrand and Montholon, four children, and twelve domestics, were

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transferred to the Northumberland, which instantly set sail for St Helena. They arrived safely at *August* 16. their place of destination, where Buonaparte commenced his future line of life, under the inspection of Sir Hudson Lowe, who had been appointed governor of the island. He was lodged for the time in a villa, which, by a remarkable coincidence, had been for a fortnight the residence of the Duke of Wellington, while the vessel in which he went out to India was lying at St Helena. At the very time when Napoleon was tenant of this sequestered mansion, the Duke of Wellington was in possession of his favourite palace of the Elysee-Bourbon at Paris. The rules to which Buonaparte was subjected, with his mode of confinement in general, became the subject of a debate in parliament at a subsequent period, when they will fall most properly under our consideration.

In the conferences carried on at Paris, there was only one concession made to Great Britain in her national capacity, which was the ratification of her authority as protectress of the Seven Ionian Islands. By *Nov.* 5. a special treaty, to which all the allied powers acceded, these islands were recognised as an independent state, to be governed by a constitution and charter, such as should be adopted with the consent of a lord high commissioner, nominated by Great Britain, the protecting power. Our government, according to recent travellers, had, during the short time it possessed influence in these islands since they were re-conquered, that is from the French, been very beneficial to the inhabitants. Their commerce had already increased, and their revenues, formerly misapplied and abused, had, during the British administration, been devoted to the proper national objects. In another point of view, this arrangement was important, as Russia, already too powerful a neighbour for the Ottoman Porte, would otherwise have acquired a predominating influence in the Ionian republic. And, upon the whole, there was sound national policy in the measure, as it gave Britain a strength and an interest with a people and country, whom late events have once more placed within the scope of European politics, and which, in the course of future events, may have considerable importance in the balance of European power.

Before proceeding to the history of the more remote British settlements during this eventful year, there is one domestic incident of an unpleasing but transitory nature, which claims brief notice from the annalist. The sailors in the ports of the bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland shewed a spirit of insubordination, and a desire to dictate to their employers, which attained an alarming height, although it was altogether unmixed with any political opinions, which so often gangrene and inflame the wounds occasioned by partial and professional discontents.

The paying off so many of the ships of war had occasioned a great influx of seamen at the northern ports, particularly at North and South Shields. The coasters and colliers which daily sailed were unable to give employment to so many hands. Cabals ensued; clubs and daily meetings, processions, with flags and music, and the whole ended in the appointment of a committee of insurgents, and the resolution of the refractory seamen to guard the passage of the Tyne, and suffer no vessel to sail without a permit from the said committee, and being manned in such a manner as they were pleased to prescribe. The navigation of the Tyne was thus strangely interrupted for six or seven weeks, while the attempts of

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the ship-owners to enter into a negociation with the seamen only increased their insolence and confidence of impunity. At length it was found necessary to resist by force this unlawful system of coercion. The military and naval forces were ordered under arms, and, while a body of marines seized the chain or bridge of boats with which the refractory seamen had so long stopped the mouth of the river, a body of regular cavalry and yeomanry made a demonstration to disperse the sailors who had assembled in great crowds on the south side of the Tyne. No resistance was offered, and no lives were lost.

Oct. 21. The military were seconded by five hundred special constables, who were sworn in for the occasion, Sir Cuthbert Heron taking his staff among the first. Most of the committee were made prisoners. After this victory, the ship-owners renewed their offers to take two men and one boy to every hundred ton of shipping, and to give some advance of wages. These terms were now gladly acceded to, and an insurrection, which had at first an alarming appearance, entirely subsided, as the seamen at Blythe, Sunderland, and other ports, immediately followed the wholesome example of submission. It may, indeed, be remarked, that the mutinies of seamen resemble in character those of schoolboys, entered into more frequently from wantonness than from a desire of mischief, sustained with sufficient activity and vehemence while the spirit of the frolic is up, but easily abandoned upon opposition, and seldom leaving any impression of permanent rancour on the minds of those engaged in them.

Ireland had this year her usual proportion of local and provincial disturbances, never to be mentioned without deep regret. This fine island resembles a volcano; the external beauty and fertility are the same, and, like Etna or Vesuvius, the molten lava with which the interior regions are convulsed, bursts out perpetually, though at different craters. In 1815, Ireland was convulsed as usual: the immediate cause of complaint was the tithes, the tithe-proctors, and the exactions of the protestant clergy in parishes where the people were chiefly catholics. The renewed, or rather the continued, atrocities of the banditti called *Carders*, (from their employing wool-cards to torture their victims) occasioned a revival of what was called the Insurrection-Act. Limerick and Tipperary were proclaimed according to the provisions of this law; but the dreadful and premeditated murder of Mr Baker, a highly esteemed magistrate, in the neighbourhood of Cashel, too plainly shewed that even these severe remedies, though they might repress general insurrection, were unable to prevent the system of private murder and assassination, by which the morals of the lower Irish have been destroyed, and their hearts hardened.

The usual debates about the catholic question took place at Dublin, when Lord Fingal declined to take the chair at the aggregate meeting of catholics, and left it to Mr O'Connor, whose opinion admits no compromise short of unqualified emancipation, though the conditions of restriction should be authorized both by the omnipotence of the British Parliament and the infallibility of the Roman See. The further proceedings on this matter (which, however, we regard less as a cause than as a mode of expressing discontent) we shall attempt to combine in a general view in our next year's volume.

The most interesting events in our foreign dominions occurred as usual in the East Indies. Victors over all the nations of Hindostan, the Indian

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empire of Britain now approaches in many points to the natural boundaries of the huge chain of mountains which surround the level plains of India; and becomes, of course, exposed to annoyance from the fierce tribes which inhabit those Alpine regions, whose names and existence were unknown in the days of Clive and Lawrence. Ambition, indeed, need seldom weep for more worlds to conquer, since the success of its own most promising schemes occasions fresh and more extended opposition from the new powers with whom that very success places it in contact.

Nepaul, a mountainous and intricate country, supposed by the natives to be under the immediate protection of supernatural powers, bounds on the north-east the British provinces of Oude and Bahar. This country is inhabited by tribes called Ghoorkahlees, who enjoy the highest character for hardihood and valour, and have all the predatory habits of savage mountaineers. Their depredations, incursions, and murders on the frontiers of the British territories, could not be restrained by mere defensive measures, or endured without disgrace to our arms, and a declension from that high reputation on which our authority in India principally rests. War was, therefore, determined upon by the governor-general, and the armies of Madras and Bengal were ordered to advance close to their respective lines of frontier, Lord Moira himself transferring his head-quarters to Futty-Ghur, in order to be near the scene of action, while a chosen army of thirty thousand men attempted the invasion of the Nepaul mountains, described by a late author as "a territory extending above eight hundred miles, and intersected by assemblages of hills, jumbled together in many forms and directions, sometimes in chains, lying parallel to each other, but of no great extent, and often connected at their termination by narrow ridges, running at right angles across the intermediate valleys. The summits of all are very narrow, and of various forms, while the distance between each range is short; so that the valleys are extremely confined, and not a spot is to be seen in many of them that would afford room for one thousand men in tents. Some of these ranges are covered with forests, and are always verdant; others are naked and stony, neither yielding shelter to the birds of the air nor the beasts of the field.

"Immediately beneath these mountains commences a rich and well cultivated extent of country, with an active and warlike population, of which the tapahs, or cultivators of the land, are the most numerous and formidable."

The British army was destined to enter this difficult country, from separate points, by four divisions. Two of these, commanded by General, then Colonel Ochterlony, and by Major-General Rollo Gillespie, had the task of forcing, at different points, the passes into a valley, called the Deyrah Dhoon, and reducing that part of the Goorkah territory which lies to the west of the Ganges. General Gillespie, accordingly, secured with great promptitude and ability the passes which lead into the Dhoon, or valley, from the west, while Colonel Ochterlony, by a corresponding movement, marched against the principal army of the Goorkahlees, which, under their gallant and experienced leader, or Cazy, Ameer Sing Thappy, occupied an entrenched camp at Irkea, near the Sutledge river. It was the object of General Gillespie, by securing the passes and hill-forts in the valley in the rear of Ameer Sing, to cut off his retreat, when attacked in front by Ochterlony's division, interposing his

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force betwixt him and the mountains of Nepaul.

When General Gillespie penetrated into the Dhoon, he found an unexpected and apparently insuperable obstacle to his further progress, in the strong mountain fort of Kalunga. It had been supposed that this post could be carried by a coup-de-main, and Colonel Mawby, with the advance of the division, had moved against it upon such information. But Kalunga proved to be a fort on the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain, covered with an impenetrable jungle, or thicket, the only approaches through which were commanded by the fire of the place, and secured by stockades. Colonel Mawby, therefore, paused till the arrival of General Gillespie with the main body. The general resolved to attempt carrying the position by storm, as possession of it was almost indispensable to the success of the campaign. Having reconnoitred the position, he determined to make the assault by four columns moving simultaneously upon four different points, a mode of attack which is usually decisive, when the moving columns arrive on their respective points at the same time. The orders which General Gillespie issued upon this occasion give some idea of the difficulties to be encountered in the attacks which have so often cost the lives of the brave in India, and of the deliberate valour and steady discipline necessary to overcome them. The soldiers were exhorted to reserve their fire, to take a cool and deliberate aim, to rely on the advantage gained by a determined use of the bayonet, but at the same time to keep the enemies, who were dexterous in the use of a short sword, at the point of that weapon, and to avoid closing with them. The officers at the head of the columns were required to move deliberately, that the men might be brought up without fatigue or loss of breath, and advance to the storm with the full vigour of high animal spirits and unimpaired physical powers. The strictest silence was recommended; the necessary word of command was to be passed through the ranks in a whisper. When the head of the column was to debouche on the point of attack, a short halt was to be made to gain breath, and form close and compact order. Firing, or stopping to reload, was forbidden, as frequently the cause of severe loss, which might be avoided by an unhesitating and spirited attack. "In case of ambuscade, or surprise," continued these remarkable orders, "a soldier requires all his natural courage; and when he is so situated as to be exposed to such attacks in jungles and narrow pathways, he must predetermine within himself to preserve the utmost coolness. Let emulation actuate all, but corrected by steadiness and coolness,—no breaking of ranks or contention which shall be foremost in the assault,—each column must be a mutual support,—and every soldier, actuated by the principle of cool and deliberate valour, will always have the advantage of wild and precipitate valour."

These orders, which form such a lively picture of the difficulties of Indian warfare, were the last ever issued by General Rollo Gillespie, a tried soldier, of equal spirit and experience. Distinguished for the gallantry and presence of mind by which he had recovered the important fortress of Velore when in possession of the mutinous Seapoys, and by his conspicuous share in the conquest of Java, he was unhappily doomed to close his military career in the assault for which he was now preparing. By some unfortunate delays and miscalculation in point of time, that accident happened which the general had been most an-

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xious to avoid, and one column making the attack before the others, was exposed to the whole resistance of the garrison. The division, in its onset, drove before them a party of the enemy who held a position in advance of the fort, and, pushing them through the village, carried a stockade under the very walls, but without being able to force their way into the place. At this crisis the general himself came up with reinforcements, and stationed two six-pounders within twenty-five yards of the walls. Under this cover the storming party advanced to the charge, but were driven back by an irresistible discharge of grape-shot, arrows, and various destructive missiles peculiar to the Indian warfare. The besiegers' party rallied and renewed their attempt, but with equally bad success. Some extraordinary exertion was necessary to revive the spirit of the assailants, and General Gillespie, who, in leaving the batteries, had declared that he would carry the fort, or die in the attempt, placed himself at the head of the storming party, and, cheering the men with his voice, waving his hat, and pointing with his sword to the gate, led them a third time to the assault. Too obvious a mark to the enemy, he was shot through the heart when within a few paces of the walls; and all hopes of success being destroyed by his death, the senior officer, who succeeded to the command, ordered a retreat. What added to the public sense of this loss was, that, had the two columns which should have attacked on the opposite side of the fort come up to make the expected diversion, there is little doubt that the fort would have been carried. Nay, had it not been the loss of the scaling ladders, which could not be found at the moment of attack, the storming party would most likely have succeeded, as the walls were low, and the defenders were about to abandon the fort when General Gillespie fell. The fourth column, commanded by Captain Campbell, came up in time to secure the retreat of the storming column. The other two divisions never heard the signal for the attack, and consequently never got into action.

Colonel Mawbey, who succeeded to the command, saw the necessity of perseverance in a case where retreat would have greatly affected the British military character. He ordered up a train of battering cannon from Delhi. They arrived on the 24th of November; and in three days effected such a breach as was reported completely practicable. A storming party, headed by Major Ingleby, advanced to the attack; but after being exposed during two hours of obstinate perseverance to a galling and destructive fire of musquetry and matchlocks, they found all their efforts inadequate to carry the place. In the arduous struggle, several brave officers and men lost their lives. The fire was then renewed from the battering guns and mortars, with such vivacity and effect, as to ruin totally the defences of the place, and convince the enemy of the inutility of farther resistance. And, early in the morning on the third day after the attack, the Ghoorkahs evacuated and abandoned to the British the dearly purchased fort of Kalunga, before which had fallen (in killed and wounded) nearly five hundred Europeans, a calamitous loss in the interior of India. The conquest was important, although thus dearly purchased. The English obtained thereby undisputed possession of the Deyrha Dhoon, or Sacred Valley, from which the enemy were completely expelled; but the desperate defence of Kalunga, and the misfortunes which occurred before it, had hitherto deprived Colonel Ochterlony's division

1814. *Nov.* 30.

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of the assistance which he was to have derived from the second division. The plan of the campaign was, therefore, resumed, so soon as Kalunga had fallen; and it was determined to proceed in the combined attack upon the principal Nepaulese army, which, being situated in a strong position to the westward of the Jumna, was separated from the capital and the eastern provinces by the occupation of the Dhoon, through which Ameer Sing had hitherto maintained his line of communication.

In the meanwhile, the division under General Ochterlony made some progress, taking some small hill-forts, and Major Bradshaw reported the surprise of a Nepaulese Subah by one of his divisions, under Captain Hay. The Nepaul chief was slain in single combat by Lieutenant Boileau, who received a deep sabre-wound in the encounter.

The British government were now formally engaged in war with the state of Nepaul, and great efforts became necessary to bring it to an honourable termination. Ameer Sing Thappy, the chief commander of the Ghoorkahs, still occupied a strong position on a chain called the Malown mountains, supported by several strong hill-forts, particularly those of Malown and Thyeka, and by numerous redoubts and stockades. The troops, by which this strong line was defended, were of a character superior to any hitherto exhibited by the natives of India. They had not only all the bravery of mountaineers, but an aptitude to observe and adopt the points of discipline which constitute the superiority of Europeans. Our officers were astonished to find them brigaded and arranged in regular battalions, and to observe that their selected troops were dressed in red, and used muskets and bayonets like the British Seapoys. It is reported that they had even adopted the use of the Shrapnell shells, a species of missile so peculiarly British, that the French themselves, during our long use of them in the peninsular war, never could avail themselves of them. The Ghoorkahs had also a mode of attack peculiar to their own country. Their onset was made by night, supported by small guns brought to the field on the backs of elephants. To all this is to be added, their observance of the strictest discipline.

Sir David Ochterlony, who commanded in chief, made the utmost exertions to straiten and distress the Nepaulese army. With this view, he attacked several of the stockaded posts and carried them. Others, however, failed, with loss. Among the latter, was an unfortunate assault, by the Majors Ludlow and Richards, on the strong fort of Jumpta, a stockaded redoubt, which covered a part of Ameer Sing's position, where the Ghoorkahs took advantage of a brave but ill-timed dash of the charging column to attack them with success, and occasion great loss. *Dec. 27.*

An attack on another stockaded work, by a part of the division of Major-general Wood, was equally unsuccessful; they were repulsed by the enemy, and lost many officers and men. This latter disaster was owing to the treachery of a Brahman guide, supposed to be highly qualified for the task he had undertaken, being the man by whose assistance Mr Buchanan constructed his map of Nepaul. *1815. Jan. 3.*

The Ghoorkah general did not confine himself to defensive measures. The British post of Sumundpore was suddenly attacked by an overwhelming force of Ghoorkahs, with about twenty of their small guns. Captain Blackney fell in defence of the post; and the Seapoys, whom he commanded, gave way, and fell into some confu-

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sion. There was considerable slaughter; the camp and commissariat depôt were abandoned to the enemy, and a retreat was effected with difficulty by the remains of the British force. With the same alert promptitude, the Ghoorkahs attacked and overwhelmed a small British force stationed at Persa-ghurrie, and, after an hour's hard fighting, carried the post, and took a British gun, with all the stores and baggage.

Sir David Ochterlony himself had a specimen of the intelligence and gallantry of the enemy, at the time when these successful attacks were made on his detachments. The British general had determined to attack the fortified position of Ameer Sing Thappy. The Ghoorkah chief foiled the attack, by evacuating two of the points against which it was directed, and concentrating on the third, which was almost inaccessible, such a force as rendered an attempt to storm it highly imprudent. While the British attacking columns were thus occupied, the Ghoorkahs made a sudden and desperate attack, with sword in hand, upon the position of Lieutenant-colonel Thompson, who commanded the reserve; and, although warmly received, and at length beat off with loss, evinced such courage and steadiness, as were entirely new features in Indian warfare.

1814. *Dec.* 29.

Notwithstanding the complicated difficulties offered by the quality of the country, the fortifications with which its natural strength was increased and protected, and the resistance of an enemy, at once skilful, obstinate, and venturous, General Ochterlony, reinforced by troops dispatched by the Governor-General, persevered in opposing his military skill and talent to the circumstances of perplexity in which he was placed. A variety of combined and skilful movements gradually carried stockade after stockade, and fort after fort; successes which straitened the army of Ameer Sing Thappy in his strong position, and cut off in various directions his communication with the rest of the Nepaulese territory. The first important advantage was the capture of a fort called Rhamgur, where the garrison, terrified by the fire of two eighteen-pounders, and a breach which they speedily made in the wall, capitulated to the British,—a fortunate circumstance, as it was strong, both from the impracticable nature of the mountain which it crowned, and the massive thickness of the walls. After this success, the neighbouring Rajahs of Bellaspore set the example of submission, and Ameer Sing Thappy was so much narrowed in his position, that he sent his females and treasures from his fortified station at Kaloure, aware that he must soon either fight or retreat. A body of irregulars, under Lieutenant Young, attempted to intercept this party and the troops who escorted them, but the Ghoorkahs, being reinforced from the neighbouring garrison of Jytuk, repulsed the assailants.

1815. *Feb.* 15.

Other British detachments had now obtained footing in Nepaul, and the chief Rajah, anxious for the result, sent to Ameer Sing Thappy, his general and minister, his directions to open a negociation with the British. The answer of the general was (very fortunately) intercepted by the British, and served to shew the political skill, as well as patriotism, of the writer. He insisted on the disgrace which the monarch of Nepaul, a country hitherto unconquered, would incur by submission. He represented his case as by no means so desperate as the Rajah seemed to suppose, and pointed out various resources by which he still hoped to protract the war, and perhaps to end it successfully and ho-

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nourably. But if the Rajah, he proceeded, was determined to sacrifice his own independence and that of his country, he recommended to him, rather than treat with the British, to invoke the protection of the Emperor of China, and acknowledge himself tributary to that monarch. The emperor, he observed, would send them supplies of treasure, which was what they chiefly wanted to carry on the war. He had also, he shrewdly observed, the means of checking the English without opposing them in battle, merely by stopping their trade to his dominions. The yoke of China, he said, would be merely nominal; the distance of the countries, the unwarlike disposition of the Chinese, and the recollection of the defeat of Khatmandu, where an immense army was formerly cut off by the Ghoorkahs, would prevent the emperor from enforcing any actual claim of tribute or dominion over Nepaul, and would enable the Rajah, at the first opportunity, to shake off even the name of vassal. But a treaty with Britain, whose arms had subjected all the princes in India, while she affected to receive them into her alliance, would be an inevitable death wound to the independence of Nepaul.

Fortunately, as we have already noticed, the letter which contained this sagacious advice never reached its destination, and the perusal of its contents rendered it doubly necessary to use every exertion to bring the Nepaulese war to an end. All the Ghoorkah chiefs were not actuated by the valour and patriotism of Ameer Sing. Colonel Nicolls, with a separate British division, had penetrated into the province of Kemaoon, and besieged the strong fort of Almora. A chief, called Hustee Dhul, at the head of a considerable body of regular and irregular troops, was detached from the fortress to attempt a diversion to the north of the British army. They were closely pursued by a detachment from the camp under Major Patton, who came up with, defeated, and totally dispersed them, the attack of the British driving many of them over a precipice. The garrison of Almora being thus weakened, the fort was severely battered and bombarded. The various stockades and breastworks, strongly situated on a chain of heights called the Sittlolie ridge, being successively carried, and nothing left in possession of the enemy but the palace or castle, the Ghoorkah chiefs agreed to surrender the fortress, with the whole province of Kemaoon, within ten days, on condition of being permitted to retire with their troops across the Serdah. The cession of the various mountain forts and passes took place accordingly; the two British divisions were placed in communication and co-operation, and Ameer Sing, in his insulated position, cut off from supplies and reinforcements, was reduced almost to extremity. Two very strong forts, called Tarragurh and Chumber, were taken by the British. Jytuk, a small fort, situated on the very summit of a peaked mountain, which rises three thousand feet above the level of the plain, and covered by large and strong stockades, was now more closely invested. A battery was constructed about 1000 yards to the west of the plain, and two heavy guns were got up into it, by the incredible exertions of the soldiers, by a path, which, in many places, resembled a rent in the solid rock, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, and leading, for a short way, along crags only a few feet wide, and overhanging immense precipices, and then interrupted by declivities as abrupt as the previous ascent. These difficulties, how-

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ever, were surmounted; and two battering guns and a mortar now played incessantly upon the fort.

The garrison of Malown, amounting to about eight thousand men on all points, were now much distressed for provisions, and obliged to eke out their scanty rations of food with the leaves and blossoms of trees. The stockaded posts of the British guarded every access by which any considerable supply could be obtained; and while the harvest waved ripe on the more distant grounds, the Ghoorkahs could only obtain such trifling supplies as the neighbouring peasants smuggled into the fort, tempted by the high price which necessity offered.

Ameer Sing Thappy, however, continued his resistance; and even when General Ochterlony had, by a well-combined and gallantly executed combination of movements, established his troops upon the range of the Malown mountains, and, defeating a body of Ghoorkahs, whose most distinguished leader fell in the action, took such a position on what was called the Peacock Mountain, as effectually confined the Cazy to his forts, he collected his forces for a desperate effort. "At the earliest dawn of day, Ameer Sing himself taking the field with a standard in his hand, the Ghoorkahs commenced a most impetuous and desperate attack upon the detachment of Colonel Thomson, which formed the reserve of those columns who had established themselves on the ridge of the hills, and served to support them. This bold attack he continued for two hours, and how nearly it was being successful, may be judged from the valour and conduct necessary to repulse it. Lieutenant Cartwright, of the artillery, was left with only one man unwounded, and with that one man was able to secure the gun which he directed. At length, a Goorkah chief, who commanded the attack, having fallen, these brave mountaineers were repulsed and defeated with very severe loss. The British lost Captain Showers, an active and valuable officer, with other officers and men.

April 15.

But the result of the action was decisive, and Ameer Sing immediately entered into a convention for evacuating the forts and the provinces which he had so long and bravely defended. In respect to his signal gallantry and conduct, the most honourable terms were granted, and the whole country, from Kemaoon to the river Sutledge, was reduced to British subjection. The merit of General Ochterlony, and of the officers and troops he commanded, will be best estimated by the difficulties which they had to encounter, and the qualities requisite to surmount them. It was well observed in the general order, issued by Lord Moira, that these successes,

May 3.

"under the complicated difficulties presented by the quality of the country, the fortifications by which its natural strength was assisted, and the obstinate resistance of a courageous enemy, should prove the superiority conferred by military service, and the certainty that a strenuous application of its principles must entail honourable distinction on a commander. Warfare in a mountainous region offers embarrassments which, when viewed at a distance, appear insurmountable, but which dwindle into comparative insignificance under the grasp of vigour and genius. It is only in unusual situations, demanding readiness of resource and animated efforts, that the difference between officer and officer can be displayed; and it ought to be always present to

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the mind of every military man, that he who in circumstances of perplexity tries and fails, has to plead those chances from which no operation in war can be secured, his pretensions to the character of zeal and energy being in the mean time maintained; while he who contents himself with urging difficulties as an excuse for doing nothing, voluntary registers his own inefficiency."

Thus was the Nepaul war fortunately ended by complete success on all points, after having threatened a very different termination. It was said to have been the object of censure by some of the ruling members of the India Company. But in India, we have the difficult task of the hypocrite in the play, who wishes he had not gained so very good a character, when he experiences the trouble and risk necessary to sustain it. In India, where every man's strength, to use the words of Scripture, is the rule of his right, a pacific disposition, the abandonment of a just claim, the submission to aggression of any sort, is an acknowledgement of weakness; and an acknowledgement of weakness, on our part, would be a signal for a general combination against our power. How long all our exertions may be able to maintain our Indian empire, is a question hidden in the womb of fate. But it may be safely affirmed, that it will not long survive a flaw, real or imaginary, in our military reputation. We sincerely hope, that, as the Nepaulese appear to be a politic, as well as a brave people, their national pride will not again precipitate them into a war with the British government. And surely nothing short of aggression and insult, on their part, should lead us to engage in a conflict, where victory has less than its wonted triumph, and defeat far more than its usual loss and dishonour.

Military operations on this frontier of our empire ought to be rather avoided, as it excites the suspicion of the Chinese, a jealous people, already unfriendly to us, and indifferent about a trade which is of much consequence to our revenues. Many disputes had occurred in the course of this year betwixt the British and the Viceroy of Canton, chiefly concerning the behaviour of the ships of war which lay in the river to protect the Indian trade from the American privateers. The viceroy appears to have been gained entirely over to the American interest. "A royal edict was received at Canton, exceedingly offensive both in its style and spirit. After again starting the subject of the operations of our men of war, it peremptorily ordered the dismissal of the younger Hong merchants, and the lodgement of the whole of the trade in the hands of three or four individuals, one of whom was a person, who, a few years ago, purchased his resignation at the price of three or four millions of dollars. The edict goes on further to express his sublime majesty's great displeasure against Sir George Staunton, the detention of whom it is understood to enjoin. After asserting, that to the clemency and kindness of his sublime majesty is entirely owing the privilege enjoyed by the English, of residing in the mansions of the celestial hemisphere, the letter declares that they are a litigious and ungrateful race, delighting in broils, and insensible of the blessings showered on them. Further, that, as a return for the valuable products exported by them, they have introduced only articles of luxury, the effect of which has been to corrupt his imperial majesty's liege subjects. In conclusion, it tells the supercargoes, that if they are discontented with the mild and paternal protection of the Chinese government, the wisest step they can take is to withdraw themselves from it.—

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These and several other insulting injunctions had, we are informed, induced the committee of supercargoes to take into consideration the propriety of again putting a stop to the trade; a measure undoubtedly pregnant with serious evil, but believed to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of their own independence, and the future establishment of commercial intercourse upon more sure and permanent grounds." The interest of the British trade and revenue is so far concerned in our intercourse with this supercilious and arrogant people, that the government resolved to send a splendid embassy to Pekin, with Lord Amherst at its head, in order to obtain redress of these grievances at the fountain head. We cannot think that the nature of the remedy was happily imagined, considering the disgrace which the British nation received on a similar occasion in the person of Lord Macartney, nor have we much hopes of a favourable result from the present or any future mission, unless it were supported by a squadron of men of war, and an army of fifty thousand men.

In another quarter of India, the British arms, with little or no opposition, achieved an important and extensive conquest. The peculiar situation of the island of Ceylon is well known. Since the year 1766, the Dutch had held complete and absolute possession of the entire sea-coast, while the native sovereign, or King of Candy, possessed the interior, his dominions being on each side surrounded by those of the Europeans, as the kernel of a nut is by its shell. This state of seclusion, on the part of the native monarch, was originally voluntary, and the King of Candy conferred on the Dutch the title of guardians of his coasts. But it did not prevent, in the time of the Dutch possession of the colony, various ruptures, very fatal to the interests of the settlement. The attempt to penetrate sword-in-hand into a country unhealthy for Europeans, and encompassed on all hands by rivers, woods, defiles, and mountains, has been ever attended with a long train of expence and loss. The British experienced this twelve years before, when a considerable force advanced into the interior of Ceylon, and took possession of the capital; but their commander, unfortunately neither possessing the skill nor courage necessary for such an undertaking, laid down his arms by a most dishonourable capitulation; and having thus shewn that he preferred life to honour, lost both through the perfidy of the barbarians, who massacred almost the whole detachment. Since that misfortune, the tyrant of Candy had been suffered to range in his wilderness uncontrouled, as a tiger too powerful and dangerous to be disturbed by the hunters.

Raja Sri Wikreme Sinha, such was the name of the man, or more properly of the monster, who lately reigned in Candy, was one of the most cruel tyrants whose heart was ever corrupted and brain turned by the possession of despotic power. His wanton destruction of human life, and the horrid and complicated ingenuity by which he varied the mortal sufferings of his victims, exceeded all credibility. In one dreadful case out of many, an adikar, or provincial governor, called Eheylapola, having incurred the royal displeasure, his family became the victims of the most extravagant cruelty. It will hardly be believed, that four infant children having been butchered in the presence of their mother, she was afterwards compelled to pound their heads in a mortar. It was a merciful consummation, though not intended as such by the tyrant, that the unfortunate woman, with several others, was afterwards put to

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death. The adikar, who escaped, raised the signal of revolt in the provinces where he had interest, and intreated the assistance and protection of the British. Many other chiefs joined more secretly in the same application, for all were wearied out with the cruelties of this incarnate fiend; and the manner in which the natives, in the provinces under the English government, had been treated since our acquisition of the island, inspired general confidence.

The British governor, General Brownrigg, had every reason for availing himself of so favourable an opportunity to destroy a hateful despotism. The treacherous massacre of Major Davie's detachment after their surrender, had been followed by other marks of malevolence, on the part of the King of Candy, which showed irreconcileable animosity to the British. A dreadful instance occurred just previous to the declaration of war; when ten natives of the British province of Columbo, who were quietly pursuing their ordinary traffic in the interior of the island, were barbarously mutilated of their hands and feet, seven losing their lives by the operation.

General Brownrigg no longer hesitated to declare war, and entered the inland districts of Candy, after a proclamation, stating, that he made war on the tyrant alone, and offered peace and security to his oppressed subjects. The invading force consisted of several divisions, which penetrated into this difficult country by different routes, hardly experiencing even the shew of resistance. Mulligoddy, the first adikar, or prime minister of the tyrant, appeared at the head of a few troops, but gave a private assurance that he had no thoughts of offering any serious opposition; and, on the contrary, only waited until he could extricate his wife and family from the tyrant's custody, in order to declare against him. Having fortunately effected what he desired, he joined the British with his troops and the emblems of his dignity. The example was generally followed. As the British approached the capital, they learned that the king had fled; and when they reached the river by which it is covered, they saw many batteries prepared to protect the ford, but, instead of men or guns, hideous objects offered themselves, exemplifying that cruelty which had eventually deprived the despot of the means of making good his preparations for defence. The relics of nineteen wretches, stuck on the poles on which they had died, were visible on the banks of the river. The capital was occupied without opposition, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; and thus a conquest was successfully achieved through the acquiescence and aid of the natives, which, without their concurrence, might only have left another terrible lesson of caution to the governors of Columbo. The king, deserted by all but a few Malay attendants, was taken in his flight by some soldiers of Eheylapola Adikar, whose family he had treated with so much cruelty. He was delivered up to the British, who took measures for his safe but honourable custody at Columbo.

In acquiring complete possession of the island of Ceylon, two hundred and fifty miles in length, and an hundred and ninety in breadth, our troops did not lose a single man. The use made of this victory was to convoke a solemn assembly of the adikars, and other chiefs of the Candian provinces, in which the dominion of the Candian empire was vested in the sovereign of Great Britain, saving to the adikars and chiefs their rights and immunities. The religion of Buddha

May 2.

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was declared inviolable. All torture and mutilation was abolished. No sentence of death was to be executed, except by the written warrant of the British governor, founded on a report of the case. Subject to these conditions, the administration of civil and criminal justice and police over the Candian inhabitants is to be exercised, according to established forms, and by the ordinary authorities; saving always the inherent right of government to redress grievances and reform abuses in all instances whatever, particular or general, where such interposition shall become necessary.

The account of this important success reached Britain at a time when the public ear, accustomed to thrill at the recital of the dreadful and doubtful battles on the continent of Europe, listen with some indifference to a dispatch, which, though far exceeding in length any of the Duke of Wellington's, only narrated a difficult march and a bloodless triumph. But reason will forgive the self-complacence of the governor of Ceylon. He had achieved a conquest, preceding attempts at which had only left dreadful lessons of caution and forbearance. And what was still more material, he had delivered a fine country, and a well-disposed people, from the yoke of an inhuman tyrant,—secured to them the most important personal immunities, and placed them under the government of an enlightened people,—ensured the peaceful possession of the colony, which must have been precarious while the internal provinces were governed by a native prince, and added the whole of a fair and fruitful island to the dominions of the British sovereign.

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CHAP. XXI.

America.—Unsuccessful Attack on New Orleans.—Capture of Fort Mobile.—Capture of the President Frigate.—Ratification of the Treaty of Peace.—Discussion in Parliament on the Address of Thanks to the Prince Regent for this Treaty.—Commercial Treaty entered into.—Reflections.

THE treaty of peace between Great Britain and America, which was signed by the commissioners for both nations at Ghent, in December 1814, could not immediately put a period to the hostilities which were carrying on in America.

In the end of the year 1814, preparations had been made for an attack upon the town of New Orleans, situated upon the river Mississippi. For this purpose, a considerable army was collected, under the command of Major-general Keane, which was to be conveyed to the point of disembarkation by the squadron under the command of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane. On the other hand, the Americans had made provision for a vigorous defence of that place. After they had taken possession of Pensacola, in November, their general, Jackson, had received orders to proceed from thence to New Orleans with all his disposable force; and it appears that they had collected not less than 30,000 men for the defence of that place.

New Orleans is situated upon the left bank of the Mississippi, and a considerable way up the river. It can, however, be approached by water, to within a very short distance. A little to the north of the Mississippi, and between New Orleans and the sea, there is a lake called Lac Borgne, which communicates with the sea by a considerable outlet, or river; and at the upper end, a river runs into it, which is navigable by boats to within six or eight miles of New Orleans. This mode of access was, accordingly, fixed upon by the British commanders. The Americans, aware of this intention, had stationed a formidable flotilla, consisting of five gun-vessels of the largest dimensions, upon Lac Borgne; and, as the principal means of transporting our troops to the point of disembarkation were open boats, it was impossible to proceed till these vessels were captured or destroyed. For this purpose, the boats of the squadron, under the command of Captain Lockyer, were sent into Lac Borgne on the 12th of December; and, after rowing for thirty-six hours, Captain Lockyer, on the morning of the 14th, discovered the flotilla prepared for his reception. As soon as he came within gun-shot of the enemy, he issued his orders that the boats should grapple; and they continued to pull up to the enemy against a strong current and under a destructive

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fire. At last, the boat which carried Captain Lockyer closed with the commodore of the flotilla. A desperate conflict of several minutes took place, in which the greater part of both the officers and men of this boat were killed or wounded; but some of the other boats coming up, they succeeded in carrying the vessel, and immediately turned her guns upon the remaining four. In the meantime, the remaining boats had been employed with equal gallantry; and in a very short time the whole of the enemy's vessels were taken. This brilliant exploit cost us seventeen men killed, and seventy-seven wounded; Captain Lockyer himself having received a severe wound in boarding the commodore of the enemy's flotilla.

The passage for the disembarkation of our troops being now open, the whole army, consisting of about 2400 men, were put on board the gun-vessels and boats, and, on the 22d, they proceeded across Lac Borgne. Several of the gun-vessels grounded; but the advance, in the boats, pushed on, and, having rowed up the river, which runs into the lake, at its head, they effected a landing on the 23d, under the command of Col. Thornton, about six miles from New Orleans. In this situation, about an hour after sunset, when the troops, much exhausted by their previous exertions, were asleep in their bivouac, a heavy fire was opened upon them by some vessels which had dropped down the Mississippi from New Orleans, and anchored opposite to their position. By a prompt and judicious movement, the men were instantly placed out of the reach of this fire; but soon afterwards a vigorous attack was made on the advanced picquets by a body of troops from the town. This assault was firmly resisted, and the enemy kept in check for a considerable time; but the attack being renewed with a large force, the main body of the British was moved up to oppose it. The conflict which now ensued was of a very singular description, and cannot be better described than in the words of General Keane's dispatch. "On the approach of the 85th regiment to the point of attack, the enemy, favoured by the darkness of the night, concealed themselves under a high fence which separated the fields, and, calling to the men as friends, under pretence of being part of our own force, offered to assist them in getting over, which was no sooner accomplished, than the 85th found itself in the midst of very superior numbers, who, discovering themselves, called on the regiment immediately to surrender. The answer was an instantaneous attack; a more extraordinary conflict has, perhaps, never occurred, absolutely hand to hand, both officers and men. It terminated in the repulse of the enemy, with the capture of thirty prisoners. A similar finesse was attempted with the 95th regiment, which met the same treatment." The enemy made repeated attacks, which were always repulsed, till about midnight, when he determined to make a final effort, and, forming his whole force into line, advanced again to the onset. He at first drove in the advanced posts; but Colonel Thornton, rallying the troops, and moving forward to charge, drove the enemy back, who did not dare again to advance. The American troops were commanded by General Jackson, and amounted to five thousand men, a great number of whom were left on the field.

After this affair, the second division of the army was brought up, and the whole took up a position. On the 25th, Major-General Sir E. Pakenham and Major-General Gibbs arrived, and the former took the command of the army. From this time to the 8th of January, the army was

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occupied in preparing for a general attack on the enemy's lines before New Orleans.

The position of our army was on a piece of flat ground, with the Mississippi on the left, and a thick wood on the right. The ground was open to the front, from which the enemy's line was distinctly seen. It consisted of an entrenchment of about a thousand yards of front, which extended, on the right, to the river, and, on the left, to a thick and impassable wood. This line was strengthened by flank works, and had a canal of about four feet deep along the front. On the right, or opposite bank of the Mississipi, which is here about eight hundred yards broad, the Americans had a battery of twelve guns, which enfiladed the whole front of their position on the left bank.

The dispositions made by the British commander for the attack appear to have been very judicious. In order to prevent our troops, when coming up to the attack of the enemy's line, from being exposed to the fire of the battery on the opposite side of the river, it was judged necessary that this battery should be carried. The stream, by which our boats had come from Lac Borgne to the place of disembarkation, communicated with the Mississippi by a narrow canal. This canal was, with considerable labour, cleared out and widened, by which means troops could be sent over to the opposite bank of the Mississippi. These preparations being made, it was resolved, that, in the night previous to the general attack, which was to be made at break of day, a body of troops, under Colonel Thornton, was to be sent across the river, and to move along the right bank till it reached the American battery which it was to carry. This, it was expected, would be done before the main body should reach the front of the American line in the morning. Accordingly, as soon as it was dark, Colonel Thornton's corps proceeded in their expedition across the river. Unlooked-for difficulties, however, increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay; and it was not till five o'clock in the morning that these troops got over. By that time, Colonel Thornton perceived, by the flashes of the guns, that the attack on the enemy's position was begun; and he hastened forward, with the utmost expedition, to the attack of the flanking battery, which, he judged too truly, was by that time destructively employed against our troops. After overcoming various obstacles, he at last reached the battery, which he succeeded in carrying in a most gallant manner. The enemy fled in confusion, leaving in his hands sixteen pieces of cannon, and the colours of the New Orleans regiment of militia.

In the mean time, the main body, under the command of Major-General Gibbs, had moved up to the attack of the enemy's position. The obstruction in the movement of Colonel Thornton's corps had occasioned some delay in proceeding to the general attack, which did not take place till the advancing columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than two hundred yards distance, when a destructive fire was instantly opened, not only from all parts of the enemy's line, but from the battery on the opposite side of the river. The gallant Pakenham, who, during his short but brilliant career, was always foremost in the path of glory and of danger, gallopped forward to the front, to animate his men by his presence. He had reached the crest of the glacis, and was in the act of cheering his troops, with his hat off, when he received two balls, one in the knee, and another in his body. He fell into the arms of Major M'Dougal, his aid-de-

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camp, and almost instantly expired. Nearly at the same moment, General Gibbs and General Keane were both borne off wounded. These disastrous circumstances, the fall of many other commanding officers, and the materials for crossing the ditch not having been brought forward, (the men being wounded who were carrying them,) were sufficient to dishearten the troops; and their despondency was increased by perceiving that it was impossible to make any impression on the enemy's works, every man who reached the ditch being either drowned, or obliged to surrender. In this situation, the column began to waver, and was soon obliged to fall back in great confusion upon the reserve, which was coming up, under General Lambert.

General Lambert, on whom the command now devolved, after restoring order among the troops, and placing them in position, found, upon careful consideration, that it would be improper to hazard a renewal of the attack. The army, therefore, retreated to the entrance of Lac Borgne, where they remained for some days, until the 27th January, when the whole were re-embarked. During the retreat, the British troops were not molested in any degree by the enemy, and all the artillery, ammunition, and stores, were brought away, except six guns which it was impossible to remove, from the position in which they had been placed. The Americans treated the prisoners and wounded who fell into their hands, with much kindness and humanity. In this action we sustained a heavy loss. Besides Sir Edward Pakenham, and General Gibbs, who died of his wounds the day after the action, our loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to about 2000 men. It was an unusual and unpleasant circumstance of this unhappy affair, that the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Mullins was found guilty of neglect of duty upon the storm, and cashiered by the sentence of a court-martial.

The last operation of this armament was the taking of Fort Mobile, on the coast of Louisiana. On the fort being closely invested, the American commander capitulated on the 11th of February, with his garrison, consisting of 366 men.

Before the cessation of hostilities, the British had once more an opportunity of measuring their strength with the Americans on the ocean. On the 15th January, a British squadron, which had been stationed off the coast of New York, to watch the motions of the American frigate the President, commanded by Commodore Decatur, and some other vessels, fell in with the President when attempting to get to sea. After a long chace, the Endymion frigate came up with the President, and a sanguinary action commenced, which was maintained for two hours and a half, when, in consequence of the Endymion being crippled in the rigging, the enemy got out of her reach. On another vessel of the British squadron, however, coming up, the President struck. The loss was considerable on both sides; but greatest on the side of the Americans.

The treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, which had been signed by the Commissioners at Ghent, on 24th December 1814, was ratified by the American government, on 17th February 1815; and, on the 16th of March, it was laid before Parliament. The substance of this treaty has been given in our last volume.* In the month of March, motions were made in both Houses of Parliament for addresses of thanks to the Prince Regent for this treaty,

* Page 342.

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which met with considerable opposition. No objection was stated to the terms of the treaty; but it was contended that much blame was imputable to ministers, for the delays which had taken place in concluding it. It was said, that, as soon as peace was concluded in Europe, a negociation with America ought instantly to have commenced. The treaty of Paris was signed on the 30th of May, and at that time peace should have been offered to America. We should then have appeared, in the eyes of America and of Europe, as acting generously and magnanimously; and, by such a proceeding, we should have disarmed the hostile feelings of those who were most unfavourable to us. In place of this, however, we first declined the friendly offer of mediation made by the Emperor of Russia; and, when we afterwards entered into a direct negociation, through the means of commissioners, we proceeded in so dilatory a manner, that the first conference between the commissioners, at Ghent, did not take place till the 8th of August. It was further contended, that it was in consequence of unreasonable, and consequently inadmissible, demands on our part, which we were afterwards obliged to retract, that the negociations at Ghent had been protracted till the 24th of December, when the treaty was signed. It was said, that, at the first conference, propositions had been made respecting the pacification with the Indians, who were in alliance with Great Britain, and the territorial rights of those Indians;—the military occupation by the British of the Canadian Lakes,—and the cession of certain islands which had been occupied by the Americans since the peace of 1783; and that it had been stated, that no peace could take place, unless these propositions were agreed to. The negociations had been suspended, till the instructions of the American government could be obtained respecting these terms; and it had appeared, that, not only the American government, but the whole American people, were unanimous in refusing them. In consequence of this, new terms had been proposed by the British commissioners, in which there was not a word regarding the propositions which they had formerly declared to be a *sine qua non*; and when at last the treaty was concluded, it was found to be perfectly silent as to those propositions. The consequences of these delays were, in the words of Mr Ponsonby, "a useless waste of treasure —an unfortunate and ever-to-be lamented waste of the best blood of the country—of the most distinguished officers—of the bravest, the most heroic troops—all sacrificed through the negligence or indolence of his Majesty's ministers!—all sacrificed by their not concluding a treaty of peace with America, the moment the treaty with France was signed; and by delaying that treaty still farther in disputing points with America, which they afterwards thought fit to abandon."

On the part of ministers, it was said, that it was an extraordinary objection to the conduct of the negociators, that every one of the propositions, which had been made in the course of the discussions, was not to be found in the treaty when concluded. It was observed, that perhaps no treaty was ever known to have been concluded upon the terms originally proposed; for those terms almost invariably underwent some modifications. As to the delays for which our ministers were blamed, it was shown that they had originated with the American government. The American commissioners had been instructed to make no peace, without our first relinquishing the right of impressment; without our expressly admitting, that

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the American flag covered all who sailed under it. If these points were conceded, they were authorised to sign a peace with Great Britain; but not otherwise. It was not till the day of the first conference at Ghent, that the American commissioners were authorised to sign a treaty, without insisting upon those points; and, till that was the case, it would have been useless to have any conference, as it would have been vain to enter into discussion respecting terms which were wholly inadmissible. With regard to the propositions, which, it was alleged, were made by our negociators, and afterwards departed from, it was said, that, if the frontier could have been established, it would have been a great object; but, with all its importance, it never occurred to our ministers to make it an object of war. The great end they had in view, was one that affected the honour of the country, that of protecting those who had fought and bled with us. We owed to the Indians to replace them in a state of peace, and in the enjoyment of such possessions as they had before; and this had been accomplished by the treaty. It was, finally, stated, as a cause of the length of the negociation, that it was almost exclusively occupied in discussing questions which originated with the Americans themselves.—The addresses, as moved, were carried by large majorities.

In the course of this discussion, all parties concurred in expressing their satisfaction that peace had been restored. On this subject, the following excellent observations were made by Mr Ponsonby. "I trust in God," he said, "another war may never arise between these two countries, to teach them the respect which they owe to each other. There are no two countries in the world whose interests are more blended together—and there are no two countries where it is more easy for those who govern them to observe the relations of peace and amity towards each other. It is not very easy, in governments constituted as ours are, to induce a quarrel between the two countries, if the true state of affairs be known to the people of each. Nothing but deception—nothing but misunderstanding—can produce such an effect. Both governments depend, in a great degree, on the support of popular opinion. That of America depends on it altogether; and, I thank God, the government of this country is very much influenced by the same principle. If, therefore, the people are not led astray, and if the two governments look to their true interests, it will be a difficult thing to encourage a war between nations so nearly assimilated. Many persons affect to look on America with great jealousy, as a growing and powerful rival; for my own part, sir, far from looking at America as a mere rival, I never turn my eyes towards that great continent, without feeling in my mind emotions of a much nobler description. For such a country as England to have been the parent of such a country as America—to have raised that which was once a wilderness to its present state of cultivation—to have established wealth and prosperity over an immense empire—to have given to the people that free system of government, which we alone possess amidst surrounding nations—to see all this—to consider America as the child of England, growing up and flourishing under her fostering hand—this is a situation of more true glory and of more real happiness, than any other nation on the face of the earth can boast of. England has been made great herself by her own liberty. That liberty never was threatened by free states. Whenever it was menaced, it was by powers differently constituted.

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It is her duty, therefore, to set up as the patroness of freedom throughout the world. The nations ought to be taught to look to her for all the blessings which mankind may derive from independence—they ought to receive from her example those benefits which no other power can confer."

The treaty of peace was followed by a commercial treaty between the two countries, which was signed in London in July, and ratified by the American government in December. The principal features of this treaty are, that it establishes a reciprocal liberty of commerce between Great Britain and America;—that it stipulates, that the duties on goods exported from, or imported into either country, shall not be higher than the duties on the exportation or importation of similar goods, to or from any other country; and that it admits American vessels, under certain regulations, to trade with the British settlements in the East Indies. This treaty the American President communicated in his message to Congress on 5th December, in the following terms.—"It is another source of satisfaction, that the treaty of peace with Great Britain has been succeeded by a convention on the subject of commerce, concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the two countries. In this result, a disposition is manifested on the part of that nation, corresponding with the disposition of the United States, which, it may be hoped, will be improved into liberal arrangements on other subjects, on which the parties have mutual interests, or which might endanger their future harmony. Congress will decide on the expediency of promoting such a sequel, by giving effect to the measure of confining the American navigation to the American seamen; a measure, which, at the same time that it might have that conciliatory tendency, would have the further advantage of increasing the independence of our navigation, and the resources of our maritime rights."

As we are now again in relations of peace and friendship with the United States, it appears equally useless and impertinent to enter into any further discussion as to the causes of the interruption of that friendship, or to enquire which party was to blame in producing the war. It would be a pity, like the modish couple in the farce, to renew an accommodated quarrel, by resuming the argument about a spade and a diamond, which originally gave rise to it. In the present pacific state of the world, which we fervently hope will not soon be disturbed, those subjects of irritation between Britain and the United States, which produced the late unhappy war, cannot occur. Till another Buonaparte shall arise, and again engage all the nations of Europe in one great quarrel, an event scarcely to be anticipated even in the lapse of ages, all questions respecting the maritime rights of neutrals may sleep in oblivion. Disputes on other subjects may, indeed, arise between Great Britain and America; with regard, for instance, to their territorial boundaries. But it is very unlikely that any misunderstanding about a few square miles of woods or marshes on the Canadian frontier, will tempt either nation to forego the advantages of peace, and to plunge again into a war, which can produce nothing but mutual disaster. Of the benefits of peace and friendly intercourse, both nations have been made well aware, by the temporary privation of them. Our quarrel with America deprived us of the best foreign market for our manufactures;—a market, which was already of immense extent, and constantly increasing. America is, and, in the natural course of things, ought to be, for a long period to

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come, a great agricultural country; —and the almost boundless extent of fertile land, which requires only to be cleared and cultivated, must allow the principle of population to operate in its fullest extent. The inhabitants of such a country will naturally employ themselves chiefly in the cultivation of the ground, and will not be diverted from this object by the wish to become manufacturers, if they can easily obtain the commodities they require from other countries, at the expense of a part of the abundant produce of their soil. The mutual intercourse, therefore, of America, with Britain, was a great mutual benefit. Britain supplied the American cultivators in abundance with manufactured commodities; thus enabling them to employ themselves in the manner most favourable for spreading their population over the immense continent which they inhabit; while the benefit to Britain was incalculable, from the great and daily increasing market thus produced for her manufactures. The war, however, by interrupting this intercourse, and by depriving the Americans of our manufactures, checked their progress in agriculture and population, by compelling them to devote a part of their labour and capital to the fabrication of those articles which were indispensable to them. The consequence has been, that the slow progression by which an agricultural nation gradually becomes a manufacturing one, has been very greatly accelerated. Before the war, America was far from having reached that point, at which, from the cultivation of the ground having approached its limits, from the check to population, and cheapness of labour arising from that circumstance, and from the accumulation of capital, a portion of this capital, and of the labour of the country, would necessarily be turned into the course of manufacturing industry. But, in consequence of the dispute with Britain, the Americans became manufacturers from necessity; and there is no doubt that this circumstance will permanently diminish, to a certain extent, the American market for our manufactures. It is understood, however, that many of the infant manufacturing establishments of America were stifled by the immense influx of British goods into that country immediately after the peace; and there is reason to hope, that the Americans, when they can, as formerly, obtain an abundant supply of goods from Britain, will find it more advantageous to apply themselves to the cultivation of the boundless tracts of fertile land by which they are surrounded, than to endeavour to supply themselves with manufactured commodities. In addition to these considerations, the recollection of the distress produced in America by the absolute annihilation of her commerce, and in Britain, by the great abridgment of ours, in consequence of the war, will, it is to be hoped, render two nations, united by so many ties, unwilling, by any breach of friendship, to expose themselves and each other to a recurrence of similar misfortunes.

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CHAP. XXII.

West Indies.—Martinico occupied by the British Forces.—Guadaloupe reduced by Sir James Leith.—Continued Hostilities in South America.—Lamentable State of Affairs in Spain.—Insurrection of Porlier—He is arrested and executed.—Constitution of the Netherlands.—Remonstrance of the Belgian Clergy.—Marriage of the Prince of Orange.—Poland united with Russia.—Germany.—Disputes betwixt the King and States of Wirtemburgh.—Territorial Acquisitions of Prussia—Her new Constitution.—German Confederation and Diet.

THE earthquake which shook the centre of the French empire, failed not to agitate its extremities. The situation of the island of Martinico became critical so soon as the revolution of March became known there. The governor, Count Vaugiraud, was faithful to the royal cause, and the militia, amounting to six thousand men, of whom, however, only one-half had arms, were sufficiently well inclined. But the troops of the line, consisting of 1300 men, who possessed the forts, shewed too much of the same disposition which manifested itself in France. The majority of the officers were decidedly for Buonaparte, some putting up the tri-coloured cockade, and others, with similar sentiments less avowed, pretending that they only wished to return to France. The soldiers were chiefly refractory conscripts, who had never served, and had no attachment to Buonaparte, but who, having escaped from the army under his severe system, and finding themselves expatriated under the king's government, generally wished to return home. Count Vaugiraud acted with much good sense in anticipating the mischief which might have arisen, and which he had not the power to have controuled, by assembling the troops and releasing those of the officers who desired it from their obligations, informing them at the same time, that they must quit Martinique, and declaring that any attempt to raise the standard of rebellion would be repelled by force, and punished as an act of mutiny, in defiance of the oaths of fidelity which they had taken to Louis the Eighteenth.

Sir James Leith, commanding officer in the Leeward Islands, on learning the precarious state of this valuable colony, immediately sent to the aid of Count Vaugiraud a strong auxiliary force, which landed there on the 5th of June. The French soldiers of the line, except about 450 men, who remained faithful to the king, were disarmed, and suffered to leave the island, which was thus saved from a

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revolutionary convulsion. The British force continued to reside in the colony upon the footing of auxiliaries; and the government in gratitude published a decree, admitting British vessels to their harbours on the same terms as those of their own country.

At Guadaloupe the revolutionary explosion took more complete effect. Admiral Count Linois, the governor of that island, had at first affected great loyalty, and declined the assistance of an auxiliary British force, as he offered to be responsible for the good behaviour of the garrison. It soon appeared with what views he had rejected the succours offered by Sir James Leith; for, after a slight shew of reluctance, and suffering for form's sake the arrest of a few hours, he complied with the request of the soldiery and inhabitants, and, displaying the three-coloured flag, proclaimed the restoration of Buonaparte. This event took place on the 18th of June, the very day of the battle of Waterloo, when the power of Napoleon virtually ceased to exist. Sir James Leith assembled a strong naval and military force, which assembled at the small islands called the Saintes, which the precaution of the English general had previously secured. Sir James Leith had learned, that it was the intention of the enemy to unite their forces of every description, amounting to about 6000 men, between Grande-terre and Basseterre. He resolved to anticipate this movement, by landing in three different places, and attacking the enemies troops in detail as they came to the place of rendezvous. One column was disembarked at the Ance St Sauveur, another, which comprehended the principal part of the British force, at the Grande Ance, and a third, on the succeeding day, to the leeward of Basseterre. The troops of Basseterre, forced at all these different points, retreated to a strong position, called Morne Houel, where Count Linois and General Boyer had professed their intention of trying the fate of battle. The commandant of Grande-terre in vain manœuvred in order to form a junction with the troops of the line upon this point. They had been effectually separated by the movements of the British columns, which, now in complete communication with each other, waited but for day-light to attack Linois and Boyer in the position of Morne Houel. The Grande-terre force, which were chiefly militia, dispersed and returned to their homes, when they found it impossible to join with the troops of the line. The French governor now proposed to capitulate. They were only allowed to surrender themselves prisoners of war to be sent to France, there to remain at the disposal of the Duke of Wellington. "Thus," says the report of Sir James Leith, "the banner of unprovoked rebellion, under which the slaves had been called to arms, and many were wrought up to a pitch of revolutionary fury, threatening the destruction of the colony, finally disappeared from the American Archipelago."

The state of the insurgents and royalists in Spanish America presented the same confused and bloody prospect as formerly. The army of Buenos Ayres appears to have possessed itself of Potosi; and it was reported that the royalists of Lima had been again defeated. The troops which sailed from Cadix, about 12,000 strong, under General Murillo, had not made the impression which had been expected in the mother-country. They had been repulsed from Carthagena, and a part of them cut off in Mexico. The severities executed by Murillo, where he obtained any footing, had still more exasperated against him the minds of the colonists. It is not likely, that, with

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forces gradually decreasing, his efforts will become more successful, since he failed at his first arrival; nor is it probable, that, in the exhausted state of Spain, she will be likely to send him any important reinforcements. The emancipation of these colonies cannot but have a powerful effect on the state of the civilized world, so soon as they shall settle into orderly government, out of their present state of convulsed confusion.

The state of the mother-country, Spain herself, is even more deplorable, than that presented by the distracted state of her provinces. From the disorder of civil war, laws and liberties have often arisen, like the tropical fruit-trees, when the tornado has passed away. But the sway of despotism is the iron-frost of the north, that binds up every vegetative power, and makes a void blank on the fair face of creation. The lovers of liberty look with more real pain on their disappointed hopes, when they recollect the high spirit and gallant feelings, which so long, and so bravely, maintained the independence of Spain against a foreign enemy; but which seem, at once, lulled to silence by the command of despotism, and the terrors of priest-craft. Spectres of ancient superstition, which common sense had long conjured down in every other country, protestant or catholic, walked abroad in Spain, like the noon-tide dæmon. The Inquisition reared its hateful head, and denounced, from her dungeon-palace, free-masons, and other members of secret societies; threatening the vengeance of the church against such as should continue in the paths of perdition.

Meanwhile, the persecution against the Liberales proceeded with unabated rancour. The following particulars are taken from an account of the proceedings against the members of the Cortes, which appears authentic. Twenty-nine deputies were imprisoned at Madrid, in consequence of the events which began on the 10th May 1814.*

"All these individuals, well known in Spain, and many of them in foreign countries, for their attachment to the cause of the independence of their country, were, and continue prisoners.

"Besides the above-mentioned deputies, many other individuals of character were also imprisoned; among these are Admiral Valdes, who was governor of Cadiz during the siege, and one of the most decided patriots, who prevented five ships of the line

* The following is a list of their names.

Arguelles, deputy for Asturias,
Martinez de la Rosa, for Grenada,
Calatrava, for Estremadura,
Zorraquin, for Madrid,
Garcia Herreros, for Soria,
Villanueva, for Valencia,
Zumalacarregui, for Guipuzcoa,
Canga Arguelles, for Asturias,
Feliu, for Peru,
Maman, for Vera Cruz,
Bernabeu, for Valencia,
Gutierrez de Teran, for Mexico,
Gallego, for Zamora,
Torres Machi, for Valencia,
Golfin, for Estremadura,
Ruiz Padron, for the Canaries,
Ramos Arispe, for Mexico,
Cepero, for Cadiz,
Munoz Torrero, for Estremadura,
Oliveros, for ditto,
Capaz, for Cadiz,
Larrazabal, for Guatimala,
Duenas, for Grenada,
Giraldo, for La Mancha,
Castaneda, for Jaen,
Yandiola, for Biscay,
Rivero, for Peru,
Garcia Page, for Cuenca,
Traver, for Valencia.

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from falling into the hands of the French, and who was covered with wounds, while fighting against them in the celebrated battle of Espinosa; Lieutenant-General Copons, the defender of Tarifa, and general in chief of the first army of Catalonia; Villacampa, governor of Madrid, and general of the division which bore his name, who conducted the war so successfully against the usurper in the south of Arragon; and the ex-minister at war, O'Donoju; the Camp-Marshal Porlier; and the Camp-Marshal Aguirre, one of the intrepid defenders of Saragossa, who has died in prison.

"Among them are also various other officers of merit, such as Brigadier Don Juan Moscoso, and Lieutenant-Colonels the Conde de Torre-Nueva, Don Jacobo Escario, Don Luis Landaburu, and Don Joachim Escario of the general staff, Brigadier Moreda, &c.

"Lieutenant-General Lacy has been banished, who was general-in-chief of the army of reserve of Gallicia, and who distinguished himself so much in the war of the Peninsula. In fact, it may be observed, that almost all the chiefs who conducted the war with success have been disgraced, imprisoned, or banished.

"The following also have been imprisoned:—Senors Agar and Ciscar, celebrated mathematicians, and members of the Regency; Alvarez Guerra, minister of the interior; Cano Manuel, ex-minister of grace and justice; Quintana, secretary of the king, and interpreter of languages; the Conde de Noblejas, marshal of Castile, and his brother Don Ramon de Chaves; Domenech, political chief of Madrid; Acevedo, the same for the Asturias, &c. &c. Every journalist who supported the character of the government during the revolution, is either a fugitive, or groans in dungeons, or has been condemned to banishment, or to the fortresses. This, however, can be no ground of wonder, when it is known that the number of persons in prison in Spain for their political opinions, is supposed to exceed 51,000.

"The distinguished deputy and patriot Antillon was very severely treated. The persons who took him into custody, though they found him in bed, afflicted with a very dangerous disorder, tore him from it, in order to convey him in a cart from the village of his residence to the city of Saragossa, thus totally regardless of the law of humanity, and deaf to the reflections which could not fail to be excited by the deplorable situation of the sick man, who died in the cart in which he was conveyed before arriving at the place of his destination.

"The principal charges brought against the deputies were, the having approved of the two decrees of the 1st of January, 1811, and of the 2d of February, 1814, upon the conduct which the army and the authorities should observe in case the king should present himself on the frontiers of the kingdom, either surrounded by the troops of Buonaparte, or under his influence. These two decrees, known in almost all Europe, and particularly by the allied powers, were highly applauded for the patriotic sentiments with which they abound; particularly the latter decree, which was justly celebrated in England, because it annulled the peace concluded at Valency between King Ferdinand and Buonaparte.

"Almost all the sentences were passed when the processes were still in a state of *sumario*,—that is, before the accused could defend themselves; before they had brought forward witnesses for their exculpation; which is the same as if in England the accused were condemned upon no other evidence than that of the coroner's

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inquest; for that which in Spain is called the *sumario* of a process, is nothing else but the first information. Those processes, in which a more regular course has been pursued, abound with a thousand other invalidatory circumstances. Among these, one of the most shocking is, that of the persons accused having been prevented from defending themselves in person before the tribunal, which the laws of Spain authorise them to do.

"The Special Commission, appointed for deciding these causes, because the Tribunal of the Alcades of the court, to which the commission was first given, twice refused to take cognizance of them, consists of four judges, one of whom, besides, acts in the character of accuser and witness. It is worthy of remark, that all these judges had themselves taken the oath to the constitution framed by the Cortes: one as member of the Council of Castile, two as deputies, and the fourth as President of the Regency. This has given occasion to one of the most singular occurrences that can be imagined, and which is as follows: On the trial of Admiral Valdez, one of the questions put to him was, 'Why did you cause the constitution to be sworn in Cadiz?' to which the Admiral answered, 'Because I was commanded to do so by Senor Mosquera, then President of the Regency, and now judge in my cause.'

"Some individuals, although not many, have succeeded in withdrawing themselves from persecution, seeking an asylum in foreign countries. The most distinguished among them is the Conde Toreno, deputy of the Cortes, well known in England under the title of Viscount Matarosa, as having been the first diplomatic agent who appeared in that country requesting assistance in the war against Buonaparte; Senors Ysturiz, Diaz del Moral, Quartero, Rodrigo, and Caneja, deputies of the Cortes; Senor Luyando, minister of state; the governors of Segovia, Santander, and several other individuals; without including in this list the two Generals Mina, of whom the first raised in Navarre the division which bore his name, and the second succeeded him in the command when he was made prisoner."

We know not whether we are most to admire the gross ingratitude of the king, or the stupid subservience of the people, when we observe these severities directed against those guerilla leaders who defended the throne and the independence of Spain, when the counsellors by whom Ferdinand is now surrounded had laid both as an offering at the feet of Buonaparte. It is evident that Spain's time for freedom is not yet arrived, and that the Egyptian bondage of despotism must bind his willing subjects perhaps for many years to come. Yet she did not relapse into this lethal slumber without a slight convulsive struggle. Our last year's annals mentioned the premature and unsuccessful attempt of Mina in Navarre, and we have now to commemorate a similar, but more tragical, effort of the celebrated guerilla leader Porlier.

The Marshal-de-Camp Juan Diez Porlier, styled Marquis of Matarosa, in right of his wife, had distinguished himself in the guerilla war, where he commanded a division in the Asturias under the soubriquet of the Marquesito, or Little Marquis, given him on account of his diminutive size, which, like that of the Grecian hero of old, formed a singular contrast to the courage and activity of his mind. He had been rewarded as others were by confinement in the castle of Antonio, where he had remained a close prisoner since August 1814. Having obtained liberty to visit the baths at Artrigo, he seems to have imagined his interest with the

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troops in garrison at Corunna was sufficient to accomplish a revolution upon the principles of the oppressed Liberales. Whether this is to be regarded as a mere insulated effort of despair, or whether he had rational hopes of assistance from accomplices who redeemed these pledges indifferently, we have not the means of knowing. His first step was successful. He assembled the troops which lay at Santa Lucia near the gates of Corunna, and, entering into the town, took possession of it about one in the morning, arrested the captain-general of the province and other persons in authority, and published a proclamation addressed to the armies of Gallicia. In this manifesto he complained, with too much justice, that the restoration of King Ferdinand, which had cost so many lives and sacrifices, had disappointed the hopes of the nation—that, surrounded by unjust and selfish counsellors, he had consented to, and executed a proscription of the most illustrious and deserving Spaniards, and opened the flood-gates of despotism. There remained but one remedy—to re-assemble the Cortes, and let them determine the system by which Spain should be hereafter governed, and in the mean time to name an internal junta for the provisional government of the kingdom of Gallicia. The adoption of this violent, but necessary remedy, was to produce, according to the proclamation, the most beneficial effects. "Henceforth the valiant soldier, the man of talent, and of real merit, shall meet with a solid recompence; arts, agriculture, and commerce, shall resume their ancient splendour; the national wealth shall recover the same channels which formerly nourished it; the soldiers, and others employed by the public, shall be punctually paid; the scale of justice shall return to that equilibrium of force, which is the foundation of the tranquillity of the state. All this, soldiers, is offered you as a reward by the change of the present system; to obtain it, unite your forces with mine, and have confidence in your chiefs; doubt not but that the other armies will follow you, and that all will be actuated by the same impulse. And if even there should be obstacles and difficulties to overcome, valour makes every thing easy."

Sept. 18.

These stirring promises were breathed into indifferent ears. After maintaining possession of Coranna, Ferrol, &c. for four days, Porlier received intelligence that the wealthy Chapter of St Jago had distributed money among the soldiers quartered there, in order to induce them to declare for Ferdinand. Conceiving that his presence might counteract their machinations, Porlier left Corunna in charge of a small garrison of 300 men, and marched with the rest of his forces towards St Jago. He had not long left the town ere a counter-revolution took place, through the influence chiefly of the clergy. The members of the royal government whom Porlier had imprisoned were set at liberty, and those who had shewn themselves friendly to his cause, including the small garrison of Corunna, dispersed, and endeavoured to save themselves without even the show of resistance. This change appeared so wonderful to those who enjoyed the benefit of it, that the members of the royal junta attribute it to the immediate interference of the Most Holy Lady of the Rosary, to whom they prayed fervently in prison, and whose festival was then in the act of being solemnized. The spirit of timidity and defection seized the main body of Porlier's army, who were under his own command. They learned that the troops at Saint Jago, far from evincing any intention to join

Sept. 21.

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them, had resolved to defend the pass by which Porlier must approach the town. He was deserted on his march by the greater part of his men; and at length the rest, listening to fears for their own safety and the instigations of the clergy, suffered their general and officers to be arrested in the midst of their ranks, and thrown into the prison of the Inquisition. He did not long languish in uncertainty of his doom, being condemned and executed at Corunna, with three of his adherents, about four days after the miscarriage of his enterprise. In the last will of the unfortunate Porlier, he requested his wife, whom he named his sole executor, to inter his remains, when circumstances should permit, in a simple tomb, bearing the following affecting epitaph:

"Here rest the ashes of Juan Diez Porlier, general of the Spanish armies. He was always fortunate in what he undertook against the external enemies of his country, and died a victim of its civil dissensions. Ye men, sensible to glory, respect the ashes of an unfortunate patriot."

About one hundred officers were arrested on this occasion, and several were severely punished. Romain, Porlier's second-in-command, had the good fortune to make his escape to England. Thus ended a rash and ill-concerted enterprise. The martyrs of liberty, however, resemble the martyrs of religion, in so much as they frequently incur destruction by a premature attempt to extend its principles among a people blinded by prejudice, and unprepared to receive its lights. Yet the death of such men is not fruitless. It excites, like every other remarkable scene, the attention of the public, and men secretly begin to enquire into the nature of those sentiments which have led the sufferers into danger, and supported them in their last moments.

The death of Porlier, indeed, was not altogether fruitless to his country, even in its present state. The government of Ferdinand appear to have taken the alarm at the insurrection of Corunna, and suddenly became disposed to listen to the advice which was earnestly pressed on them by the allied sovereigns. A sudden change took place in Ferdinand's counsels, and many of his worst counsellors were unexpectedly removed from around the throne. The Duke of San Carlos, author of the infamous treaty at Valençay, was removed from the ministry, and sent as ambassador to Vienna, as to a kind of honourable exile. Escoquiez, the preceptor of Ferdinand, to whose bigotted counsels many of the king's worst measures were imputed, was disgraced and sent to Cordova. Other courtiers were banished, chiefly men of that infamous class which truckled to the French power while uppermost, and who now, not inconsistently, were the most ready to advise the imprudent monarch to acts of despotism. But no beneficial effects followed this favourable change. Instead of consenting to pass an act of amnesty in favour of the Liberales, Ferdinand hastened to pronounce sentences of exile, imprisonment, and personal servitude upon the deputies of the Cortes, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for freedom. Arguelles, the celebrated leader of that party, distinguished by his patriotic zeal and eloquence, was condemned to serve ten years as a private soldier; and similar penalties, worse to a well-constituted mind than death itself, were inflicted upon almost all who had held up the cause of their sinking country during her late agony. Chains, dungeons, despair, death—daily toil, rendered more dreadful by being shared in the society of common stabbers

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and of galley-slaves—such were the rewards which the gratitude of Ferdinand bestowed on the soldiers and statesmen of Spain.

While Spain exhibited a spectacle which would have disgraced the darkest period of the dark ages, her ancient vassals, the States of the Netherlands, were wisely and rationally employed in consolidating their new government on the bases of rational freedom and order. It has been one great advantage arising from the French revolution, and the discussions to which it has given birth, that some well-chosen principles, or axioms of freedom, have been ascertained on all hands to be the fitting groundwork of a new constitution. The Report, which the States of the Netherlands received from the committee appointed to draw up the plan of a constitution, contained the following important articles:—

"All the guarantees, which the first fundamental law had given to individual liberty and property, have been retained.

"Every arbitrary arrest is forbidden.

"If, on an urgent occasion, the government causes an individual to be arrested, he must be brought, within three days, before the judge whom the law assigns him.

"No one can, under any pretext whatever, be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of this judge.

"The unjust penalty of confiscation is abolished.

"All judicial sentences must be pronounced in public.

"Those in civil causes, must contain the grounds on which they are founded; in criminal causes, they must declare the circumstances of the crime, and the law applied by the judge.

"No one can be deprived of his property, except for the public benefit, and for a reasonable indemnity.

"The abode of every subject of the king is inviolable.

"The right of petitioning, duly regulated, is recognized by the law. It admits of no privilege in respect to taxes.

"Every subject of the king is eligible to all employments, without distinction of birth, or of religious belief.

"The liberty of the press will have no other restraint, than the responsibility of him who writes, prints, or distributes.

"The committee have placed among the first duties of the government, that of protecting public instruction.

"The most precious of all rights, that of liberty of conscience, is guaranteed as formally as it is possible to be.

"The committee, after the lapse of ten years, propose to consider as definitive, and as making a part of the fundamental law, the dispositions of the statutes emanating from the king, or approved by him, relative to the right of electing the members of the several assemblies, and the right of sitting in them.

"The present number of deputies sent by the northern provinces remains unchanged. That of the southern provinces has been regulated in an equitable manner, paying particular attention to their population, and to the proportional number of deputies by which they have been already represented."

The report then observes, that there is a part of the States General which ought not to be subject to periodical elections, and proceeds thus:—

"The possessors of a large for-

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tune vested in land, lent to the state, or usefully employed in supporting the national commerce, will carefully watch that none of these sources of public wealth may be obstructed or dried up. They would not be sufficiently independent if they were liable to be removed. We propose to nominate them for life. This nomination must come from the king. The spirit of a monarchical government prescribes it; the interest of the nation demands it. This prerogative will give the sovereign an influence over the higher classes of society, which will be useful to all. It has been the constant rule of our conduct—the inviolable guide of our labours, to bring our institutions to the essence of a limited monarchy."

Having thus provided for the constitution of the States General, the proposed constitution made provision for the mode in which they were to execute their authority.

"The king proposes to the Chamber elected by the provincial states, the projects of laws which have been deliberated upon in his council of state.

"This Chamber examines them; and having adopted them, sends them to the other Chamber, which has to examine them in the same manner.

"The Chamber, whose members are chosen for life, receives and discusses the propositions which the other thinks it proper to make to the king. It never makes any itself.

"It adopts the proposition, and transmits it to the king, who gives or refuses its sanction.

"We have thought that to preserve this precious advantage, it was necessary to render the sitting of the States General public; restraining, however, this publicity within the limits which may prevent the abuse of it, and remove all kinds of danger.

"We have no need, sire, to give any reason for inserting in the project of the fundamental law, the forms of several oaths.

"Your Majesty reigns over a people who have a religious respect for the solemnity of an oath, who take none but with due reflection, and faithfully perform what they have sworn to observe.

"The bases of the organization of the judicial power in the first fundamental law, nearly approaching the ancient law of Holland, do not essentially deviate from the ancient legislation of Belgium—we have retained them.

"In civil causes, the judges in the first instance are placed nearer to those under their jurisdiction.

"The independence of the judges is guaranteed; they receive from the public treasury a salary fixed by the law, and are named by the king, the most of them for life, upon the presentation of the provincial states, or of the Second Chamber of the States General."

It was next provided, that the crown should be hereditary in the family of the present king, with the command of the armies of the state, and the power of making peace and war. On this important point, the fundamental law was recognised, as giving to the crown all due authority, yet under such limits as might ensure the preservation of the rights of the subject.

It must give pride to the British heart to observe, how carefully the principles of our own invaluable constitution have been adopted by this new government, as if our oak had afforded a scyon to every land which desired its powerful shelter. The

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clergy of Belgium alone, a class who somewhat resemble those of Spain, in their love of power and narrowness of principle, saw, in the article which stipulated a general toleration, the downfall of their Great Diana. A remonstrance to the king, *July* 28. subscribed by the bishops of Ghent, Namur, and Tournay, and the vicars-general of Liege and Malines, spoke the language of the ages of intolerance, rather than that of the nineteenth century.

"We most respectfully take the liberty to lay before your majesty an article of the new constitution, which, in securing the same protection to all religions, would be incompatible with the free and entire exercise of our official duties.

"We are bound, sire, incessantly to preserve the people entrusted to our care, from the doctrines which are in opposition to the doctrines of the Catholic church. We could not release ourselves from this obligation without violating our most sacred duties; and if your majesty, by virtue of a fundamental law, protected in these provinces the public profession and spreading of these doctrines, the progress of which we are bound to oppose with all the care and energy which the catholic church expects from our office, we should be in formal opposition to the laws of the state, to the measures which your majesty might adopt to maintain them among us, and in spite of all our endeavours to maintain union and peace, the public tranquillity might still be disturbed.

"We dare not conceal from you, sire, that such regulations, if they were confirmed by your majesty, could only tend to a renewal of the troubles which desolated these provinces in the 16th century; and that they must, sooner or later, alienate the hearts of your faithful subjects in this part of your kingdom, where the attachment to the catholic faith is stronger and more lively than in any other country in Europe.

"Already the proclamation of your majesty, which announced that the new constitution should ensure the liberty of religion, and give all equal favour and protection, filled every heart with consternation. It is known that this dangerous system is one of the main articles of the modern philosophy, which has been the source of so many misfortunes to us—that evidently aims at exciting indifference to all religions—at lessening their influence from day to day, and at destroying them in the end entirely."

But the moving cause of this bigotted clamour is distinctly and honestly confessed to be the exclusion of the clergy from their right to be represented in the national councils, and the allegation that they did not enjoy that influence and consideration which they expected and desired. We believe that the mere perusal of their own Memorial will satisfy most rational persons, how very ill, men capable of arguing in a manner so narrow and illiberal, are fitted to hold political power. From the language of their remonstrance, it seems certain that they do not want the will to give disturbance to the newly settled government; but although the lower rank of Flemings are strict catholics, and as such, under the sway of their priests, the clergy possess too little influence over the better classes, to be in any degree formidable to the tranquillity of the state.

The King of the Netherlands next communicated to the States General a message and law project, relative to the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Grand Duchess Anne of Russia. The politicians, who remembered that the breaking off the match between the Princess Charlotte of Wales and this young Prince of

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Orange was, amongst other causes, imputed to the influence of the Duchess of Oldenburg over our princess, now applauded their own penetration, and declared the private motives of the adviser were but too evident. The alliance, which took place shortly afterwards, was indeed highly desirable, in a political point of view, both to Russia and the Netherlands. But for Britain, we must own, that a connection with the continent, of a nature so very intimate, seemed to us to threaten consequences which almost counterbalanced the personal qualities of the Prince of Orange; and the Princess Charlotte having since found a husband of a suitable rank, and highly gifted with the personal qualities necessary to secure her domestic happiness, as well as the love and esteem of the country, we cannot regret that he has no continental dominions to divide his affections from the country and destined kingdom of his consort.

The fate of Poland, that is of the Duchy of Warsaw, was finally decided by the powers assembled in Congress. It was united to Russia, but with a constitution of its own. The ancient Polish laws were preserved, with some modifications, bringing them nearer to the constitution of 1791. The general diet, or national representation, granted taxes or imports, and before any new law or alteration of the old system can be enforced, it must receive their sanction and that of the sovereign. Some regulations are made for protection of personal liberty, and for bringing accused persons to speedy trial. The ancient Polish capital of Cracow is the only part of the kingdom which still retains its independence, being declared a free city by the Congress. The rest of this fine kingdom, as a separate and independent state, is now blotted from the map of Europe. But the autocrat of Russia unites to his numerous titles that of King of Poland, a sound at which his barbarous predecessors were wont to tremble.

Little of an important nature occurred in Germany during this year. All hopes and fears—all hearts, and almost all hands, were engaged in France, and bent on the issue of that awful conflict. A singular discussion took place betwixt the King of Wirtemberg and his subjects, assembled as States-general. The king (in imitation of Buonaparte, perhaps,) submitted to this convocation a scheme of a constitution, of which he required their acceptance. The States gave him to understand, that *Jan.* 12. they were attached to the ancient constitution of their country, and desired that it should be retained, with such alterations and modifications as the new lights of the times should seem to render necessary. The king procrastinated, adjourned the convention of the states, and, in the meantime, endeavoured to raise taxes by his own authority. The subjects, understanding the full value of reserving to the representative body the command of the supplies, refused to pay the taxes thus imposed. The States having met again in the middle of October, their dispute with the king was renewed on a fresh *Oct.* 15. ground, his majesty alleging, that whatever rights the inhabitants of Old Wirtemberg might claim under their former constitution, none such were competent to his dominions in their extended state. This principle was stoutly opposed by the States, who alleged, that the incorporated territories, having lost their own proper rights, had, in fact, become an integral part of Wirtemberg, and entitled to a full share in its immunities. Negociations were entered into for a final accommodation of the points of

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difference, for which purpose there was a nomination of royal commissioners.

The Prussians seized on their pound of flesh, cut out of the bosom of Saxony, nearest the heart; the portion ceded, contained Thuringia, both Lusatias, and Henneberg. The King of Saxony, from whom these dominions were rended, took leave of his late subjects in an affecting valedictory address. "All my efforts," he said, "to avert so painful a sacrifice have been vain. I must part from you; and the bonds which your fidelity and attachment to my person render so dear to me, the bonds which have formed for ages the happiness of my house and of my ancestry, must be for ever broken." A final peace, of which this cession was the hard purchase, was then signed between Prussia and Saxony. Another accession fell to Prussia in the course of this year. Swedish Pomerania, it may be remembered, had been ceded to Denmark, in lieu of the kingdom of Norway, which was united with Sweden. But the King of Denmark, finding this equivalent lay too much divided from his other dominions to be of any great advantage, bartered Swedish Pomerania and Rugen with Prussia, in consideration of receiving the Duchy of Lauenburgh, ceded for that purpose by Hanover, and a certain sum of money. The king, at the same time, entered into possession of his former Polish provinces, to the inhabitants of which he promised a full share in all the immunities and privileges of his other dominions. Thus the energy of Prussia was recompensed by recovered and extended territory, and, raised from the condition of a second-rate power by her own exertions, she was once more in a capacity to rank among the first sovereign states in Europe.

Prussia being thus enlarged and strengthened, the king proceeded to relax the reins of despotism, which had been drawn so tight by Frederick the Great and his father. He proposed to introduce national representation, the liberty of the press, and other arrangements favourable to public freedom and happiness. Whether these enactments will be so effectually carried into exercise as to qualify in a very material degree the military despotism which has hitherto been the moving principle in Prussia, time alone can determine.

By an important act of confederation, signed at Vienna, the German states endeavoured to substitute a new form of alliance for the dissolved bands of the ancient empire. All the sovereign states and free cities united in this league, and committed the management of the general affairs of the empire to a diet, in which there are to be seventeen votes, several of the inferior states joining together to form a single vote. The representative of Austria is to preside in the Diet, and Frankfort on the Maine is named as the place of meeting. This Amphictyonic council is designed to regulate and adjust such differences as may arise in the confederation, and guarantee the independence of the inferior states. It is also announced, that the Diet shall lay down regulations concerning the general rights of Germans to enjoy landed property, or enter into military service in any state of the empire without distinction; also to lay down leading rules concerning the freedom of the press, and general toleration all through Germany. The plan is, no doubt, wise and patriotic in its outset, and if persevered in on disinterested and steady principles, may do much to give the German empire an unity and consolidation which *June 8.*

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it has hitherto much wanted. But we see no provision made by which the Diet is to enforce its judgment; and we fear in this, as in similar cases, that the representatives of the small states will fall under the management of the most powerful, and thus be used as mere make-weights in the scale. Neither do we augur much actual good to result from general declarations concerning toleration and liberty of the press, which each sovereign may counteract and defeat by his own municipal regulations. Still, however, the solemn and public adoption of these doctrines is a tribute to the improving spirit of the times, which is daily throwing more clear light upon the real interests both of rulers and subjects. There are certain points now admitted and conceded on all hands, which form, as it were, a centre of gravity, to which public opinion, though frequently diverging on either hand, like an agitated pendulum, is sure to fix when the impulse has ceased to act. And, upon the whole, the appearance of Europe at the conclusion of this extraordinary year, holds out a greater promise of tranquillity than has appeared on her horizon for many years, if we except the first period after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814,—an exception which strongly reminds us of the uncertainty of all political predictions.

END OF HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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CHRONICLE.

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CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st.—EDINBURGH.—At a period when the common necessaries of life are to be had at so very low a rate, it has been accounted matter of wonder, as it is of regret, that highway robberies have become so frequent in this country, where they were formerly so little known. While we lament these occurrences, it may be satisfactory to the public, as it is honourable to the army, to know, that of the many characters lodged in the jails of Edinburgh and Glasgow, accused of those lawless deeds, there is not a single instance of any of these individuals being among the classes discharged from the army since the peace of Paris.

Bank of England Accounts.—The average amount of public balances in the hands of the bank, between the 1st of February, 1814, and the 15th of January, 1815, both inclusive, upon accounts opened at the bank, was 261,162*l.*; and the amount of the same (exclusive of the exchequer account,) between the 1st of February, 1814, and the 15th of January, 1815, both days inclusive, upon accounts opened at the bank, previous to the 28th of March, 1800, was 4,227,025*l.* The aggregate amount of bank notes (including 1,200,220*l.* in bank post bills) in circulation on the 15th of May, was 26,473,860*l.* The average amount of unclaimed dividends in the hands of the bank for twelve months, up to the 1st of January, was 779,794*l.* making the gross amount 9,357,533*l.* The amount of unclaimed dividends in the hands of the bank on the 1st of January, 1815, was 1,297,742*l.* of which 876,739*l.* has been advanced to government per 31 and 48 Geo. III. leaving a remainder in the bank of 421,003*l.*

2d.—An inquest was held at the St Andrew's Head, Upper East Smithfield, on the body of a man discovered in Down's wharf, tied up in a hamper, which was to be sent to Scotland. Mr Toss, clerk in the warehouse, deposed, that on Tuesday se'ennight two despicable-looking men came before the wharf was opened, in the morning, with a horse and cart, and enquired if the Leith smack went from thence: on being told it did, they went to a public-house while the warehouse was opening, and afterwards came to him with a hamper. They said the direction was written on a piece of leather,

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which he found by the light was "Mr Wilson, janitor, College, Edinburgh." After they had paid the booking and wharfage, he asked their names, in consequence of the unusual hour at which they came, which they said were Chapman, and then departed. The hamper lay in the warehouse until Friday se'ennight, when the vessel was ready to sail (the Mary Ann of Leith). It was put on board, and the crew, on account of the smell, turned it round two or three times, when the bottom broke, and the hand of a man came through. They sent to the beadle, to inform the proper officers; and on opening the hamper, the body of a man was discovered, with his head bent back between his shoulders, and the body and limbs shockingly mutilated. The beadle corroborated this evidence, as far as related to the state of the body on opening the hamper. Being asked by a juryman, whether he thought the body was taken by any resurrection-men for the purpose of dissection, he said he believed the body was never buried. After a short consultation, the Jury returned a verdict —Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown.

A very alarming riot took place on Christmas night at Ballingcollig, in Ireland. On that night the soldiers were permitted to bring a trifling beverage into the barrack, rather than they should drink in the public-houses without. At a proper time the non-commissioned officers warned the gunners and drivers to retire to bed. This the former immediately complied with, but the latter positively refused. To enforce obedience the guard of the depot was ordered out, but on their appearance, they were assailed in so furious a manner by the drivers, who had provided themselves with pitchforks and other weapons, as effectually to succeed in disarming the guard. Immediately the whole depot was in commotion; the gunners ran to resent the indignity shewn to their comrades, and the drunken drivers to assist their brethren. When, by the vigorous exertions of Major Evely and the officers, the riot was appeased, three drivers were found dead, and 15 gunners and drivers wounded.

2d.—On Monday last an inquisition was taken at Piddington, in this county, on view of the bodies of Robert Cave, and Jane, his wife, who were supposed to have been wilfully poisoned; when, upon an investigation of upwards of seven hours, it appeared that Robert Cave, who usually worked at Horton (about a mile distant) was accustomed to have something hot provided for him on his return home in the evening, generally some broth, and a pudding or dumpling; that on the preceding Wednesday evening he had suet dumpling prepared for him by his wife, the whole of which he ate, and found no ill effects from it; that on the next day (Thursday) she also prepared another suet dumpling for him, taking the flour out of the same bowl, and the suet from the same place as on Wednesday. In eating it he complained of its taste, and only ate about half of it. His wife then ate part of the remainder, giving some to her eldest daughter, who only took a very small quantity. They were all soon afterwards taken extremely ill, and Jane Cave died in about five hours; Robert Cave lived about eight hours, and the daughter, though very ill, is likely to recover. It did not in any way appear how or in what manner the poison was introduced into, or got mixed with the flour or suet, both of which were strongly impregnated with arsenic; no person having been in the house since the making of the dumpling on the Wednesday, except the family of the deceased. Verdict—*Died by Poison.* (*Northampton Mercury.*)

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3d.—IRELAND.—A most atrocious robbery was committed last night at Mornington, the seat of Mr Brabazon, within three miles of Drogheda. About half-past eight o'clock, as Mr Brabazon was returning from his stables to his house, accompanied by his coachman, several armed men, who had been concealed in a shrubbery, rushed on them, knocked them down, and tied them; they then proceeded to the house, when they entered the parlour where Mrs Brabazon was, robbed her of her watch, rings, and trinkets, and then dragged Mr Brabazon into the house, to compel him to discover where his money and arms were. They beat him with the butt-end of pistols in the most savage and brutal manner in the face and on his breast, kicking, treading on him, and holding him to the bars of the grate, to make him discover money they supposed he had concealed; they had, before that brutal treatment, got above 200l. in cash, and above 400l. worth of plate. They remained in the house nearly six hours, rioting, drinking, and firing shots. There were only six men entered the house, but two parties or gangs, of four or five each, remained outside, one party at the back entrance, and another at the front door; they were all armed with pistols and brass blunderbusses. They appeared to be of the lowest order, and their conduct was the most brutal and savage, particularly after they had taken some spirits, wine, &c. The house was well armed and prepared, but the family was most unfortunately taken by surprise, as the attack was made at that very early hour. The gentleman is nearly 80 years of age, most highly respected by all his neighbours, and adored by the poor on his extensive estates; yet no clue or trace could be obtained, so as to guide his friends to the haunts of the perpetrators of this outrage.

The following monthly bulletin of his majesty's health was exhibited on Sunday at St James's palace:—

"*Windsor Castle, Jan. 7.*

"The king's disorder continues unabated, but his majesty has passed the last month in a very tranquil state."

Longevity in the Feathered Tribe.—On Wednesday, the 4th instant, a goose, which formerly belonged to the late Mr John Missing, and lately to R. W. Missing, of Posbrook-cottage, Titchfield, died at the advanced age of *sixty-four* years: the year before last she laid five eggs, and hatched five goslings, one of which is preserved as a curiosity, being the offspring of so aged a mother.

7th.—SLIGO.—John Mulhearn, of Annaughearly, within three miles of this town, has a small float or cot, of a very simple construction, for the purpose of fishing on a neighbouring lake. On last Sunday morning, his three sons fatally committed themselves to this treacherous vehicle, in order to shoot wild-fowl: After they had advanced sufficiently near their object, one of them discharged his gun, which happened not to be clean; the shock repelled him a little; very small force was required to destroy the equilibrium of the unstable float, when two went to the bottom, the other escaping with great difficulty.

8th.—BERWICK.—A serious accident happened here on Thursday morning. A boy belonging to the brig Lydia, of Sunderland, being sent into the cabin in search of something that was wanted on deck, shortly after a dreadful explosion took place, which shivered the interior of the cabin to pieces, and otherwise injured the vessel, and the unfortunate youth was found so severely scorched that he survived only a few minutes, although medical aid was immediately procured. Two of the crew, and some carpenters working in the vessel, were also hurt,

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but not dangerously. It is supposed the boy had procured a light, and going incautiously where some gunpowder was kept, the fatal accident, which cost him his life, was occasioned.

9th.—The following singular circumstance happened on Tuesday last: A sailor, about eight months since, brought home a spiked hand-grenade, and gave it to his mother, who lives in one of the cottages at Sprouston, in the neighbourhood of Kelso. Being unconscious of the combustible materials with which it was filled, no care was taken to keep it from fire, and it has accordingly been used, for some time back, for breaking coals, and other purposes. Unfortunately, however, on Tuesday, it was put upon the side of the fire, in order to support one end of a piece of wood, which had been laid on to burn, when the grenade, having become heated, exploded, and shattered the poor woman's jaw, and otherwise injured her in so dreadful a manner, that she continued for some time in a state of the most imminent danger. She is now, however, in a fair way of recovery. Another woman was also much hurt, and the cottage set on fire; but, by the timely assistance of the neighbours, who were brought to the spot by the noise of the explosion, the flames were quickly extinguished.

11th.—LIMERICK.—Disturbances to an alarming extent continue in some parts of this county. The following list of depredations committed within a short period in the vicinity of Kilmallock has been received:—On the night of the 20th ult. several fellows, armed with blunderbusses and pistols, burglariously entered the houses of Robert Holmes, Malachy Hanlan, Maurice Hennesy, Edwin Erwin, and David Welsh, committed several acts of violence, and stole various articles of value and cash to a large amount. On the night of the 23d ult. the house of Mrs Adams, of Ballycullane, was broken open by an armed banditti, and one gun and three pistols taken away. On the 29th ult. the house of John Donoghue, of Knocksouna, was broken into by an armed party, who, after firing several shots, threatened to burn the house, when Donoghue complied with their mandate, by delivering to the captain three guns, a powder-horn and pouch; after which, on the same night, they broke open several other houses in search of fire-arms: they then attacked the dwelling-house of Anthony Dwyer, of Strikesmill, who resolutely made a determined resistance by firing many shots at them; however, by their number, their continued firing and sledging the door, they at last entered, took one gun, some money, plate, and wearing apparel; they afterwards put him on his knees to shoot him, but were contented by breaking a blunderbuss on his servant-boy's head. On the night of the 31st ult. the houses of John Welsh, of Laurencetown, Maurice O'Donnell, the widow M'Connell, Maurice Hayes, and Michael Mulquin, were broken into, in search of fire-arms: the night following the house of Michael Casey was attacked, and threatened to be fired, until he gave them his musket. Thursday night, a most daring outrage was committed in the village of Ballingarry, in this county, by a number of fellows breaking into the bridewell, and releasing three prisoners confined therein: resistance being offered by the bridewell-keeper, the desperadoes fired and wounded him and his wife severely. An immediate pursuit being set on foot after the perpetrators, the leader, a fellow named Mullowney, was apprehended on the confines of the county of Cork, and was on Monday lodged in our jail, by Thomas Odell and William Smyth, Esqrs.

13th.—AYR.—Early yesterday morning, John Craig in Riccarton, and

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James Muir, collier in Kilmarnock, having been drinking together the greater part of the night, the latter proposing to give the former a convoy home, on their way observing a light in a house, kept by John Craig, a private in the 74th regiment, and his wife, they proposed to have a parting gill, and knocking, asked if they sold any drink; on this, some persons in the house conceiving that they meant an insult to the family, rushed out, and a scuffle ensuing, Muir was knocked down and killed on the spot.

15th.—On Sunday, in Saint Werburgh's church, Dublin, the right honourable Lord Kingsland renounced the doctrines of the church of Rome, and embraced the reformed christian religion.

19th.—*Fire in St Paul's Church-Yard.*—A large house recently occupied by a Mrs Tilt, in the confectionery line, in St Paul's church-yard, has lately been divided into two shops; one of which was fitting up by Messrs Gaimes and Co. for the sale of writing-desks, pocket-books, &c. in contemplation of their present premises coming down to make room for the new post-office, and into which they had removed a considerable part of their stock; the other shop was occupied by Mr Biggs, in the straw-hat line, who had the whole upper part of the premises, and in whose house, about a quarter past six o'clock yesterday morning, a fire was discovered by the foot passengers in St Paul's church-yard, who knocked violently for a considerable time, but none of the family of Mr Biggs were made to hear. At length the door was forced, when the flames burst out with such fury, as to prevent any one from alarming the family up stairs, but which was at length done by the ringing of the bells, and crying out "Fire! fire!" Mrs Biggs, with an infant in her arms, and a servant-maid, got first out of the house, as they had risen from their bed, and were taken to Mr Butler's, who by this time had been called up, where she was covered with shawls, and such other light apparel as was near at hand. Mr Butler entreated her to go up stairs, but the feelings of the mother were too much alive for the safety of her other five children, to admit of a moment's delay, and it is supposed she would have returned, and rushed into the flames in search of them, had she not fainted away; as soon as she recovered, she left Mr Butler's almost in a state of nakedness, but was prevailed on, or rather forced, by those who attended her, to go to another friend's house in Cheapside; the servant and infant remained at Mr Butler's. So rapid were the flames on this unfortunate occasion, that no other person except a servant, with another of Mrs Biggs' children, succeeded in getting out by the door; the rest took to the roof of the house and got away unhurt, among whom was an elderly woman, attending as a nurse on one of Mrs Biggs' lodgers. The eldest son of Mrs Biggs, and his sister, between three and four years old, perished in the flames; nor was it in the power of any one to prevent it; they lodged in a room up stairs, to which those who first got into the house could not reach, and to which the servants who escaped by the roof durst not venture. The two other children of Mrs Biggs escaped, no one can tell how, but they happily did escape, though one of them was not discovered until eleven o'clock yesterday morning, in St Martin's-le-Grand.—This fire entirely consumed the two houses above-mentioned, and damaged the top of the house of Mr Hall to the right, and scorched a little the house of Mr Dolland, the optician, to the left. To add to the misfortune to Mr and Mrs Biggs, the former of whom was on a journey on business, not a

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sixpence of their stock in trade was insured.

Princess de Leon.—We copy the following particulars of the melancholy accident which terminated the life of the Princess de Leon, from the Moniteur of the 12th instant:—

"At four o'clock on the evening of the 9th instant, the Princess de Leon, 21 years of age, and youngest daughter of the Duchess of Serent, was alone in her chamber and preparing to set out to dinner at the Duke of Orleans'. In this situation the fire caught her robe; she shrieked, and fell in her apartment. Mr De Serent, on hearing her cries, ran to her assistance. By this time the flames had ascended more than three feet above her head. The Prince de Leon, who had but just quitted her before the accident, was sent for, and found her seated in an armed chair, with her clothes quite consumed.

"M. Boyer and the physician were sent for; at ten o'clock the confessor arrived. The young princess was in the greatest agony, and desired that no person should be allowed to enter but her husband. With an angelic mildness she exclaimed—'Oh! what will not my mother suffer; I suffer more upon her account than on my own.' Her situation during the night was frightful, but the danger was not conceived immediately imminent. At eight o'clock on the 10th, the princess was freed by death from her agonies; her reason, courage, and resignation, remained until the last moment. Madame the Duchess of Angouleme, Monsieur, and the Dukes of Angouleme and Berri, hastened to condole with the Duchess of Serent. The Princess of Leon combined the most solid virtues with the most amiable graces; she possessed an unaffected piety, and a most varied and extended information; and, added to the softer qualities of the heart, a sound taste for literature and the fine arts. All those who had the honour of an acquaintance with this illustrious lady will bewail her loss, and consecrate to her memory the dearest recollections."

Limerick.—James O'Sullivan, Esq. of this city, and his son, with a speciality from the sheriff, proceeded to the estate at Faba Pound, county of Tipperary, to execute an habere issued against Mr H. Cashel Harte, to part of which Mr H. was under-tenant. When arrived there about one o'clock, they obtained a peaceable and quiet possession of the house and lands; but on the return of Mr Harte, about half-past four o'clock, who had been from home on a shooting excursion, he endeavoured to repossess his house, by collecting a party, and Mr H. having fired in through a window at the speciality, and those on the inside, they quickly returned the fire, when he was killed on the spot.

23d.—London.—An inquest was held at the Lion and Lamb, Lower Grosvenor-street, before Anthony Gell, Esq. coroner for Westminster, on the body of Sarah Sylvester, a cook in the family of the Rev. Dr Robert Hodgson, rector of St George, Hanover-square, who put an end to her existence by cutting her throat with a razor, in a hayloft over the stable in the rear of the house, in Lower Grosvenor-street, after having delivered herself of a male child, whose body was found lying near her, with a silk handkerchief tied round its neck, and the body covered round with hay-bands. It appeared in evidence, that between 10 and 11 o'clock on Thursday morning, the deceased was missed from her master's house; it was then supposed she was gone out on some business of her own, but not returning as the dinner hour drew near, the butler enquired for her at the houses of several persons where she used to frequent, but she was not to be found. Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, the butler and kitchen-maid commenced a fresh search for her, and after looking over every part of the house, they searched the out-offices: on their going up to the loft over the stable, they found the door shut close to: the butler knocked at the door and called,

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but receiving no answer, he pushed it hard, and found it was unlocked, but kept shut by something being placed against it on the inside: he forced open the door so far as to admit his head, and looking in saw the deceased lying against the door with her throat cut, and the floor covered with blood; he turned away horror-struck. He made the circumstance known to his master, who sent for Mr Barrow, a surgeon. Dr Hodgson, Mr Barrow, and several of the domestics, proceeded to the hayloft. The deceased was quite dead, with her throat cut from ear to ear, and an open razor was lying by her side, and at her feet was the body of a new-born male infant, also dead, with a silk handerchief tied round its neck, and the body wrapped up in a hay-band. No particular acts of insanity, on the part of the deceased, were laid before the jury: but it appeared that her having the razor in her possession might be accounted for, as it was necessary for a woman to have a sharp instrument for the purpose of delivery, that she might so have it without any idea of committing suicide, and that her pains and the want of proper assistance at the time might have brought on a momentary derangement.—On the body of the infant there appeared no particular marks of violence, and the jury were led to suppose that the cause of the handkerchief being tied round the child's neck was for the purpose of delivering herself. The enquiry was long and minute; at length the jury, under the direction of the coroner, returned a verdict of *Lunacy;* they gave a verdict of *Found Dead* on the body of the child. The deceased was 36 years of age, and had lived between seven and eight years in the family.

The French papers contain the details of the discovery and disinterment of the remains of Louis XVI. and his queen, which took place on the 18th and 19th.—The queen's were found first under a thick layer of lime. The coffin was for the most part consumed, but within the impression of the coffin upon the layer of lime underneath were found a great number of bones, and the head entire, placed in such a situation as to shew beyond a doubt that it had been detached from the trunk. Some fragments of clothes, and two elastic garters in tolerable preservation, were also found. On the next day, below the tomb of the queen, were found in the midst of lime and earth the bones of Louis XVI. most of which were corroded and ready to crumble to dust; the head was covered with lime, and was found between the two legs; by previous accounts it had been stated to have been so placed when the body was consigned to the coffin on the 21st of January, 1793, immediately after the ill-fated monarch's execution. The remains of the two illustrious personages were placed in coffins prepared for them, and conveyed in solemn funeral pomp to the ancient burial place of the kings of France, the abbey of St Denis.

28th.—SCOTLAND.—MURDER.—A horrid murder was on Wednesday committed on James Murdoch, a shopkeeper at Langrig, a small village near Whitburn. The following are the circumstances:—This poor man was visited about eight days ago by an old acquaintance, of the same name, who was a soldier, and lately discharged. This person had been hospitably entertained by the deceased, who kept house by himself in that lonely part of the country. The neighbours were surprised that the shop was not opened on Wednesday as usual, and in the afternoon several of them assembled and forced open the door, when, to their astonishment, they found the visitor and pretended friend, of whom they enquired what was become of the deceased, and they were answered, that

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he had gone to Whitburn, whence he would return in the evening. This answer raised their suspicion. They rushed forward, when they were presented with the awful spectacle of the murdered body! The man attempted to make his escape, but was quickly overtaken and secured. The weapon with which this barbarous act was perpetrated, was a carpenter's adze, which had nearly divided the head of the deceased. The man when taken into custody had the watch of the deceased and some bank notes concealed in his clothes, and some silver in his stockings. He was immediately conveyed to Linlithgow jail, and has since been hanged, confessing his guilt.

AGRIGULTURAL REPORT.

The weather during the last three months, has not been more unfavourable to agricultural labour, than was to be expected for the season of the year; and ploughing, and other field-work, appear to be in as forward a state as usual. The young plants of wheat and clover are at present secured by a covering of snow, against any danger from frost. Turnips, which continued growing without any check, till near the end of November, have turned out, in the consumption, a much better crop than was at one time expected, and have hitherto escaped injury. Hay and straw, both of them very deficient articles, threaten to become scarce in some districts, if the spring months be not unusually mild; but, in general, no great apprehensions seem to be entertained of a want of fodder.

Fat cattle and sheep bring fair prices, though not so much as about a month ago. Wool has been rising, and, if the treaty of peace with America be ratified, is likely to rise still higher. In lean stock, little business is done, during the winter months, in this part of the island.

Of the last crop of corn the accounts are various. Throughout Scotland, though the quality is not so good, in general, as in favourable seasons, the quantity does not appear to be much, if at all, below that of an average crop. But from most parts of England, the wheat crop in particular is represented to have been very deficient both in quantity and quality.

Until the last fortnight, prices of all sorts of grain have been sinking more and more every week. For the week ending the 21st January, the average of all England and Wales, was, for wheat, 60*s.* 8*d.* per quarter; and that of Scotland, for the four weeks ending 15th January, 51*s.* 4*d.* For the first time since the law of 1804, the general returns of prices begin to excite some attention; and expectations are entertained, that the average price for the six weeks preceding the 15th February, will be below 63*s.* and thus subject foreign wheat to the high duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* for three months thereafter, which may be held equivalent to a prohibition. But, in so far as yet appears, these hopes will not be realized; and perhaps the trifling advance of late may be produced by some management on the part of the importers, to guard against such an event. It is not improbable that they may have thought it for their interest to feed the market sparingly for a few weeks at this critical period. But they cannot be charged with having acted long on such views; for, in three months, there has been brought into the port of London alone, 260,000 quarters of wheat; and in the week ending the 5th November, no less than 52,000 quarters; the greater part of it from France, and paid for, not in manufactures, but in specie.

The eyes of every corn-grower in Britain are now anxiously directed to the meeting of Parliament. This august body will then have to determine

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the fate of a very large proportion of the people of the United Kingdom. Should it be decided that the capital now vested in agriculture must either be annihilated or transferred to manufactures and commerce, those nations who have long looked with jealousy on the power and prosperity of this country, will have reason to apply to us the well-known adage—*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementit.*—Farmer's Magazine.

FEBRUARY.

1st.—*Duel between Mr O'Connell, and Mr D'Esterre.*—The Freeman's Journal contains the following account of this duel:—

"A difference was adjusted yesterday at Bishop's Court, county of Kildare, which had agitated this city for several days.

"At the meeting at Capel-street, on the Saturday previous to the late Aggregate Assembly, Mr O'Connell attended, and in illustrating some matter which he was anxious to enforce, he alluded in a contemptuous manner to the Corporation of Dublin. 'The beggarly Corporation of Dublin,' was, it seems, one of the epithets of scorn used in reprobation of this act. Mr D'Esterre is a member of the Corporation, and having seen this phrase, he addressed a letter on the 25th, to Mr O'Connell, requiring to know whether he was fairly reported. On the day after Mr O'C. sent an answer, in which he said that he would not avow nor disavow what had been reported in the newspapers; but he added, that if Mr D'Esterre wrote to him to know his opinion of the Common Council of Dublin as a body, he could easily satisfy him, by saying, that no expression which language could furnish was sufficient to convey the sentiments of contempt he had for that body. Mr O'C. besides requested that Mr D'Esterre should consider his answer as forming the close of the epistolary corespondence on this topic. On Friday a letter was left at Merrion-square, for Mr O'C. during his absence at the Courts. Its direction was different from the former one which came from Mr D'Esterre, and Mr James O'Connell, who had instructions to open any communications that were directed to his brother in his absence, ascertained the quarter from whence it came. He sought merely for the signature, and on perceiving it to be Mr D'Esterre's, he immediately closed the letter, and stated in a note to Mr D'Esterre the circumstances under which he opened it. He said he was ignorant of its contents, not wishing, after the request his brother had made on the day previous, to know any thing more of Mr D'Esterre's epistolary messages. He added, that his brother did not expect to hear a second time from Mr D. through the medium of a letter. Things remained in this condition until Sunday. On this day Mr James O'Connell received a note from Mr D'Esterre, containing disrespectful observations on himself and his brother. Immediately after the receipt of it, he sent his friend Captain O'Mullan to Mr D. to say, that after he had adjusted his affairs with his brother, he would bring him to account for his conduct to himself peculiarly. Captain O'Mullan at the same time intimated that Counsellor O'C. was astonished at his not hearing in what he conceived *the proper way* from Mr D'Esterre. Nothing further happened until Tuesday; when, it seems, Mr D'Esterre was met on one of the quays by Mr Richard O'Gorman, who remonstrated with him, by stating that he conceived he was pursuing a very unusual sort of conduct. This occurred about three o'clock,

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but no challenge followed. About four it was understood that Mr D'Esterre was on the streets, and Mr O'Connell paraded about with one or two friends, but did not come across his antagonist. A multitude soon collected about him, among whom there could not be less than five hundred gentlemen of respectability, and Mr O'Connell, then, had no other resource left than to take refuge in a house in Exchequer-street. In a short time Judge Day entered in his magisterial capacity to put him under arrest. The Hon. Justice said, he would be satisfied if he had the guarantee of Mr O'Connell's honour, that he would proceed no further in the business. "It is not my duty, Mr Justice," said Mr O'Connell, "to be the aggressor. I will, therefore pledge my honour that I will not be the aggressor—further, however, I must tell you, that no human consideration will induce me to go." The Hon. Judge then retired, and Mr O'Connell shortly after repaired to Merrion-square. No challenge of any kind grew out of Tuesday's proceedings.

"On Wednesday morning, however, it was intimated to Mr O'Connell that Mr D'Esterre intended to call upon him for a meeting. Twelve o'clock was fixed upon for the nomination of hour and place. There was some overture made to enlarge the time, but Mr O'Connell's friend would not consent. This friend was Major M'Namara, of Doolen, in the county of Clare, a protestant gentleman attached to no party, and of the highest respectability. The friend of Mr D'Esterre was Sir Edward Stanley. After some discussion the parties fixed upon the ground.—The hour appointed was half-past three o'clock.

"At three o'clock Mr O'Connell, attended by his friend, Surgeon Macklin, and a number of friends, was on the ground. About four Mr D'Esterre, attended by Surgeon Peele, Sir Edward Stanley, Mr Piers, and a Mr D'Esterre, of Limerick, appeared.—There was some conversation between the seconds as to position, mode of fire, &c. which, added to other sources of delay, occupied forty minutes. During this interval, Mr D'Esterre took occasion to say, that his quarrel with Mr O'Connell was not of a religious nature—to the catholics or their leaders, he said he had no animosity whatsoever. At forty minutes past four the combatants were on the ground. They both displayed the greatest coolness and courage. The friends of both parties retired, and the combatants having a pistol in each hand, with directions to discharge them at their discretion, prepared to fire. They levelled—and before the lapse of a second both shots were heard. Mr D'Esterre's was first, and missed—Mr O'Connell's followed instantaneously, and took effect in the thigh of his antagonist, about an inch below the hip. Mr D'Esterre fell, and both the surgeons hastened to him. They found that the ball had traversed the hip, and could not be found. There was an immense effusion of blood. All parties prepared to move together towards home, and arrived in town before eight o'clock.

Mr D'Esterre died at five o'clock on the 3d.

2d.—Cork.—A robbery of a very serious nature was committed last night or this morning at the Post-office. It must have taken place between the hours of twelve at night, when the persons employed there left it, and five this morning, when they resumed their occupation. In the mean time the lock of the outside door leading into the delivery-office was most dexterously picked, as well as the locks of the different drawers and boxes inside. The loss amounts, as we learn, to near 300*l.* of which 100*l.* was in silver. The depredators took away

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but two letters, supposed to contain bank-notes, but this is only conjecture. The most diligent search has been making, so as to lead to a discovery, but as yet without success.

The King's Health.—On Saturday Lord St Helens and Gen. Campbell, as lord and groom in waiting, attended at St James's Palace, when the following report of the state of the king, during the last month, was exhibited:—

"*Windsor Castle, Feb. 4.*

"The king continues in good health; but since the last report his majesty has been less uniformly tranquil than he was during some preceding months."

6th.—Edinburgh.—A very numerous meeting of the Pitt Club of Scotland, at which the Earl of Glasgow presided, took place on Saturday in the Assembly Rooms. Nearly 400 gentlemen sat down to dinner, and the pleasures of the evening were considerably enhanced by the performances of Messrs Elliotts, King, and Evans, who sung a number of beautiful glees. The music was under the direction of Mr Gow,—the entertainment was served up by Fortune.

7th.—The Duke of Wellington reached Vienna on the night between the 1st and 2d instant. He was received with the highest distinction. The Emperor Alexander anticipated the visit of our general, and remained at his hotel an hour and a half. He had audiences of the Emperor Francis and the other sovereigns on the 2d; dined in company with several ministers on the same day; and in the evening appeared at a masquerade, accompanied by Lord Stewart and a lady in mask, supposed to be Lady Castlereagh.

8th.—London.—Yesterday morning his Grace the Duke of St. Albans, accompanied by his solicitor, bailiff, and other agents, attended before Mr Birnie, for the investigation of a burglary in his grace's house, at Hanworth Park, against John Lindsay, his own gardener, when it appeared, that on the night of the 18th January, his grace's house was broken open at Hanworth Park, when the housekeeper's desk was stolen, containing a number of bank-notes, which had been given to her to pay certain bills; bank-notes belonging to the housekeeper, and various other articles of property; three pair of sheets, and other property. The grounds of suspicion were, that he was out from his lodging at an unseasonable hour of the night of the robbery, and had absconded from his lodging. Since his confinement, his lodging has been searched by Humphreys and Adfield, and part of an old knife found, which, on being compared with the part of the shutter which was forced open, it was found to fit it exactly, and some pearl buttons which resembled some stolen out of the duke's house.—The prisoner was fully committed for trial.

A most daring and barbarous murder was committed at Dagnall, in Buckinghamshire, on the body of Mrs Mary Hall, who was found murdered in her house about twelve o'clock on the above day. There is every reason to believe that the horrid deed was perpetrated between the time of the body being found and nine o'clock of the same morning, as she was seen for the last time by her neighbours about that time. The wounds appeared to have been inflicted by a bill-hook, as one was found close to the body in a very bloody state. A chest was found broken open, and cash and notes to the amount of about 350*l.* stolen, and a variety of other articles of property discovered to have been carried off. On the discovery of the murder and robbery, a general alarm took place in the neighbourhood, which spread through that part of the country, and a number of persons went in pursuit of the

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perpetrators; two suspicious characters were in consequence apprehended, and were taken before the sitting magistrates at Great Berkhampstead, and underwent an examination.

9th.—The Duchess Dowager of Orleans met with an unfortunate accident a few days ago at Paris. She had been on a visit to the Duchess of Duras, and on going down stairs, she unfortunately fell and broke one of her legs.

The notorious Mehee de la Touche, it is known, had brought an action against a French printer for having said, that he signed the orders for the dreadful massacres of September 2d and 3d, 1792. The Tribunal of Correctional Police has just acquitted the printer, and saddled M. Mehee with the costs. The Paris papers say he had diligently attended all the hearings, but left the court before judgment was pronounced.

The colonelcy of the 2d dragoons (or Scots Greys), vacant in consequence of the death of the Marquis of Lothian, has been given to General Sir James Stewart Denham, Bart.; the successor of Sir James to the 12th is not yet named.

Duel between Colonels Quentin and Palmer.—Colonel Palmer had been at Bourdeaux, and on his return to Paris on Thursday last, found that Mr Lawrell (Colonel Quentin's brother-in-law) had left a card repeatedly at his hotel during his absence, in consequence of which he immediately signified his arrival to that gentleman. Mr Lawrell soon after waited upon him with a challenge from Colonel Quentin. The parties met, Colonel Quentin accompanied by his relative, and Colonel Palmer by Mr T. Thompson, the member for Midhurst. The distance measured was twelve paces, and the challenger, thinking himself aggrieved, having given his fire, Colonel Palmer shewed that he was influenced by no personal motive, by instantly discharging his pistol in the air. Mr Lawrell and Colonel Quentin having thereupon, in answer to an enquiry from Mr Thompson, declared themselves perfectly satisfied, the affair terminated, and the parties returned to Paris. The Duke de Guiche and two French surgeons were upon the ground.

Lady Hamilton.—This lady, whose varied and eventful life has rendered her an object of interest in other countries as well as in England, died on the 16th ult. at Calais. The origin of this celebrated and accomplished lady was very humble, and she had experienced all those vicissitudes in early life which too generally attend those females whose beauty has betrayed them into vice, and which, unhappily, proves their chief means of subsistence. She was in her younger years, we believe, a domestic in the family of Alderman Combe, afterwards in that of the late Mr Linley, the composer. Few women, who have attracted the notice of the world at large, have led a life of more freedom. When, however, she became such an object of admiration as to attract the attention of painters, she formed connections which, if she had conducted herself with prudence, might have raised her into independence, if not affluence. Romney, who evidently felt a stronger admiration for her than what he might be supposed to entertain merely as an artist, made her the frequent subject of his pencil. His admiration remained till the close of his life in undiminished ardour. The late Charles Greville, well known for his refined taste in *vertu*, and who was a prominent character in the world of gallantry, was the protector, to use the well-bred language of the polite circles, of Lady Hamilton for some years; and when his uncle, the late Sir William Hamilton, wanted to take abroad with him a *chere amie*, he recommended the

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lady with so good a character, that Sir William took her with him, and having a reliance on her fidelity, married her. Sir William returned to this country, for the purpose of getting her introduced at court, in order to procure a similar honour for her at the court of Naples, but found it impossible for him to enable her to pass over that chaste barrier which defends the purity of British majesty. Sir William, therefore, returned to Naples, and the lady, by her own talents and assiduity, recommended herself so well to the king and queen of that kingdom, that she became a great favourite with both, and particularly with the latter. The friendship between Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson is too well known to need any record in this place. It is, however, much to be regretted, that she was induced to give those letters to the world, which were more calculated to display his private opinions and feelings, than to increase the lustre of his public character. But she, perhaps, might urge the plea of Shakspeare's apothecary, "My *poverty*, but not my *will*, consents."—In private life, she was a humane and generous woman, intoxicated with the flattery and admiration which attended her in a rank of life so different from the obscure condition of her early days, but always affable, kind, and obliging to all whom she had any opportunity of serving by her influence. In compliance with her dying request, her remains are to be brought to England for interment.

12th.—EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday last, the lord provost and council conferred the freedom of the city on J. C. Curwen, Esq. of Workington-hall, Cumberland, as a mark of their high opinion of his eminence as an agriculturist, and celebrity for his melioration of the state of the poor. In a neat short speech of thanks to the council, he said, that his having been educated here led him to consider it the highest honour that could be paid him.

14th.—On Thursday morning, it was discovered that two of the rooms situated in the new jail, Glasgow, had been entered during the night by some housebreakers. It appears that, having entered the premises by going in at a window of Mr Henderson's, they proceeded to Mr Bennet's room, in which they forced open and rumaged two desks. They, however, retired without taking any thing with them, leaving a small key in one of the rooms. —We believe this to be the first instance on record of a jail having been broken *into* by thieves.

We extract the following from a Jamaica paper:—

AFRICAN SUPERSTITION.—A Special Slave Court was held at the Alley, in Vere, on the 6th of December, for the following slaves, viz. Aberdeen, Adam, and Preston, belonging to the Salt Savannah estate, charged with the murder of another slave, named Thomas, the property of James Holmes, Esq. by burying him alive. It appeared from the evidence, that the parties were all Congers, and had made *a play*, according to the custom of their country, when Thomas dug a grave, in which he laid himself down, desiring his companions to cover him up for the space of one hour; but that if he did not rise again in another place in that time, they were to open the grave. Aberdeen and Preston were appointed to close up the grave, and Adam to play upon the gombah (African music), all of which was punctually performed. Some other negroes belonging to the estate appeared, however, before the ceremony was completely finished, and had sense enough to open the grave; but it was too late, the unfortunate victim of his own credulity being dead. His honour the Custos charged the jury on the crime, when they found them guilty of *Man-*

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slaughter; and the following sentence was passed, viz. each to receive thirty lashes on the spot where the catastrophe took place, in the presence of all the estate's negroes, then to be severally burnt in the hand, and to suffer one month's solitary confinement in the county jail.

14th.—Death of the Duke of Dorset.—The Duke of Dorset had been since Monday on a visit to Lord Powerscourt, and yesterday joined a hunting party in the vicinity of Killiney. His grace was an adventurous horseman, and entered warmly into the spirit of the chace towards its close; and when his horse was a good deal fatigued by the ardour with which he had been urged forward, his grace leapt a small stone wall, at the opposite side of which loose stones had been collected. The horse effected the leap, but fell among the stones, on which he necessarily lighted, and his rider was consequently thrown off.

His grace, it seems, came to the ground on his breast, with so great a shock, as proved fatal in a short period after. He was unconscious of having been materially injured, for in reply to a question from Lord Powerscourt, who was near at the time of the accident, "If he was much hurt?" his grace said, "He believed not." He was immediately taken to the house of Mr Oxley, from which a messenger was instantly dispatched to town for surgeons Crampton and Macklin. Before their arrival, however, though they travelled with every possible expedition, his grace had expired. He lived little more than an hour after the fatal event took place. The Honourable Mr Wingfield, Lord Powerscourt's brother, and Mr Oxley, were with him when he died. The sad catastrophe was not accompanied with any apparent symptoms of very acute suffering; he raised himself up by their assistance, as a last effort of life, and said, almost inarticulately, "I am off," and expired.

His excellency the lord lieutenant and the Duchess of Dorset had been acquainted with the circumstance of the Duke of Dorset's having fallen from his horse as expeditiously as it was practicable to have made the communication, and set off for Powerscourt, where they expected to have found his grace. Not meeting with him, or learning any thing certain respecting the injury he had received at Powerscourt, they moved rapidly on towards Killiney, where his excellency was apprised of the extent of the calamity which had happened, timely enough to prevent the Duchess of Dorset from being a witness of it. Overwhelmed with the poignancy of their feelings, these illustrious personages returned to the Castle, where the body of the Duke of Dorset was conveyed in Lord Powerscourt's carriage. In consequence of this lamentable event, the ode, levee, and ball to celebrate her majesty's birth-day, were postponed.

Gaieties Abroad.—*Brussels, Feb. 16th.*—This place exhibits a daily scene of gaiety. On Monday last his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange gave a grand masked ball and supper; the party who danced were dressed in a superb and handsome style: the dresses were fixed upon by his Royal Highness and Lady John Somerset; they were chiefly composed of satins, and cost nearly forty louis each. There were nearly 600 present, and the fancy dresses worn by the Belgians were beautiful in the extreme. Among the characters present were, the Duchess of Richmond, as a poor woman with a basket of eggs; Lady Mountmorris, as an old woman of the last century; Lord John Somerset and Miss Julia Cavendish, as two beggar women, were admirable; Mr B. Gage, as Dr Doodle; Messrs Greathead and Webster, as Scotch-

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men; Major Keuenehenberg, as a Don Cossack; Lord Rendlesham and Dr Hyde, as Jews; Colonel Holmes, as a post-boy; and Mr Bowles, as a French postillion.—The whole of the characters were sustained with great effect."

17th.—Horse Guards.—At a general court-martial held at Winchester, January 16, 1815, and continued by adjournments to February 7, Lieutenant-General Sir J. Murray, Bart. was arraigned upon the under-mentioned charges, viz.—

1st. "For landing or continuing on shore when landed, between the 7th and the 12th of June, 1813, near Tarragona, a large quantity of heavy artillery, ammunition, and stores, when he had good reason to believe that no real benefit could be derived for ten or twelve days, as to producing the fall of Tarragona by these means; and when he had received information, which he believed, that long before that time a superior force of the enemy would be near him, and was aware that the siege must then be abandoned, knowing at the same time the great difficulties and dangers attending a sudden re-embarkation on that coast; such conduct being highly unmilitary, and against the spirit of his instructions.

2d. "For neglect of duty and disobedience of the express written order of his Excellency Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, the commander of his Majesty's forces in the peninsula, by not immediately re-embarking the whole of the forces under his command (after he had determined to raise, and had actually raised, the siege of Tarragona), and returning to Valencia in order to assist the Spanish armies in that province in securing the positions which they might have acquired there.

3d. "For neglect of duty in hastily re-embarking the forces under his command, without any previous preparations or arrangements, and thus precipitately and unnecessarily abandoning a considerable quantity of artillery, stores, and ammunition, about the 12th of June, 1813, near Tarragona, when he was so far from being compelled to this degrading measure by the immediate approach of any superior force, or by any other sufficient cause, that by due zeal, firmness, and exertion, the greater part, if not the whole, might have been embarked in safety,—Admiral Hallowell, who was at the time on duty on the station, engaging to effect the same:—such conduct being highly to the prejudice of the service, and detrimental to the British military character."

Upon which charges the court came to the following decision:

"With respect to the first and second charges, that Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray is not guilty."—"With respect to the third charge, that Lieut.-General Sir John Murray is guilty only of so much of that charge as states, 'That he unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety, such conduct being detrimental to the service;' and the court does therefore find him guilty of such part, but does acquit him of the remainder of that charge. The court, under all the circumstances of the case, considering the conduct of Sir John Murray to have proceeded from a mere error in judgment, is of opinion, and does adjudge, that, for the part of the third charge, of which Lieut.-General Sir John Murray has been so found guilty, he be admonished in such a manner as his royal highness the commander in chief may think proper."

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to approve and confirm the finding and sen-

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tence of the court; but, as the court has only attributed to Sir John Murray a mere error in judgment, the case has not appeared to his Royal Highness to call for any further observation.

23d.—This day arrived official details of a naval triumph, which has put into British possession the well-known American frigate, the President, commanded by the best officer in the service of the United States, Commodore Decatur. The account of this capture was brought by an officer, who arrived on Friday at the Admiralty with dispatches. The President had escaped from New York, and was chased next day by a squadron of his Majesty's ships under Captain Hayes; but, by means of cutting away her anchors, and throwing overboard her stores and provisions, she was enabled to make so much way, that only the Endymion of 40 guns, Captain Henry Hope, could overtake her. This ship engaged her for some hours yard-arm and yard-arm, and the contest was maintained, notwithstanding the Endymion's inferiority of force, with great courage, till the Pomone frigate coming in sight, Commodore Decatur hailed to say he had already struck. The President had at this time six feet water in her hold, and had lost a great number of men. The Endymion had suffered much in sails and rigging, but had only 10 men killed and 14 wounded. The whole proceeding is such as reflects the highest credit on Captain Hope, and the gallant crew of the Endymion.

MARCH.

1st.—FATAL ACCIDENT.—On Monday last a most distressing event took place at Salter Mills, near Saltash, near Plymouth. A young man, called William Gilbert, about 23 years old, son of Mr William Gilbert, a respectable innkeeper in that borough, was sent to bring home some barley, left to be ground at the mill. On his arrival there, he entered the kitchen adjoining the mill, and observed the apprentice girl, and a little boy, son of Mr Barus, late of the Fountain Inn, sitting on a chair playing with a rusty pistol. The child, on seeing the young man, said, "I'll shoot you, Will Gilbert."—"You will, will you; then I'll shoot you," replied the young man, in a playful manner; and, on perceiving a gun (which had been loaded for the purpose of killing wild fowl) placed over the chimney-piece, he took it down, and asked the girl whose it was. The girl jocosely replied, "Yours;" on which he presented it towards the window, and it missed fire; but, on pulling the trigger a second time, it went off, and lodged its contents in the right eye of John Barus, a fine boy, about six years old, who immediately expired. Gilbert, seeing the child fall, took him in his arms, and finding the body lifeless, exclaimed, "Good God! what shall I do?—what shall I do?—Oh! I'll go drown myself!" and, in a frantic state of mind, he left the house, running towards the mill pond, followed by the girl, who exclaimed at the moment, "Do not drown yourself." Presently she saw him plunge into the water, with a great noise, and immediately sink. The body was not found until the following morning, when an inquest was held by John Evans, Esq. coroner; the jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of *Lunacy*. The mill-house being out of the boundary of Saltash, Mr Hambly, of Bodmin, coroner for the county, attended, to hold an inquest on the child, and the jurors gave a verdict—*Accidental death*.—The remains of both unhappy victims were deposited in St Stephen's church.

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THE KING.

Windsor Castle, March 4th.

"The king continues in good health, and any deviation from a state of perfect composure, which had been observed in his majesty during the month of January, has entirely subsided for more than a fortnight past.

"H. HALFORD. W. HEBERDEN.
"M. BAILLIE. R. WILLIS."

7th.—The Prince of Aremberg, who died at Vienna on this day, lost his life by the following accident:—A spirited horse which he was riding in St Joseph's-square knocked down a woman. The prince with much difficulty succeeded in stopping his horse, and alighted to enquire into the situation of the woman, who had fortunately received no serious injury, though greatly alarmed. The young prince again mounted his horse, which appeared tranquil, but shortly afterwards reared and threw his rider. His head was nearly laid open, and the horse with a single kick broke several of his ribs. He was conveyed in a lifeless state to the house of his brother-in-law, Prince Schwartzenberg. This accident calls to mind those which have already taken place in the same family. The father of the young prince received when hunting a gunshot in his eye, by which he was deprived of sight; his mother was guillotined; his brother was forced to banish himself in consequence of a duel, in which he had the misfortune to kill his adversary; and, finally, his sister perished in the fire which broke out in the house of Prince Schwartzenberg, at Paris.

8th.—An attempt was made to excite a riot at Canterbury, on acount of the corn-bill. A number of the lower orders paraded the effigy of a noble earl through the principal streets of the city; and in the evening, having returned to the front of the Guildhall, consigned it to the flames, amidst hootings, hisses, and groans. They then proceeded to acts of violence, by breaking the windows of John Baker, Esq. one of the members of parliament for the city, at St Stephens; and of Mr D. J. Parker, at the end of North-lane. The disturbances, however, were speedily quelled, and next day, John Jarman, one of the rioters, was committed to gaol, together with his brother Thomas Jarman, who had attempted a rescue.

9th.—Mr Finlay of Glasgow, presented a bill to the House of Commons for making and maintaining a navigable canal from Gilmour Place, near the city of Edinburgh, to join the Forth and Clyde navigation near Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, with a collateral cut from Gilmour Place to Grindlay's parks, near the said city, and for making and maintaining a railway from the said canal, near the farm-house of Auldcathy, in the parish of Dalmeny, to the burgh of Queensferry, both in the county of Linlithgow; and the same was read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday morning a number of disorderly people assembled on the Deanside Brae, under the pretext of shewing their disapprobation of the corn-bill, and having previously prepared an effigy emblematic of their design, about 12 o'clock a large bonfire was kindled for the purpose of immolating their victim. The magistrates, however, in order to check these tumultuary proceedings, sent the horse patrole to the spot, who dispersed the meeting, and lodged the *man of straw* in safety in the Police-office. The crowd again assembled in Queen-street about three o'clock, manifesting strong symptoms of a riotous disposition, by breaking the windows of the house of Mr Finlay (the member for the city), and pelting the patrole with mud and stones. Any further mischief, however, was prevented

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by the arrival, between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, of two troops of cavalry from Hamilton, who patroled the streets in the neighbourhood till a late hour.—The rioters seemed to be chiefly composed of idle boys and apprentices.

Lord Sidmouth, as home secretary, has addressed the following circular to the several parishes in the metropolis:—

(CIRCULAR.)

"*Whitehall, March* 9.

"Sir,—Under the present circumstances of riot and disturbances in different parts of the metropolis, Lord Sidmouth is extremely anxious that, in addition to the measures adopted by the government for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the inhabitants of the town, and conformably to the Prince Regent's proclamation of this day, every possible effort should be used within the several parishes for the same purpose. With this view it has occurred to his lordship as being highly desirable that the respectable inhabitants of the parish of should immediately assemble and concert such measures as may be conducive to the above object. His lordship conceives that the best course to be pursued would be to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants without delay; that at such meeting a permanent sitting of the magistrates acting within the parish should be agreed upon; and that a number of special constables should be immediately sworn in, who might receive directions from the magistrates so assembled, in such manner as they should think most expedient. In order to give every support to the magistrates, a regular communication would be made to them from time to time, at their place of meeting, of the stations which government might appoint as military depots, from whence the civil power could at any moment be assisted in preserving tranquillity in cases of emergency.

"Lord Sidmouth desires that you will immediately cause the subject of this communication to be made known within the parish of , and his lordship will be glad to confer personally upon it with any two gentlemen of the parish, whenever they will do him the favour to call at the Home Department.

"I have, &c. J. BECKET."

"The Vestry Clerk of the Parish of "

We are sorry to record the following outrages occasioned by popular irritation against the corn-bill. On Monday afternoon (March 6,) various persons assembled near the House of Commons, not numerous at first, all inveighing against the corn-bill and the members who supported it. An order to clear the passages of the house was executed with difficulty. Several of the mob acquainted with the persons of the members pointed them out; and hooting or applause followed, as the member was known to be friendly or adverse to the bill. At length many carriages were stopped, and the members were forced to walk through the crowd. The civil power being now deemed insufficient, the magistrate, having applied to the Speaker, received an order to call in the military. The horse-guards suppressed the tumult; but the populace repaired to other parts of the town. They broke the windows of Lord Eldon, in Bedford-square; Mr Robinson's (the mover of the corn-regulation,) in Burlington-street; Lord Darnley's, in Berkeley-square; Mr Yorke's, in Bruton-street: the doors of the two former were forced, and part of the furniture destroyed; in Mr Robinson's, particularly, besides destroying the furniture, some valuable pictures were cut to pieces. They afterwards attacked Lord Ellenborough's, who came for-

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ward and remonstrated with them; and after cheering the noble lord, they departed. The windows of a house near Russel-street belonging to Meux's brew-house, and of Mr W. Pole's, in Saville-row, were also broken. On Tuesday, Lord Castlereagh's house in St James's-square was attacked, and the house of Mr Robinson a second time; but the populace were dispersed by the cavalry. Fire-arms were discharged from the parlour-windows of Mr Robinson's, which proved fatal to two innocent persons, Mr Edward Vize, a midshipman, and a Mrs Watson. The house of Lord Bathurst, General Floyd, and Mr Turner, in Mansfield-street; Right Hon. Charles Yorke, in Bruton-street; Lord King, Sir W. Rowley, and others, in Wimpole-street, and Lord Harewood, facing Hanover-square; Mrs Simpson's, Harley-street, and Mrs Meux's, in Liquor-pond-street, were damaged.—On Wednesday, after a slight attack on Lord Castlereagh's, the mob proceeded to Mr Ponsonby's, in Curzon-street, and demolished the windows, &c. Shots were fired through the door, while the mob were endeavouring to force it. Mr Quintin Dick's (next door), the Earl of Derby's, and Mr Morris's (an East-India director), were also injured. At Sir J. Banks's, in Soho-square, they forced the doors, and scattered boxes of papers in the street. The houses of Mr Tomkins, in Searle-street, of Mr Serjeant Best, and of Mr Peacock, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, were also damaged.—On Thursday, a disturbance took place in Holles-street, before the house of Mr Giddy; and shots were fired, but without other mischief than wounding a boy. A proclamation was issued on Thursday, offering 100*l.* upon the conviction of any person taking an active part in the outrages.—On Friday night the few persons loitering about appeared attracted together merely from curiosity; and no disturbance of consequence afterwards occurred.

The coroner's inquest who sat on the body of Mr Vize, have found a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons, firing shot from and out of fire-arms, from Mr Robinson's front parlour-windows;" and their verdict was accompanied by the following observations: "1st, It is the opinion of the jury, that the military acted improperly, on entering the house of Mr Robinson, without proper authority so to do.—2dly, It is the opinion of the jury, that, from the evidence adduced, there was no necessity for firing with shot at the time Edward Vize met his death.—3dly, It is their opinion also, that the firing was unconstitutional, in not being ordered by the civil authorities."

The jury on Jane Watson have returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against Mr Robinson's butler, and three soldiers," who were afterwards tried and acquitted.

13th.—The following singular circumstance happened at Chesters, Roxburghshire:—Mr Baillie of Mellerstain's hounds found a fox at Minto Crags, which, after an excellent run, being hard pressed, made his way into Mr Ogilvie's house, and ran up stairs into one of the bed-rooms, where he lay concealed for some time. In the meanwhile, another fox, lying in the plantation near the house, was unkennelled, and went off in good style, pointing northwards; but finding the hounds hard upon him, he made for Minto Crags, where he got to ground. This was supposed to be the fox first found, in spite of the staunchness of the hounds, some of which wanted to make their way into Chesters-house. As soon as Reynard was discovered in the bed-room, he was secured and taken to Mr Don's, at Ancrum; from whence, on the Wednesday following, he was turned out, made an excellent run, and

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after passing the Tweed near Rutherford Rack, he took his way towards Mellerstain; but the hounds being too high mettle for him, they ran into him near Smailholm Mains, where he was killed.

14th.—EDINBURGH—Tuesday, the government of the Royal Bank of Scotland was vested in the following noblemen and gentlemen :—

Governor.

His Grace the Duke of BUCCLEUCH and QUEENSBERRY.

Deputy-Governor.

GILBERT INNES, Esq. of Stow.

Ordinary Directors.

John Campbell, Receiver-general
William Ramsay
James Dundas
Charles Selkrig
Hugh Warrender
Alexander Bonar
Alexander Duncan
James Bruce
James Ferrier.

Extraordinary Directors.

Robert Allan
Henry Erskine
Peter Free
Sir G. Buchan Hepburn, Bart.
Henry Glassford
J. Corse Scott
Robert Scott Moncrieff
James Hopkirk
John Tawse.

The directors of the Bank of Scotland, desirous of giving every encouragement to the establishment of parish-banks for the savings of the poor, have authorised the agents, at their different offices, to receive such sums as these banks may find it convenient to deposit with them, and to allow them interest at the rate of five per cent.

15th.—At Painshaw colliery, Cumberland, four men having occasion to go down to examine the state of the air, they met what is called the *choak damp*, and were struck senseless, when three of them, Jeremiah Taylor, Edward Barrass, and Thomas Barrass, being precipitated to the bottom, were killed on the spot; the fourth was fortunately caught by the heels, and being pulled up, soon recovered.

18th.—PUGILISM IN SCOTLAND.—The *fancy* were put in motion at an early hour, by a report that a long-talked-of fight, betwixt Cooper and Molineux, was to take place. By the current it appeared that the site of battle lay to the west; and by the time the strength of the crowd got to Corsethill, in Lanarkshire, they saw *the dawn of science arise in Scotland!* Exactly at half past twelve the combatants appeared in the ring, Cooper seconded by Oliver and Richmond, and the Black by the veteran Joe Ward and a Yorkshire clodhopper. At fourteen minutes before one o'clock they shook hands. Six to four on the Black.

1st Round—Both cautious. The Black made play, right and left. Cooper planted a body hit, but slipped, and was knocked under the ropes.

2d—Good fighting. The Black hit Cooper in the head, but Cooper put in two as terrific blows, with the right hand, on the left kidnies, as can well be imagined. Both fell.

3d—Here the Black began to shew his style, which was, to watch his man and hit counters at the head, Cooper as yet fighting at the body. Many blows exchanged. The Black was rallied up against the ropes, and drew first blood; but was hit out betwixt the ropes.

4th—Black exhausted. Cooper gay—went in and floored his man.

5th—Cooper went up to his man, gave him three facers, made the claret fly, and hit him down.—A guinea to a shilling on Cooper.

6th—Cooper quite confident. Black weak, and floored by a facer.

7th, 8th, and 9th—Cooper had decidedly the advantage, and floored his man in each round.

10th—Cooper made play; but the Black rallied, got him up against the ropes. Cooper doubled him up, and, springing

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out of his way, the Black fell with his head against one of the ring posts.

11th—In this round the Black lessened the odds. Cooper went at his man; much good fighting. Cooper was rallied up to the ropes, but closed with the Black, and fibbed him; then, getting disengaged, the Black floored Cooper by a tremendous facer. The Black fell from weakness.

12th—Cooper, undismayed, went in to his man without ceremony, gave him three sharp facers, and knocked him clean off his pins; the Black calling for brandy, and *casting claret*. The Bank of Scotland to a China Orange on Cooper.

13th and 14th—The Black could hardly come to time. Cooper, without trouble, knocked him down, and, at the end of the 14th round, having fought twenty minutes, Molineux declared he had his belly full.

Upon stripping, it was evident, to the knowing ones, that Cooper had made good use of his time when training, and that the Black had not.—The Black trusted to his length and overweight; but Cooper's right-hand blows were irresistible.

20th.—Mr Kean made his first appearance at Glasgow, in the character of Richard III., and was received with extraordinary applause. This actor is to perform six nights at Glasgow, and four at Liverpool, for which he is to receive 100*l.* each night, exclusive of a benefit. He is also engaged for four nights at Newcastle, on the same terms.

Lord Cochrane made his escape from the King's Bench prison on Monday, March 6. A reward of 300 guineas was offered in vain for his apprehension; but on the 21st, about half past one o'clock, his lordship was seen passing hastily through the avenues of the House of Commons to the lobby, across which he went with great precipitation into the body of the house. After remaining there a short time, he came out again, and went to the office of Mr Dorrington, to take the preliminary steps necessary to his taking his seat in the house, and a messenger, at his request, was dispatched to the Crown-office, in Chancery-lane, for the writ of his return as the representative of the city of Westminster. His lordship then returned to the house, and, taking his seat on the treasury-bench, took from his pocket a pamphlet and some manuscripts, which he began to read in a loud tone. Information of his lordship's appearance in the house having been sent to the King's Bench, the officers, accompanied by William Jones, Esq. the marshal, set off in search of him. Mr Jones entered the House of Commons, accompanied by Mr Lavender the officer, Mr Pace, and Mr Gibbon, his own tip-staff. Lavender and Pace advanced respectfully towards his lordship, and the former said, "My lord, you are my prisoner." Lord Cochrane immediately demanded his authority; upon which Lavender replied, "My lord, my authority is the public proclamation of the marshal of the King's Bench prison, offering a reward for your apprehension." Lord Cochrane then said he was there in attendance to resume his seat as one of the representatives of the city of Westminster, and that he would obey no such authority. The officers then took his lordship by the arms, and requested him to accompany them. He refused, however, and resisted their efforts to remove him, struggling and kicking with some violence. He was at length overpowered, and Lavender perceiving him put his hand towards his pocket, he was led to believe he was not without fire-arms. This idea induced him, as a measure of precaution, to search his lordship's pockets; but he found nothing save a few loose papers, some snuff, a bottle containing some chemical acid, and three or four pistol bullets. On the snuff being pulled out, his lordship said, "That is snuff. I candidly own to you that I intended to throw it into the eyes o any one that should attempt to inter-

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rupt me." His lordship was finally conveyed out of the house; and on reaching the lobby he proceeded quietly, but evidently labouring under considerable agitation, escorted by the officers, into Palace-yard, where a coach was called, and his lordship was reconducted to the King's Bench prison, and once more safely lodged within its walls. He was placed in the strong room, without fire, and whilst there, was visited by Mr Bennet and Mr B. Wilbraham, who, with others of a committee appointed to enquire into the state of the prison, happened to be on the spot. His lordship, in reply to various questions, said that he considered himself an ill-used man; that he ought not to have been sent to prison; Cochrane Johnstone had robbed him of 4000*l.*; that he went to the House of Commons to have the question again agitated; never had a thought of leaving England, and had never been out of London.

Buonaparte has been enabled, by means of the disaffection of the army, again to seat himself on the throne of France. On the 26th of February he sailed from Elba, taking advantage of the absence of Colonel Campbell. On the 2d of March he put his small army of Poles, Corsicans, and Elbese in march, passing the town of Grasse without attempting to enter it. On the 4th, he bivouacked at Digne; and in the course of the two following days proceeded, by Sisteron and Gap, across the mountains towards Grenoble, a garrison town and military *depôt*, which was under the orders of Gen. Marchand. Marchand's corps at Grenoble was the first, of any strength, with which he came in contact. On approaching it, he threw open his bosom, and exclaimed, "Soldiers, you have been told I am afraid of death—here is my bosom, fire into it if you like!" The appeal was answered with enthusiastic shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* and the soldiers joined his ranks. He reached Lyons with 600 horse on the evening of the 8th. The population of Lyons amounts to 110,000 souls; the inhabitants were loyal; they received Monsieur, the king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, Marshal Macdonald, and Gen. St Cyr, on their arrival from Paris, very favourably. They voluntarily broke down the bridges, and declared, that were they possessed of cannon, they would oppose the invader. But the officers of the garrison, with some expressions of respect for the person of Monsieur, told him they wished to serve under Buonaparte, and the troops uttered shouts of *Vive Napoleon!* His Royal Highness, who had intended to march to the succour of Grenoble, abandoned this intention on learning the news of its surrender; and precipitately left Lyons on the morning of the 8th, followed by Marshal Macdonald and the prefect of the department. Buonaparte next advanced from Lyons on the 13th towards Macon and Chalons. Marshal Ney joined him at Laons de Saulnier. His proclamation, dated from that place on the 14th of March, describes the Bourbons as unfit to reign, and recommends his troops to join the great Napoleon!

On the 16th he arrived at Autun, without meeting with any opposition; and his advanced guard was at Auxerre, only forty leagues from Paris.

The number of national guards, volunteers, and other troops collected at Melun, to stop the march of Buonaparte, was not less than 100,000 men. The best spirit seemed to prevail amongst them. They appeared devoted to the cause of the king, and eager to meet and repel his antagonist. A powerful artillery strengthened their positions. Relying on their numbers, they had left the town, the rocks, and the forest of Fontainbleau, unguarded; preferring the flat plains of Melun, where the whole of their army

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might act at once against the comparatively small band of the invader. On the 19th Buonaparte reached and occupied Fontainbleau, without the least opposition. Early on the morning of Monday the 20th, preparations were made on both sides for the encounter which was expected to take place.—The French army was drawn up *en étages* on three lines, the intervals and flanks armed with batteries. The centre occupied the Paris road. The ground from Fontainbleau to Melun is a continual declivity; so that, on emerging from the forest, you have a clear view of the country before you; whilst, on the other hand, those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. After an anxious interval, an open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hills with the rapidity of lightning and reached the advanced posts—"Long live the emperor!" burst from the astonished soldiery. "Napoleon! Napoleon the Great!" spread from rank to rank; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called "his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country, he now came to restore!!" All discipline was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted; the commanders-in-chief took to flight; thousands rushed on his passage, while acclamations rent the sky.

French papers to the 22d instant have arrived. They include a Moniteur of the 20th, (the last which was published under the authority of Louis XVIII., and just before his departure from the capital,) and the Journal de Rouen of the 22d, which contains Paris intelligence of the 20th. In the Moniteur there is a proclamation issued by the king, closing the sitting of the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies; and declaring, that they would hereafter be employed in a new session, at the place which might provisionally be chosen for the seat of government. The king informs his faithful subjects, the peers of France, and the deputies of the departments, that Divine Providence, which had restored him to the throne of his ancestors, has now permitted that throne to be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force which had sworn to defend it; that he will, however, retire with some brave men whom intrigue and perfidy could not detach from their duty; and, since he cannot defend his capital, will remove from it to some other point of the kingdom, where his subjects, though not more faithful than his good Parisians, may be better situated to declare for the good cause; and expresses a hope that his other subjects will soon see through their error and return to their duty. The same paper also contains articles from Bourdeaux, Nantes, Angers, and Caen, giving the strongest assurances of the loyalty of their citizens, who were arming in defence of their sovereign and the constitution. The Duchess d'Angouleme was at Bourdeaux, and the Duke de Bourbon at Angers. His Most Christian Majesty had arrived at Lisle. Marshals Berthier and Macdonald remained with him. Monsieur and Marshal Marmont were marching with a large force towards Lisle.

It appears by dispatches from Lord Fitzroy Somerset, dated at Paris on Wednesday the 22d instant, that his Lordship and his suite, with the Spanish, Swedish, and Russian embassies were, at the above date, detained in Paris, being unable to procure passports for post-horses.

In the list of Buonaparte's new ministers are Gaudin, Maret, Fouche, Davoust, and Savary.

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An imperial decree, dated Thuilleries, March 21, declares, that the mobiliary national guard shall not be put into activity; and that the corps of volunteers shall be disbanded. Another of the 20th nominates General Carnot a count of the empire, &c. for his defence of Antwerp.

Caulincourt has been dispatched to Germany to invite the Archduchess Maria Louisa to Paris.

Buonaparte, on his return to France, issued addresses to the French people, and to the army, dated on the day of his landing.

Almost all the marshals submitted to Buonaparte on his return. Augereau published an address, teeming with the most fulsome and disgusting praise of the very man whom, about eleven months ago, he did not hesitate to call a coward, and unworthy to reign over a brave people.—The perfidy of Ney is without parallel.—On the news of Buonaparte's landing, he said to the king, "I believe I may promise your majesty that I will bring the scoundrel in an iron cage to Paris." On which the king embraced Ney, who, affecting the utmost transport, and drawing his sword half way out of the scabbard, exclaimed, "Your majesty may rely entirely on me: I will bring him, dead or alive."

30th.—Monday se'ennight, a number of misguided persons, principally keelmen and casters on the Wear, assembled in a riotous manner near Sunderland, and determined to pull down the bridge erected across Galley's Gill, near Bishop Wearmouth, for the purpose of conveying the coal waggons belonging to Messrs Nesham and Co. to the staiths below. They entirely pulled down the bridge, set fire to the staiths at the head of the bridge, and burnt all the machinery, which was erected there for the purpose of conveying the waggons down the inclined plane to the spouts, where the coals are put on shipboard without the intervention of keels. They also pulled down one house, and unroofed several others. It continued till a late hour at night, when a party of horse arrived from Newcastle, and dispersed the mob. Two hundred guineas reward has been offered for the discovery of the ringleaders, and one has been taken and committed to gaol. His name is Richard Davidson. One man was killed by one of the falling timbers striking him. The injury done is estimated at 6000*l*.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Since the date of our last report, the weather has been fully as favourable for field operations, as can well be expected in this climate. Rains have been rather too abundant for the low-lying clay lands on the west coast; but throughout the principal corn-growing counties, a milder or more propitious season has seldom been known. There never was less loss on turnips in winter; nor did the pastures ever rise earlier in spring. Vegetation has been checked very lately by the prevalence of east winds; but such was the luxuriance of the autumn-sown wheats in some districts, that for them this is considered rather a favourable circumstance. All sorts of field labour, unless upon some very tenacious soils, are as much advanced as usual. More than the ordinary breadth of land has been sown with wheat in spring; and though in some instances the seed has been deposited when the ground was in too moist a state, the return of mild weather will afford a very encouraging prospect of an abundant produce.

All kinds of live stock have been carried through winter and spring in good order, the fodder being very fine, and turnips abundant, and always accessible; and the lambing season has passed over with scarcely any loss from

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the weather. The prices, however, are considerably lower than those of last year. Fold-yard cattle have left little or nothing for their winter food; and fat has been sinking in price for several weeks. Yet, what it is not easy to account for, the rent of grass fields has not been materially reduced.

Corn markets have fluctuated a little, and but a little, during the last quarter. For the last month, there has been a gradual decline in prices, and not a much brisker demand than while the ports were open to foreign corn. They were shut for all kinds but oats, by the returns on the 15th February, for the first time since the act of 1804; and by the new law, will not be re-opened till the price of wheat is 80s. per quarter, and that of other grain in proportion. This state of the market has completely falsified the predictions of the enemies to restrictions on importation, and has even disappointed the moderate expectations of the best informed farmers and corn-merchants. The much execrated corn-bill, and the probability, approaching to a certainty, of immediate war, have not produced the slightest effect on the price of British corn; for the small rise since February may be sufficiently accounted for by the more advanced period of the year, and by the diminished supply of the markets during the sowing season.

APRIL.

1st.—At Cork assizes a most interesting cause was tried before the Honourable the Solicitor-General. It was an action upon a breach of promise of marriage, in which Miss Austin, daughter of Thomas Austin, Esq. of Waterfall was plaintiff, and Lieutenant-Colonel Vereker, M. P. for Limerick, was defendant. The damages were laid at 10,000l. After the trial had closed, which did not occupy the court very long, the jury retired for about twenty minutes, and brought in a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages, 4000l. with costs.

State of the King's Health.—On Sunday the following bulletin was exhibited at St James's Palace:—

"*Windsor Castle, April* 1.

"His majesty has passed the last month in an unusual state of tranquillity, but his majesty's disorder continues unaltered."

(Signed as usual.)

2d.—William Sawyer was tried for the wilful murder of Harriet Gaskett at Lisbon, by shooting her through the head, on the 17th of April, 1814.

The prisoner was a young man in the commissariat department of the British army, and the circumstances were of a most singular nature. The deceased went out to Portugal in the month of February, 1814, and lived with an officer in the same department with the prisoner. The latter was also a resident at their house at Campo Major, near Lisbon. An attachment grew up between the deceased and the prisoner, which was the cause of jealousy to his brother officer. On the 17th of April they met at dinner with two or three other officers. Harriet and the prisoner appeared much dejected, and ate no dinner. The prisoner particularly appeared in a state of great mental dejection. Towards the evening he and the deceased walked together in the garden, and the report of three pistols was heard. On going into the garden the prisoner and the deceased were both lying on the ground. Harriet Gaskett was quite dead, but the prisoner was not. He was removed into the house, and soon recovered strength; he then cut his throat, but not fatally. The next day his brother officers met, and reduced

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into writing the statement of the facts, and it was read to the prisoner, who signed it. They collected the facts from report in the neighbourhood, and from what they understood to have passed. They said the prisoner appeared calm and collected, and understood what was read to him, except one witness, who said, it appeared to him that the prisoner was wholly indifferent to life, and he believed would have signed any thing which had been presented to him. The written statements were then read, in which the prisoner acknowledged he had a criminal intercourse with Harriet Gaskett; that she had promised to live with him; but that her former protector discovering this arrangement, he had made her promise not to live with him; but she added she would die with him. That having made up their minds to die together, they went into the garden, when she drank half a bottle of laudanum, and he took the remainder; that he then at her request shot her through the head, and discharged two other pistols against his own; and that these not succeeding, he afterwards cut his throat.—This was the substance of the evidence against him.—In his defence, he put in a written paper, in which he stated, he was unable to articulate from the wound in his throat, but that all he remembered of the transaction was, that being in great and extreme agitation of mind, he only recollected being in the garden, where Harriet had declared she would kill herself, and desired him to die with her. When he convalesced from his wounds, he was told that he had signed some papers, but he had no recollection how or when he had done it.

A great number of officers, some of high rank, spoke most highly of him, as a good-tempered and humane young man.

The learned judge having recapitulated the evidence, the jury retired for nearly two hours, and then returned a verdict of Guilty; but strongly recommended him to mercy, as there was no evidence of malice prepense.

The verdict being received, the counsel for the prisoner moved in arrest of judgment, that the court had no jurisdiction over the offence, being committed within an independent kingdom, not subject to Great Britain.

Lord Ellenborough admitted of this objection, but desired them to look at the indictment, to see if they found any other objection. In looking it through two other objections were urged, that it did not conclude "against the form of the statute;" and also, "it was not averred that the parties were British subjects." Judgment was respited in order to have these points of law argued next term.

3d.—Union-Hall.—Curious Case of Bigamy.—On Saturday Elizabeth Shaw was charged by Mr James Brooker with bigamy, she having married him during the lifetime of her first husband, Charles Shields, well knowing at the time of her second marriage that her first husband was living; the prisoner is a young woman of respectable connections, and extremely interesting in her appearance. From the circumstances of the case as they were detailed, it appeared that Mr Shields and Mr Brooker had both been declared admirers of the lady for some time. At length preference was given to Mr Shields; Mr B. was dismissed; and on the day fixed, the 23d of February last, she was married, at Christ Church, to Mr S.—Scarcely had they quitted the church before she repented the choice she had made, and before an hour had expired eloped from her new lord, and a second time gave permission to Mr Brooker to address her: the preliminary steps were soon arranged, and on the 27th of February, four days after her first marriage to Mr Shields at Christ

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Church, she was led to the parish church of St George the Martyr by Mr Brooker, and a second time pronounced the marriage vows. It appeared from the testimony of Mr Brooker, sen. who was present at his son's marriage, that she stated the circumstance of her previous marriage with Mr Shields, but said it was of no force, inasmuch as it had not been consummated.—She was fully committed for trial at the assizes.

5th.—Edinburgh.—The new road over the Calton-hill is now ready to be begun, a contract having been entered into yesterday for the purpose, on the part of the magistrates and the other commissioners under the act, who have been for some time anxious to have the work set agoing, for the purpose of affording employment to labourers. The contractors will commence operations immediately.

Loss of the Bengal Indiaman.—The following is an extract of a letter from Captain Nicholls, giving the particulars of this unfortunate event.

Cape Town, April 5, 1815.

"The Bengal had, by dint of great exertion, completed her lading on the coast, and joined the first fleet at Point de Galle, and the whole were to have sailed on the 19th of January last, under convoy of the Malacca frigate; my passengers were all on board, and all was clear and ready for starting.

"Owing to their not being sufficient space in the spirit-room, four or five small casks of liquor had been stowed in the gun-room, and covered over with bags of rice for security; as a measure of precaution, the gunner was directed to look at these, and ascertain if they were all safe, and he since reports them to have been all tight and dry.

"The largest cask, however, containing about 20 or 25 gallons of rum, and standing on its end, did not seem, as the gunner thought, to have its bung quite firmly in, and he struck it a blow to drive it further into the cask. Instead of going in, the bung flew out, and the spirit rushing forth caught fire from a candle in a lanthorn which he held in his hand at the time. All was instantly in flames; and, though every possible exertion was promptly made to arrest the progress of the flames, in less than an hour the ship was so far destroyed, that she sunk a blazing ruin!

"The ship's company behaved admirably—they were to a man orderly and obedient; not a man quitted the ship or relaxed from duty to the last moment.

"The number of sufferers was unhappily great,—I fear upwards of 20, principally occasioned by the sinking of boats alongside, although some perished in consequence of the dreadful rapidity with which the fire swept through the ship. Captain Newell, of the Alexandria, I grieve to say, is amongst the sufferers; as also Mr Barker, second mate of the Surrey; and Mr Miller, midshipman of the Bengal; the master, and a lieutenant of the Malacca, were drowned. It is, after this melancholy detail, some consolation to reflect, that all the females and helpless children were saved.

"I escaped at the last moment, and did not preserve a single article, except the clothes in which I stood; not even a paper was saved from the general ruin."

8th.—An inquest was held before Joseph Whiteford, Esq. coroner, on the bodies of seven American prisoners of war, at the depot at Dartmoor, who came to their death in consequence of the military firing on them, on Thursday the 6th inst. to prevent their escape from the prison. The jury, after two days' investigation, returned a verdict of *Justifiable Homicide*. This affray appears to have been

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of a very serious nature: The prisoners, in consequence of the conclusion of peace, conceived themselves entitled to their immediate liberty; and not finding this to be the case, they became impatient, and determined to effect their escape by force. They armed themselves with knives and every other weapon they could procure, and proceeded to attack the guard, who, in their own defence, were under the necessity of firing on them, by which the above seven prisoners were killed, and 35 others wounded, some of them very severely.

9th.—MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT.—Yesterday evening, while Lady Mary Fitzgerald, at her house in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, was at supper, her maid, who had just left her, heard a scream, and saw a great light on the staircase; she immediately called to two male servants, and ran into the drawing-room, where they found her ladyship's clothes in flames. They got water and extinguished the fire. Her ladyship lingered in great pain till half-past six o'clock this morning, when she expired. She was in her 90th year, and, considering her age, was very strong and active. She was aunt to the present Duchess of Devonshire, aunt to the Countess of Liverpool, Earl of Bristol, Earl of Mulgrave, Honourable General Phipps, and the Honourable Augustus Phipps.

11th.—An inquest was held at Woolwich, before Mr Carter, one of the coroners for Kent, and a very respectable jury, on the body of a man found in the Thames on the Sunday preceding. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased had been wantonly thrown into the river, by a man of the name of Rose, so long back as the 1st of March, and although the corpse was greatly altered and decayed by the effects of time and the elements, yet the form of the deceased, he being crooked backed, and the clothes he wore, were sufficiently remarkable to identify his person beyond all doubt. The deceased and Rose were passengers together in a Gravesend boat, on the morning of the 1st of March last: and although there was no positive quarrel between them on the voyage, yet they exercised their wit against each other great part of the time, to the amusement of the company. Rose was abusive and ill-humoured to the deceased, frequently interrupting him in singing, &c., pulled him about, knocked his hat off, threatened to put him on the fire, and told him repeatedly he should go overboard before they got to Woolwich. The company, nevertheless, did not imagine he meant it, and the deceased took it all in good part, and only replied in a jocular way. At length, in Galleon's Reach, the deceased and Rose both went on deck; Rose took the deceased by the hand, and, without speaking, threw him overboard. The jury found him guilty of *Manslaughter!*

14th.—At the York assizes, Mr J. Blackburn, attorney, was convicted of forgery. The prisoner had been employed to make a mortgage deed for a friendly society, which he wrote on a forged stamp. Persons employed in the stamp-office in London proved that the stamp was forged; and two engravers at Leeds proved that they had been employed by Mr Blackburn to make dies for stamping. On comparing the impression on the deed, particularly the words "two pounds," it appeared that they had been made by the dies furnished by the prisoner.—This trial excited great interest. Upwards of 20 witnesses were called to the prisoner's character, who stated that they had known him a very considerable time, and that they always considered him a man of the strictest honour in his profession, and of the strictest integrity. After a very able charge from the learned judge, the jury reti-

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red for about half an hour, and pronounced the fatal verdict of—Guilty, —Death. The sentence was put in execution on Saturday se'ennight.

16th.—On Friday, a tailor of the name of Whitehorn, residing at No. 15, Roll's buildings, Fetter-lane, London, in a fit of madness, cut the throat of his wife, and afterwards his own, so effectually, that both died in a few minutes. Three children, of tender age, are, by this dreadful circumstance, left orphans. The little innocents were on the point of falling a sacrifice also, but were rescued by the interference of some of the neighbours.

Old Bailey.—On Tuesday, Elizabeth Fenning was indicted for administering a quantity of arsenic in some dumplings, with intent to poison Mr and Mrs Turner and family. The case is as follows:—The servant was continually pressing her mistress to let her make some yeast dumplings, at which she pretended to be a famous hand. She had lived seven weeks in the family of Mr Turner, in Chancery-Lane, and had received notice to quit for improper behaviour; but her mistress took compassion on her, and suffered her to remain in the family. On the 21st of March the brewer left some yeast; and instead of getting the dough from the baker's as usual, the prisoner made it herself. Mr and Mrs Turner, and the father of the latter dined together. Mrs T. ate very little of the yeast dumpling; but she was taken ill before she had done dinner, with a violent sickness, &c., and the pains continued until the evening. The other persons who ate of the dumplings were affected in a similar manner. The prisoner had got the poison out of a drawer: it was written upon, "arsenic, deadly poison." Medical men proved that poison had been put into the pan where the dumplings were mixed.—Guilty—Death.—(*See account of the execution, &c.*)

20th.—Melancholy Occurrence.—On Friday morning the body of a woman was discovered among the snow, upon the farm of Westside, in the parish of Pennicuik. It was immediately recognised to be the wife of John Melrose, a poor weaver at Ramslack, in the parish of Currie, who, the preceding Wednesday, had passed in that direction, on a visit to her aged parents beyond Peebles, and who, on her return home, had fallen a victim to the severity of the weather, and the fatigue of a long journey. She was taken into the farm-house, but every endeavour to restore animation proved ineffectual. What renders the circumstance more distressing is, she has left seven children, the eldest of whom is not more than 13 years of age. On Thursday evening Melrose had set out to meet his wife, and travelled several miles, till he came within sight of the place where her body was found; but supposing she had stopped with some friends by the way, he returned home.

The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry has given the poetical Ettrick Shepherd, Mr Hogg, a pastoral farm, at a merely nominal rent, in that tract of romantic country from which Mr Hogg derives his title.

30th.—Case of Cruelty.—At the Dublin Sessions, T. Young, a master chimney-sweep, was indicted at the instance of the Lord Mayor, for extreme cruelty to his apprentice. The boy was examined on oath, in the arms of a nurse; he appeared, from excessive torture, hardly able to speak; he said, that he lived with the prisoner as an apprentice; that the prisoner used to burn straw and powder under him to make him go up the chimnies quick, and used to pull him down by a cord tied to his leg; it was this cruelty that caused the sores which prevented him from going up the chimnies when ordered. The prisoner has often thrown him into a tub of water, in order to

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make his sores pain him. The evidence of the poor boy was corroborated by that of other witnesses, and the court sentenced the wretch to be whipped on Saturday eight-days, from the gaol to the Exchange.—The same to be repeated at the end of two months; to be imprisoned two years, and to be detained in custody till he gave two sureties, 25*l.* each, and himself in 50*l.*

MAY.

8th.—This evening Mrs Kay, who resides at the King's-head, in Bear-street, Leicester-square, went out a short distance, leaving her four children locked in a room on the second floor. Shortly after, several of the neighbours, as well as those in the house, were alarmed with their piercing screams, but unhappily no person attempted to burst open the door until the unfortunate woman returned, who, on opening the door, found two of the children stretched on the floor involved in flames, and the other two hid in the corner. Dr Thomas, of Leicester-place, and several other eminent surgeons, were called in, but one of the children died immediately, and the other was so much burned, that there are no hopes entertained of his recovery.

9th.—The will of the celebrated Joanna Southcott passed the seal of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 28th ultimo, the letters of administration, granted in January last to William Southcott, the brother, having been previously revoked by a decree of the court. She has left a few trifling legacies to relations, and the residue, in case of no issue male, to Mrs Jane Townley and Ann Underwood her executrix. There is a clause, directing restitution of the presents made in expectation of the birth of a male child, in case of no such event, to the respective devotees; and reference is made to a book, containing a catalogue of their names and offerings, which it has been necessary to record with the testamentary papers. Every possible want and accommodation seems to have been anticipated with scrupulous attention.—There are cradles, robes, mantles, (some of white satin,) bows, caps, and napkins out of number, several articles of plate, money from "six guineas" to "a pretty sixpence" so denominated, "three nutmegs" by one contributor, and "a pin" by another.

10th.—A few evenings since, a melancholy accident occurred off Rye Harbour. A boat had left Hastings, in which were five men from the opposite coast; they had scarcely left the roads, however, when the wind changing, they were driven towards the harbour of Rye, where, after beating about for some time, the boat upset, and the whole of its crew were consigned to a watery grave. They have all left large families to deplore their loss.

Mary Welch, a native of Ireland, was brought before Mr Serjeant Sellon, on a charge of attempting to hang her own child, a girl about eleven years of age. The child, whose situation had providentially been discovered in time to save her life, stated, that her mother, aided by her father-in-law, after tying her hands securely behind her, put a rope round her neck, and dragged her to a hook fixed in the wall of the room, from which they suspended her in such a manner that the ends of her toes only just touched the floor; in this situation she was fortunately discovered by a relation of her father-in-law, who entered the room by chance, and cut the rope by which she was suspended, before the vital spark was extinct. This person stated, that the child soon recovered

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her speech, and informed him how she had been treated, on which he immediately sent for a constable, and the unnatural mother was taken into custody. The father in-law having received information in time, unfortunately escaped. The prisoner was fully committed for trial at the Quarter Sessions.

This morning, about two o'clock, as the watchman was going his rounds in Windfield-street, Christchurch, Middlesex, he discovered the extensive sugar-houses belonging to Mr Krudge, in George-street, to be on fire: he instantly gave the alarm, and the inhabitants lost no time in rendering every assistance in their power. Having learned that three men and a boy slept on the premises, they burst open the doors and brought them out at very great risk. In less than two hours the premises were totally consumed, with all the property, except seven hogsheads of refined sugar, and about as many barrels of molasses.—No lives were lost.

15th.—The following is extracted from the *Journal de l'Empire*: Captain Serres de St Claire, who some time since was condemned for the murder of Cornelia Kersemacker, called the handsome Dutch woman at Paris, has been a second time brought before a council of war, and again found guilty. As, however, the crime appeared to have been unpremeditated, the council sentenced him to be kept to hard labour for life, to be degraded at the head of the guards to which he belonged, and to pay the expences of the process. He was then introduced. "St Claire," said the president, "you have disgraced yourself." "Never!" cried the prisoner, starting from his seat and stabbing himself with a dagger which he had concealed. The soldiers ran towards him, and he sunk into their arms. Then taking off, himself, the cross of the Legion of Honour, he said, "There it is, Mr President, no one shall take it from me. I am dying. As my last consolation I declare, that I never attempted the life of any person." The blood flowed copiously from the wound; a surgeon was sent for, and the prisoner was carried back to the prison of the Abbaye. He died in consequence of the wound.

At Manchester, the children, in connection with the establishment, to the number of 7976, went in procession to the Old Church in that town. The juvenile crowd having entered the church, the warden was about to commence the service, when, suddenly, a most distressing accident arose from unfounded affright. It appears that one of the windows in the Trafford chapel having been accidentally broken from the outside, a simultaneous rising of the children upon a form to ascertain the cause ensued. The form springing up at the lightened end, and falling again instantly, the noise created an alarm; shrieks ensued from the women, who were possessed with indescribable emotions of dread, and a precipitate rush of the children to escape produced a catastrophe which spread a general gloom in that quarter of the town the remainder of the day. One youth perished in the confusion, five others sustained various injuries, and were conveyed to the infirmary. This equally unforeseen and unhappy event put a stop to the appointed sacred duties, and the intended collection was lost to the charity.

The last standing remains of Bolingbroke Castle, in Lincolnshire, the birth place (in 1367) of King Henry IV., crumbled over their base last week, and came to the ground.

18th.—COURT OF KING'S BENCH. —*Crim. Con.* An action brought by Major Warner against Captain Jones,

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was tried in the Court of King's Bench this day.

The criminality happened at Dumfries in March 1813. Plaintiff entered the room with his sword drawn; when the defendant threw himself on his knees, and baring his bosom, exclaimed, "Strike,—for I have deserved it." Mrs Warner ran behind a screen, and called out, "Warner, don't make a fool of yourself!" Afterwards she was so much alarmed that she fell senseless on the floor. Several other particulars were detailed.

Mr Scarlett addressed the jury on the part of the defendant, and submitted that there was no proof whatever; but if the jury should consider the plaintiff entitled to a verdict and damages, the loss of so abandoned a woman could not be considered any loss at all, and damages the most trifling must be considered as a compensation.

The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with *one thousand pounds* damages.

The following is a copy of a letter from Captain Osborne, giving an account of the loss of the Clifton, of Workington, and the melancholy fate of her unfortunate crew:—

Sidney, Cape Breton, May 20.

"I am sorry to inform you of the loss of the Clifton. I left Chaleur Bay on the 21st of November, and got on shore on the 25th about six, A. M. eighteen miles to the N. E. of Cape St George, Newfoundland. The first stroke she gave knocked the rudder off, and we all got on shore in the afternoon, where we remained until the 28th, without any thing to eat or drink.

"On that day it was more moderate, and we got on board again; got the boat ready, and provisions, to look for inhabitants. It came on to blow very strong that night, and we had to remain on board to the 30th, when I thought it best to get all the provisions on shore, for fear the vessel should go to pieces.

"On the 12th of December the mate and five hands took the boat to seek inhabitants. On the 16th they returned without finding any.

"At the same time W. Gile and W. Hailwood, apprentices, went off unknown to me. I expected they would find inhabitants, as I have since been informed there are some at the head of St George's Bay.

"Finding it impossible to travel, and not knowing where to look for inhabitants, but thinking that St Peter's island would be the nearest inhabited place, (and it being impossible for us to take provisions with us to last until we got there) I determined that we should go upon an allowance, and remain there until the spring, expecting the commencement early in March; but in that I was mistaken. We had a very severe winter, almost perished with hunger and cold.

"We agreed to live on six ounces of beef a day. We had very little bread, only about a hundred weight, and it was wet; we had a very good stock of potatoes, but they, too, got wet in getting them on shore, and the greater part of them wasted by the frost. We had four potatoes apiece served out, as long as they lasted, which was till the latter end of February. On the 30th of December the cook died; he was a native of Africa.

"In the winter we got the long-boat decked, and on the 20th of April launched her down on the ice. On the 23d the ice broke, and the wind being fair, we made sail from our dreary abode. At eight o'clock got in between the ice, and stuck so fast that we could not get out. On the 24th, blowing very hard from the N. N. E. and snowing, the ice stove in two planks of the long-boat's bow. Fortunately, having the jolly-boat with

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as, we all got into her. It became moderate in the course of an hour, and froze very hard. It was one of the coldest nights I ever experienced.

"On the 25th, William Hayton, Henry Todhunter, and Wm. Crompton died; the latter belonged to Newcastle. The 26th, John Durham of Whitehaven, and Thomas Chapman, of Ulverstone, carpenter, died. The 27th, Joseph Atkinson died; and on the 28th, John Cannon. We were still on the ice and drifting out to sea. On the 30th, drifting close by the Bird Islands, we hauled the boat up on a large island of ice. On the 3d of May, I am sorry to inform you, I buried Joseph Losh. On the 5th, in the morning, we were between St Paul's Island and Cape Breton. The weather clearing up, and the ice breaking, we got the jolly-boat off, and pulled in towards Cape North. Finding we could not get within two miles of the shore for ice, we stood to the S.E. twenty miles round the ice, and landed the next night, one man, a boy, and myself; the man being nearly exhausted. I got a fire on shore, having tinder and matches with me. As soon as I got warmed, I found great pain in my feet, J. Makinson (the boy) the same. The bay being still full of ice, we could not reach any inhabitants. On the 12th, Thomas Walstaff, of Exeter, the last man, died. Thus, out of fourteen, only the boy and myself are remaining. Our legs swell very much, but we expect to be better soon.

"I am, &c.

"THOMAS OSBORNE."

"To Mr John Osborne,
Workington."

23d.—The first stone of the Southwark Bridge was laid by Admiral Lord Viscount Keith, K. B. attended by Sir John Jackson, bart. M. P. chairman, and the rest of the committee of management. The stone was laid precisely at 12 o'clock; the company afterwards repaired to the temporary bridge erected on the works, where was a cold collation. The following is a copy of the inscription on the plate affixed to the stone, and also enclosed with the different coins deposited beneath it:—

INSCRIPTION.

On the Twenty-third day of May, MDCCCXV.
Being the Fifty-fifth Year of the Reign of his Majesty
GEORGE III.
And in the Regency of his Royal Highness
GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES,
The Right Honourable Admiral Lord Viscount KEITH, K. B.
attended by Sir JOHN JACKSON, Bart. M. P. Chairman,
and other Members of the Committee of
Management,
Laid the first Stone of this Bridge, which, connecting the City of
London with the Borough of Southwark, is called the
Southwark Bridge.

The funds for building the Bridge were raised by Subscription of private persons, incorporated by Act of Parliament, and the work was commenced at the glorious termination of the longest and most expensive war in which the nation has ever been engaged.

JOHN RENNIE, Engineer.

24th.—About one o'clock this morning a fire broke out in the works of the Gas Company, in Dorset-street, which occasioned the most serious

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alarm to the whole of that neighbourhood: in a short time the whole of the newly erected building for the supply of gas was burned to the ground, and the house attached; it being comprised chiefly of timber and combustible materials, the fire spread with such rapidity that the most dreadful consequences were apprehended; no lives were lost, but several accidents were sustained in the confusion incident to such a catastrophe. The fire was completely subdued by three o'clock.

25th.—A fire broke out at the stables of Mr Smith, a carrier, of Chipping Ongar, in Essex, in consequence of a candle being left in the stables, by which the stables were destroyed, and five horses burnt to death; the greatest part of all the unfortunate sufferer possessed was destroyed in the conflagration.

29th.—An inquest was held at the sign of the Ship, in Berkeley-street, St John's, Clerkenwell, on the body of Ann Power, of the above street, who died on Friday evening last, in consequence of her having taken a large quantity of laudanum.

Anthony Power stated, that he was husband to the deceased; that about a month since, he being in trouble for debt, his wife came to visit him, and tendering two phials with liquid in them, requested witness to drink the same, which would relieve him at once from all his cares. He answered, he was not yet tired of life, but should write to his friends in the country to assist him, which he did, and he received immediate relief. On Friday last, the deceased went to a closet in the room where they were sitting, and poured something from a bottle, which he thought was gin, into a cup, which she mixed with water, and drank the same; then leaving the room; soon after she returned, threw her arms about his neck, begged he would forgive her, that the deed was done, and desired he would send for a surgeon; witness immediately sent to Mr Chamberlain, surgeon, in Aylesbury-street.

Mr Shipley, assistant to Mr Chamberlain, who attended on the deceased, said that he administered medicines for her relief, and a quantity of laudanum came off her stomach, but could not extract the whole; after languishing some hours she expired. The jury returned a verdict of—*Lunacy.*

Some time ago, a young woman was amusing herself with an infant at Aston's Quay, near Carlisle Bridge, Dublin. Whilst she was sportively toying with the child, it made a sudden spring from her arms, and in an instant fell into the Liffey. The screaming nurse and anxious spectators saw the water close over the child, and conceived that it had sunk to rise no more. A Newfoundland dog, which had been accidentally passing with his master, sprang forward to the wall, and gazed wistfully at the ripple in the water, made by the child's descent. In the same instant the child reappeared on the surface of the Liffey, and the dog sprang forward towards the water. Whilst the animal was descending, the child again sunk, and the faithful creature was seen anxiously swimming round and round the spot where it had disappeared. Once more the child rose to the surface; the dog seized him, and, with a firm but gentle pressure, bore him to land without injury. Meanwhile a gentleman arrived, who, on enquiry into the circumstances of the transaction, exhibited strong marks of sensibility and feeling towards the child, and of admiration for the dog that had rescued him from death. The person who had removed the babe from the dog turned to shew the infant to this gentleman, when it presented to his view the well-known features of his own son! A mixed sensation of terror, joy, and surprise,

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struck him mute. When he had recovered the use of his faculties, and fondly kissed his little darling, he lavished a thousand embraces on the dog, and offered to his master a very large sum, (500 guineas) if he would transfer the valuable animal to him; but the owner of the dog (Colonel Wynne) felt too much affection for the useful creature to part with him for any consideration whatever.

The following is a correct description of the smallest dwarf ever known, who was exhibited before the Queen, the Princesses Elizabeth and Mary, Charlotte of Wales, the Prince Regent, and the Dukes of York and Clarence, on Friday week. His name is Simon Paap, a native of Zendvoort, near Haarlem, in Holland. He is 26 years of age, weighs only 27 pounds, and is only 28 inches in height. He is considered the shortest man ever seen. He is well made, and well proportioned for his size. He has not grown any since he was six years of age, for which no cause can be assigned by the faculty. He goes through the military exercise with a gun proportionate to his size. He smokes tobacco and takes snuff freely. He prefers the house to the open air. His appearance is that of a child between four and five years of age, but his age is visible in the features of his face; his disposition is very lively, and he can hold a conversation in his own language.

ANECDOTE OF MARSHAL BLUCHER.—When this heroic veteran appeared before the gates of Paris, he issued orders for storming that disloyal and perfidious city, when one of his aids-du-camp riding up, informed him that the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia had just entered into it. "What brought them there so soon?" was his short reply; and, pointing to a howitzer near his horse's side, said, "Throw in that shell; for I will have one shot at this rascally capital however," which was done accordingly. This circumstance is represented in the picture of this gallant chieftain, painted for the Prince Regent by Sir Thomas Laurence.

The following anecdote deserves to be generally known:—When the Duke de Berri, at the head of 4000 brave and faithful warriors, reached Bethune, he found there 300 soldiers who had openly declared for Buonaparte. These men were completely surrounded by the duke's corps; but still with a degree of desperate and stupid infatuation, they shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* The duke darted into the midst of these 300 Buonapartists. He harangued them, and used every persuasion to make them cry *Vive le Roi!* but in vain. Perceiving their obstinacy to be incorrigible, he at last said, "You see plainly we could destroy every man of you—live, and make your escape!" They accordingly filed off, shouting as before, *Vive l'Empereur!* but adding, out of gratitude, *Vive le Duc de Berri!*

JUNE.

STATE OF THE KING'S HEALTH.—On Sunday the following bulletin was exhibited at St James's Palace:—

"*Windsor Castle, June 3, 1815.*

"The King has passed the last month in tranquillity and comfort, but his Majesty's disorder is not diminished.

(Signed as usual.)

3d.—The statue of his majesty, which was voted some time back by the corporation of London, was exhibited for the first time. The committee appointed for carrying the resolution into effect assembled at five o'clock at Guildhall, where they met a number of distinguished visitors, and

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proceeded to the great council chamber, where the statue is erected. It is placed at the end of the chamber, elevated about twelve feet from the floor, in a niche of a dark coloured marble. His majesty is sculptured in his royal robes, holding the scroll of an address in his left hand. The right hand is extended, to represent the sovereign as in the act of returning an answer to an address which has been presented to him.

On the pedestal is the following inscription:

GEORGE THE THIRD,
Born and bred a Briton,
endeared to a Brave, Free, and Loyal People
by his public Virtues,
by his pre-eminent Example
of private Worth in all the Relations of Domestic Life,
by his uniform Course of unaffected Piety,
and entire Submission to the Will of Heaven.
The Wisdom and Firmness
of his
Character and Councils
enabled him so to apply the Resources of his Empire,
so to direct the native Energies of his Subjects,
that he maintained the dignity of his Crown,
preserved inviolate the Constitution in Church and State,
and secured the Commerce and Prosperity of his Dominions,
during a long Period of unexampled difficulty:
in which the deadly Contagion of French Principles,
and the domineering Aggressions of French Power,
had nearly dissolved the Frame,
and destroyed the
Independence,
of every other Government and Nation in Europe.
The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City
of London,
have erected this Statue
in testimony
of their undeviating Loyalty, and grateful Attachment,
to the best of Kings,
in the fifty-fifth Year of his Reign,
A. D. 1815.
BIRCH, MAYOR.

4th.—One of the pinnaces plying between Dundee and Newport, in Fife, suddenly sunk, about half a mile from the latter port; and, out of 23 or 24 persons supposed to have been on board, only seven were saved.

A melancholy accident attended the celebration of the usual ceremony of firing guns in St James's Park, in honour of his majesty's birth-day. During the firing, an immense number of boys contrived to assemble within the enclosure, and the consequence was, that four of them were dreadfully shot with the wooden plugs. One boy was quite dead, and three others severely wounded over the head and body, two of whom were taken to the Westminster Infirmary. From the abdomen of one of them was taken a piece of wood three inches in length: it was expected that he could not survive the night.

6th.—CALCUTTA.—A severe disaster

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occurred on the 24th ultimo, near Monghyr, to a fleet of boats coming down to the Presidency, with 25 lacs of rupees, accompanied by 600 men of the European regiment, and many officers, under the command of Captain Aurial. —They were overtaken by a severe storm, and out of 15 boats, which contained the treasure, only two weathered the gale: 13 boats were lost, with 50 boats of the European regiment, two pinnaces, and several budgerows belonging to the officers. They were dashed to pieces on the rocky bank near Surojpoor. Six Europeans and one woman were drowned on this melancholy occasion. The treasure was conveyed in safety to Monghyr.

The Duchess of Angouleme and her suite arrived at Sheerness this afternoon, about three o'clock, in the Admiralty yacht, attended by Commissioner Cunningham. Her highness was received with every possible mark of attention by Admiral Sir C. Rowley, and after partaking of some refreshments at his residence, proceeded in the admiral's barge to Rochester, on her way to London.

11th.—Fete at Arundel Castle.—This afternoon, at half past six, his grace the Duke of Norfolk arrived in his travelling carriage at the castle. His grace immediately on his arrival, inspected the preparations carrying on for a grand fete, to take place on Thursday next, the anniversary of the day on which King John and the Barons signed Magna Charta. His grace has caused to be erected a new room in the castle, called *The Barons' Room*, which is of great extent, though now in an unfinished state, and only capable of being fitted up in a temporary manner on the present occasion. It is, however, lined with scarlet, and the floor matted so as to form a magnificent, as well as a comfortable dinner-room, and in it the grand banquet will be served. On the window at the extremity of the room, fronting the court-yard, is a superb painting, representing King John sitting, attended by the Pope's Nuncio and the Barons, while the king's page, Sir Hugh Montgomery, presents the Duke of Norfolk of that day to the king. The likeness represented is a strong one of the present duke.

The drawing-room, which will be appropriated for dancing, is a superb apartment, lined with crimson velvet, in pannels framed with gold, in which is placed a series of family portraits. Chandeliers and glasses complete its magnificence. This room is also very extensive. The Prince's room is lined with purple in gold pannels.

The Library, which extends the whole length of the eastern side of the quadrangle, is of the present duke's forming, his grace's ancestors having left him few books. The receptacles for the books are also of his grace's taste, and have been very lately finished. They are of the finest mahogany, modelled, as it were, after the interior of Westminster Abbey, with Gothic fret-work and other carving of the lightest and most exquisite workmanship.

The duke has greatly extended the castle on one side, which contains apartments for very numerous visitors. The front of this new erection is all of Bath and Portland stone, executed in a style perfectly corresponding with the remainder of the structure. Over the grand portal of the castle are the figures of Liberty and Hospitality; by the first of which a lion reposes, and by the latter a horse, the two supporters of the arms of the Howards. The whole of this magnificent embellishment is in marble. Opposite to the entrance, and underneath a room appropriated to the sciences, to drawing, and to the other arts, is a

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grand sculptural piece, representing King Alfred dictating to his chief judge the right of jury. The monarch is represented standing with the document in his left hand, written in Anglo-Saxon, and pointing with the forefinger of his right hand to the words which signify twelve jurymen. The chief judge, accompanied by the others, receives his majesty's instructions kneeling. The twelve jurymen form a group on one side of the composition. The whole is admirably executed, and has a majestic effect.

It is commonly said, that the earldom of Arundel depends upon this castle, and the saying is so far true as that the lawful possessor of it would be Earl of Arundel, without writ, or patent, even though the descent of the title had been interrupted by the passing of the estate to female heirs. This matter was enquired into by parliament, in the year 1433, and the earldom was then found to have been a feudal honour, or territorial dignity, before as well as after the Conquest. We are not sure that the present Duke of Norfolk has through any female ancestor the blood of the Saxon earls of Arundel, but he has that of the first Norman earls, the Fitz-alans, or Fitz-alleyns. The Howards are descendants in the female line of the Mowbrays; of whom —Thomas, Lord Mowbray, great grandson of Thomas de Brotherton, fifth son of Edward I. married, about the year 1400, the sister and co-heires of Thomas Fitz-alleyn, Earl of Arundel, by whom the estate and earldom of Arundel were brought into the family.

WESTMINSTER SESSIONS.

16th.—*Riot.*—Patrick M'Lochlan, William Cullen, William Brindle, John Boyd, and Thomas Mills, five of those importunate beggars that infest London under the characters of wounded sailors, were indicted for a most outrageous riot in Bond-street, on the 17th of May last.

The Rev. Mr Hodgson, rector of St George's, Hanover-square, saw the prisoners, together with other sailors who escaped, interrupting all the decent people in Bond-street, under the pretext of begging; and he ordered out the beadles and parish-officers, six in number, to disperse them. The moment the officers appeared, the sailors elevated their crutches, exclaimed —"One and all—let us on!" and commenced a desperate assault on the officers. The rioters, however, were ultimately secured. The beadle said it was a mistake to suppose all the prisoners to be sailors, although they assumed the costume; for Brindle, in particular, who had two wooden legs and two large crutches, had only been a brewer's servant.—Verdict, *Guilty.*

21st.—LONDON.—This evening the Hon. H. Percy, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, arrived with dispatches containing the account of the BATTLE of WATERLOO, the most glorious triumph ever achieved by British arms. We refer to the historical department and gazettes, for the full and interesting particulars. It is impossible to describe the sensation created throughout every part of these kingdoms on receipt of this intelligence. It can never be forgotten.

The dispatches announcing the glorious battle of Blenheim, were brought to England by the great grandfather of the Hon. Lieut.-Col. Percy, who bore the tidings of this far greater victory. A coincidence which adds lustre even to the splendid annals of the house of Northumberland.

23d.—Some idea of the extent of emigration from Ireland may be formed from the following letter, dated St John's, Newfoundland, received lately:—"The arrivals from Ireland

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have exceeded any in the custom house books; exclusive of three vessels which have made no returns, are 3026 men and 373 women to this harbour alone; but the numbers far exceed the returns, the captains having brought out so many they are ashamed to return them. The wretched creatures are most dreadfully treated on the passage: one man declared to me, he was but three nights below decks the entire of the voyage, nor could he get down. Strange complaints have been made by a set of wretches who came yesterday, of the very nearly starving condition they were in; indeed government must put a stop to such proceedings, or really a contagion will be bred in our streets, and what will become of them in winter God only knows."

26th.—ROBBING MAILS.—On Saturday the 24th instant, a box containing 1900 guineas, and 200 guineas in half-guineas and seven-shilling pieces, the property of a merchant in Dublin, directed by his correspondent in London, was entered at the mail-coach office in Chester, and for security, an insurance was made on it with the proprietors of the coach for 500*l*., of which Peter M'Glynn, an extra guard, who was to go with the mail, was made acquainted, and directed to take particular care of it. The mail on Sunday, about two o'clock, stopped at Hinckley, in Leicestershire, to dinner, where M'Glynn told the guard who was to relieve him, that there was a box with the coach which was insured for 500*l*., which he should put into the boot. The other replied it was nothing to him, as he was guard to the mail and not parcels. On the arrival of the mail at Northampton, the book-keeper, on observing in the way-bill a box insured for 500*l*., examined the coach for it, but it was not to be found: An alarm was given, and diligent search was made for it in vain. On the arrival of the mail in London, and the circumstance being made known to the proprietors, they dispatched Pearkes, the Bow-street officer, with all speed to Chester, who made enquiries on the road, but could learn nothing satisfactory. His suspicion, however, fell upon M'Glynn, the extra guard. He was in consequence examined at Northampton, but nothing being proved against him, he was discharged. Pearkes, however, had no doubt he was the thief, and strongly suspected that he did not put the box into the boot at Hinckley, and that he had either concealed it, or had an accomplice there. He was sent back to Chester by the same mail, with instructions for him to be closely watched while the mail stopped at Hinckley, which was accordingly done. He was observed to go into the privy, but did not remain in it a minute, and then went to a shed where a mourning-coach was kept. After he was gone, the privy was examined, and the box containing the guineas, &c. was discovered on a piece of timber; and on examining the shed, in a very secluded dark corner, nearly the whole of the contents of the box were found. A chaise and four started with all speed, overtook the mail at the next stage, and M'Glynn was brought back. On Saturday he underwent an examination at Hinckley, when a witness identified the shawl in which the gold was tied up to be his property. He was fully committed to Leicester gaol for trial.

27th.—A narrative taken from the surviving crew relative to the loss of the Arniston transport, wrecked near Cape Lagullas, on the evening of the 30th of May, 1815, states as follows:—

Charles Stewart Scott, late carpenter's mate of the Arniston transport, and others, assert to the best of their

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knowledge, that she sailed from Point de Gall on or about the 4th of April, under convoy of his majesty's ship Africaine, and Victor brig, with six Indiamen; about the 26th of May parted company from the convoy, owing to stress of weather, having blown away most of her sails, others were then bent; but the weather continued very squally, with a heavy sea. On the 29th, about seven, A. M. the land was discovered right a-head, bearing about N. by W. a long distance off, the wind then S.S.E.; about half-past four, P. M. still blowing very strong, hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, under a close-reefed maintopsail, and stood on till half-past two, A. M. on the 30th; then supposing the land was near Table Bay, the hands were turned up, bore up, steering N. W. and set the foresail, intending to run for St Helena; continued on till ten, A. M. when the land was discovered nearly a-head; turned the hands up, and hauled the ship close to the wind on the larboard tack, still blowing very hard, made all sail, having topsails and courses set, stood on till near noon, when breakers were discovered on the lee-bow, wore ship, and hauled to the wind on the other tack, stood on till two, P. M. then wore and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, continuing on till near 4 o'clock, when breakers were seen, which proved Lagullus Reef, which we could not weather on either tack, being completely embayed; clewed up the sails, and cut away three anchors; the two bower cables parted shortly after, when Lieutenant Brice, agent for transports, recommended the captain to cut the sheet cable, and run the ship ashore, the only chance of saving the people's lives; the cable was then cut, and the ship put before the wind, and in about eight minutes after she struck forward, the ship heeling to windward; cut away the guns in order to heel her the other way, which could not be effected, consequently she soon began to break up: about eight o'clock the masts went; and the ship in a very short time was quite in pieces. Many people were drowned below, in consequence of her heeling to windward; and others clung to the wreck, endeavouring to reach the shore, about 1½ mile distant. Out of the whole crew, consisting of near 350 persons, only six men reached the shore with great difficulty upon planks, being much bruised by the surf and wreck, which was very high. At day-light the next morning the stern-post was the only part of the ship to be seen; the beach was covered with wreck, stores, &c. and a number of dead bodies (which were buried by the survivors,) and among whom were Lord and Lady Molesworth, the agent, and captain, with some children. On the next day, the 1st of June, considering ourselves to the westward of Cape Point, it was agreed to coast the beach to the eastward, which we continued to do for four days and a half, subsisting on shell fish from off the rocks; but fearing we had taken a wrong direction, it was agreed to return to the wreck, and we accomplished it in three days and a half, where we remained six days, subsisting chiefly on a cask of oatmeal which had been driven on shore; by drying it in the sun we experienced great relief from it. The pinnace had been driven on shore bilged, which we proposed to repair in the best manner circumstances would allow, and endeavour to coast along shore: at that time, the 14th of June, being at work on the boat, we were fortunately discovered by a farmer's son, John Swarts, who was out shooting, and humanely carried by him to his father's house, where we remained with every comfort he could afford us, for a week, and then set off for Cape

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Town, where we arrived on Monday evening the 26th of June.

Before we left the country we were informed that 331 bodies, thrown on shore, had been interred near the beach.

(Signed) C. Stewart Scott, and Party.

This declaration was made before me at Cape Town, the 27th day of June, 1815, of which this is a true copy.

(Signed) J. Meres, Lieut. R. N. and A. T.

JULY.

4th.—On Tuesday morning last, a melancholy accident happened in one of the pits of Sheriff Hill colliery, on Gateshead Fell. When the overman and workmen descended to their work, finding the mine in a dangerous state, they returned up, and sent for Mr William Foggitt, the viewer, who, with his two brothers and other overmen and deputies, to the number of nine men and two boys, went down to find out the cause, which proved to be a heavy fall from the roof, that opened a communication with some old workings, and caused the mine to be so filled with inflammable air, that it exploded upon them, and they were all killed excepting one boy, who was brought up with some remains of life, and is expected to recover.

7th.—In the afternoon, about four o'clock, as Colonel Poyntz, his two sons, and their tutor, Miss Parry, and Miss Emily Parry, (daughters of the late admiral Parry, of Fareham,) a fisherman, and his son, were returning to land at Bognor in a pleasure yacht, a sudden gust of wind upset the boat, when the whole party, except Colonel Poyntz and the boatman, were drowned; the latter saved the colonel by swimming with him on his back. Mrs Poyntz was looking on the party from the drawing-room window the moment the accident happened.

8th.—Paris.—Yesterday the king made his public entry into his capital at three in the afternoon. His majesty left St Denis at two o'clock. Numerous detachments from the National Guard of Paris went to meet the king, and to range themselves among the faithful adherents who served to form his majesty's retinue. No ceremonial had, however, been ordered. The public enthusiasm and brilliant testimonies of general joy alone embellished this family festival. The king's carriage was preceded and followed by his military household. Around it were several marshals, followed by a great number of general officers, who had always accompanied the king. The inhabitants of Paris and the neighbouring towns covered the road. All, as well as the National Guard, had assumed the white cockade, making the air resound with cries of *Vive le Roi!*

13th.—On Thursday, at noon, information was received by William Henry Gell, Esq. Coroner for Middlesex, that Mr Whitbread had put an end to his existence, and a jury was instantly summoned to sit on the body in the evening. At eight o'clock the inquest assembled at the house of the deceased, in Dover-street Piccadilly.

The first witness examined was J. Wilshire, Esq. from whose deposition it appeared that he was a most particular friend to the deceased. He resided in Hertfordshire. A few weeks since he received an application from the family and friends of Mr Whitbread to come to town, for the purpose of soothing their afflicted feelings, and, if possible, by fellowship, to rouse and restore the deceased from the lethargy and dull melancholy that was then operating upon him. On his arrival in town, he found his friend in a

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low desponding state, and notwithstanding every exertion, he could but occasionally succeed in shaking off the melancholy which seemed to have seized him, or cause him to retract or give up the irregular notions and incoherent expressions he had adopted. He entreated Mr Whitbread to retire from those pursuits and that intense application which apparently disturbed his imagination to a degree bordering on despair. Mr W. listened on all occasions to his advice, and in many instances promised to adhere to it. He complained, however, bitterly that he felt he had become completely unfit for business—that his public life was extinct—that he was derided; in short, that he had become "an outcast to society." An evening or two before the fatal transaction, his friend and he dined together. Mr W. was in excellent health, and conducted himself in that clear and energetic way by which he has always been distinguished. After dinner, however, his mind at once forsook him, and he commenced an argument of a most idle and ridiculous nature. On this he expatiated with as much warmth as though it were a great national question. His friend on this occasion endeavoured to restore his reason, and pointed out to him the absurdity as well as improbability of his statements. Mr W., however, persisted in his phrensied declarations; and, among other things, stated that charges of a serious nature were exhibited against him, as well by the public voice as by communications: this was also resisted as erroneous by his friend. Mr W., however, with much warmth, undertook to prove it by his secretary, who, he said, could produce documents to the fact. The secretary being in the house, was instantly called, and confronted with him, when the whole of what he, Mr W., had stated, turned out to be a mere fabrication of the brain. The reason of the deceased seemed again restored for a short time, and he bowed in silent admission of his error.—The evidence of Mr Wilshire went to prove a variety of other incidents relative to the deceased for several months, all of which went to establish a settled derangement of the mind of his lamented friend.

Mr Holland, a magistrate, residing at Epsom, corroborated the account of Mr Wilshire, as far as it related to the general conduct of the deceased for several months. He was also his particular acquaintance and friend. Some weeks since he had noticed an extraordinary stupor and dulness about him; and imagining that it arose from intense study and application, he entreated him to spend a few days in the country, at his (Mr Holland's) seat. After much difficulty he succeeded, and Mr W. accompanied him to Epsom. On the day of their arrival Mr W. was in apparent good health and spirits, talked rationally, and retired to rest cheerfully. On his appearance, however, the following morning, being asked by Mr H. how he did, and how he slept? Mr W. replied, he was "very ill indeed, and had not enjoyed half an hour's rest during the night." He then added, he must "forego the kind invitation of his friend, and go to town; a vast deal of public business remained to be done; and though he was incapable of performing it, he would struggle at it, and do the best he could."—Mr Holland further related, that he had accompanied Mr W. to a meeting of the proprietors of Drury-Lane theatre, where he was called to the chair. The business was for the purpose of electing a member of the committee in the room of the Hon. Cavendish Bradshaw, who had resigned. On that occasion, however, Mr W. scarcely opened his lips, and sat in the chair in a senseless state, looking with vacant

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melancholy upon all around him. On their retiring from the meeting, Mr. W. observed to his friend, "you have now an opportunity of seeing my incapacity for public business; eight or ten years ago I could pretend to do business, but now I feel a total incompetence, and I am only despised for my services." In addition to various other facts related by Mr Holland, which demonstrated in the strongest manner the mental derangement of the deceased, he added, "never did there exist a man upon whose judgment and integrity I should have sooner relied, upon any case, either public or private, as a counsellor or friend. In these relations I had consulted him for many years. But from what I have observed of his conduct for a considerable time past, he would have been the last person in the world to whom I would have committed the slightest subject for consideration."

John Weir deposed that he had lived in the service of the deceased for 27 years. His master had retired to rest on Wednesday night about half past ten, in apparent good health. On the following morning he observed him come down stairs and go into his dressing-room, which was situated on the ground floor, and looking into the garden. It was then half past nine o'clock, and the witness, as was his daily custom, went to bring some hot water to shave him. On reaching the door of the dressing-room, however, he found it fastened, and immediately knocked. He received no answer, and retired, supposing his master was particularly engaged. On his going through the passage, however, he met the private secretary of Mr Whitbread, to whom he related the singularity of the dressing-room being locked; a circumstance never before known. The secretary replied, it was equally strange to him, as he himself had been trying to see Mr W. and to receive some orders, when he found the door fast, and no answer given either to his call or knocking. They both then determined upon peeping in at the window from the yard; which having passed, and not distinguishing the deceased in an upright posture, they looked more narrowly, and beheld with terror the body of their lamented master weltering in his blood. The witness instantly burst in the window, and entered the room, where he found the deceased with his throat cut from ear to ear, and the vital spark completely extinguished. Medical aid, though called in, was quite useless. Perhaps no instance of self-destruction was ever more complete. A razor, with which he effected the dreadful act, was found by his side on the floor.—The private secretary of the deceased confirmed the account given by the last witness; but such were the terror and temporary confusion into which he was thrown by his first view of the shocking spectacle, that he could not recollect whether he entered the room through the door or by the window. This witness also deposed to many circumstances, which led him to believe that the deceased had long laboured under strong symptoms of derangement.—An eminent physician proved the fact which had caused the death of the deceased; and after some other corroborative evidence the coroner left it to the jury to decide, whether, under the strong and respectable testimony they had heard, they could for a moment hesitate upon the verdict. In his opinion and in the exercise of his unpleasant duties, a clearer instance of derangement had never come before him.

The jury, after a moment's consideration, concurred, and returned a verdict of Insanity.

14th.—PARIS.—Yesterday, between one and two o'clock, the staff of the

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English army, consisting of about 300 generals and superior officers, with the Duke of Wellington at their head, repaired to the palace of the Thuilleries to pay their respects to the king. His majesty received these distinguished officers with that grace and kindness which accompanies all his actions. They were successively named and presented to him. The king wore the Order of the Garter. He addressed the Duke of Wellington in English, saying—"My lord duke, I personally owe you a debt of gratitude for your humanity, and the good conduct of your army towards my subjects. I am glad to have the opportunity of giving this testimony myself in the presence of the whole of your staff."—The king afterwards conversed with several of the officers, all of whom withdrew penetrated with the gracious reception they had experienced.

16th.—A dreadful catastrophe occurred in the neighbourhood of Leicester. Two coaches that run daily from Hinckley to Leicester had set out as usual; the first having descended the hill that leads to Leicester, was obliged to stop to repair the harness. The other coachman from the top of the hill saw the accident, and seizing the moment to give his antagonist the *go-by*, immediately flogged his horses into a gallop down the hill. The horses in the midst of their speed took fright at something lying on the road, and became so unmanageable, that, in their sweep to avoid the object of alarm, the driver could not recover them so as to clear the post of the turnpike gate at the bottom of the hill; and the velocity was so great that in an instant the coach was split in two, and three persons were dashed to pieces and instantly expired, two others survived but a few hours in the greatest agony; four were conveyed away in chaises for surgical aid with fractured limbs; and two that were in the dickey behind were thrown with that part of the coach to a great distance, and not much hurt by falling in a hedge. The coachman fell a victim to his fury and madness: the scoundrel's fate can hardly be lamented.

25th.—*Surrender and arrival of Buonaparte and his suite.*—The Slaney sloop, Captain Sartorius, had prepared ministers for the immediate arrival of the Bellerophon, Captain Maitland, to which vessel Buonaparte surrendered himself, at Plymouth or Torbay. Captain Sartorius reached town before six o'clock yesterday morning, with dispatches from Captain Maitland. He was also the bearer of a letter from Buonaparte to the Prince Regent. Buonaparte had delivered this letter to one of his own suite, who was to present it. This person, however, upon his arrival at Plymouth in the Slaney, was not permitted to proceed to town, but the letter was given in charge to Captain Sartorius, who immediately upon his arrival proceeded to the secretary's, Mr Barrow.

Yesterday evening it was announced by telegraph that the Bellerophon was arrived at Torbay, and this morning, about five o'clock, Lieut. Fletcher, flag lieutenant of Sir H. Hotham, arrived in town with dispatches, giving an account of her arrival at anchorage with Buonaparte and his suite, consisting of 45 persons, namely, Marshal Compte de Montholon, Marshal Bertrand, the Generals Savary and L'Allemand, the Compte de Lascasas, three lieutenant colonels, four captains, &c. besides the Countesses Montholon and Bertrand, and their four children.

Finding escape from the vigilance of our squadron utterly impossible, Buonaparte sent Lascasas on board to know if Captain Maitland would allow him to pass unmolested, as he was in expectation of receiving passports from

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England; but the captain's answer was, that he had received no information of such passports being granted, and consequently that he could not allow him to pass. He then sent Savary to negociate for his reception in England, but the captain told him he had no authority to make conditions, and could only receive him on board and carry him to England, where he must abide the decision of the government.

The following is Buonaparte's letter to the Regent.

"ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality (*m'asseoir sur les foyers*) of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed) NAPOLEON."

"*Rochefort, July* 13, 1815."

Upon the arrival of the Bellerophon at Torbay, Captain Maitland made the signal for general orders, the telegraphic answer to which was, to prohibit all communication with the shore, and to stand out three leagues to sea, and await the orders of the admiralty.

Strict orders had been issued to prevent all intercourse between the shore and the ship. The curiosity of all ranks, as may well be conceived, was excessive. Persons from London and from other parts flocked down to Plymouth, though they knew that Buonaparte was not expected to land, and that they cannot go on board the Bellerophon—But they can row in boats round the vessel, and can occasionally catch a glimpse of him. He is (says a correspondent,) the greater part of the day in the stern gallery, either walking backwards and forwards with his hands behind him, as he is represented in some of the pictures in the print shops, or surveying the shipping and the shore through a glass. In general he keeps alone, Bertrand and Lallemand remaining at some distance behind him. Occasionally he beckons to one of them to point out something to him, or to make some observation. He then walks on alone. Captain Maitland is more frequently with him than any of his suite, and he pays him great attention. He is in good health. As usual he passes but a short time at his meals, and drinks little wine. He is said to drink regularly to the health of the Prince Regent. Coffee is frequently served up to him on the deck, and when he first came near the land about Torbay, he is reported to have exclaimed, "*Enfin, voila ce beau pays!*" (At length, here is this fine country!) adding that he had never seen it except from Calais and Boulogne, when the only points that could be seen were the white and bold rocks about Dover.—He is plainly dressed, in general in a green coat, without any decorations, and a cocked hat.

26th.—This being the day appointed for the execution of Elizabeth Fenning, William Oldfield, and Abraham Adams, the public curiosity was strongly excited, and perhaps to a greater degree than on any similar event since the memorable execution of Haggerty, Holloway, &c. For in the case of Fenning many had taken up an opinion that her guilt was not clearly established; for she had uniformly protested her innocence. The last interview between her and her parents took place about half-past one o'clock on Tuesday; to them, and to the last moment, she persisted in her innocence. About eight o'clock

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yesterday morning the sheriffs proceeded from Justice Hall along the subteraneous passage to the Press-yard.

Fenning was dressed in white, with laced boots, and a cap. Oldfield went up to her in the Press-yard, and enjoined her to prayer, and assured her they should all be happy.

The sheriffs preceded the cavalcade to the steps of the scaffold, to which the unfortunate girl was first introduced. Just as the door was opened, the Rev. Mr Cotton stopped her for a moment, to ask her if in her last moments she had any thing to communicate? She paused for a moment, and said, "Before the just and Almighty God, and by the faith of the holy sacrament I have taken, I am innocent of the offence with which I am charged." This she spoke with much firmness of emphasis, and followed it by saying what all around her understood to be, "My innocence will be manifested in the course of the day." The last part of this sentence was spoken, however, so inaudibly, that it was not rightly understood; and the Rev. Mr Cotton being anxious to hear it again, put a question to get from her her positive words; to which she answered, "I hope God will forgive me, and make manifest the transaction in the course of the day." She then mounted the platform, with the same uniform firmness she had maintained throughout. A handkerchief was tied over her face and she prayed fervently, but to the last moment declared her innocence. Oldfield came up next with a firm step, and addressed a few words in prayer to the unhappy girl. About half past eight o'clock the fatal signal was given. One emotion only was perceptible in Fenning. After hanging the usual hour, the bodies were cut down and given over to their friends for interment.

The following paragraph, relative to Elizabeth Fenning, appeared in the newspapers.

"We should deem ourselves wanting in justice, and a due respect for government, if we did not state that, in consequence of the many applications from the friends of this unhappy young woman who this day suffered the sentence of the law, a meeting took place yesterday at Lord Sidmouth's office, (his lordship is out of town) at which the Lord Chancellor, the Recorder, and Mr Beckett were present. A full and minute investigation of the case took place, and of all that had been urged in her favour by private individuals; but the result was a decided conviction that nothing had occurred which could justify an interruption of the due course of justice. So anxious was the Lord Chancellor in particular to satisfy his own mind, and put a stop to all doubts on the part of the people at large, that another meeting was held by the same parties last night, when they came to the same determination, and in consequence the unfortunate culprit suffered the penalty of the law."

Fenning's funeral took place on the 31st. It had been previously understood that she was not to be interred until five o'clock, but her parents and friends very prudently changed the hour, by which means much confusion was obviated. The crowds, however, assembled were immense. The funeral began to move from the house of her father in Eagle-street, Red Lion Square, about half past three o'clock. It was preceded by about a dozen peace officers, and these were followed by nearly 30 more; next came the undertaker, immediately followed by the body of the deceased. The pall was supported by six young females, attired in white: then followed eight persons, male and female, as

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chief mourners, led by the parents. These were succeeded by several hundreds of persons, two and two, and the whole was closed by a posse of peace officers. Many thousands accompanied the procession, and the windows, and even tops of the houses, as it passed, were thronged with spectators. The whole proceeded in a regular manner, until it reached the burying ground of St George the Martyr. The number of persons assembled in and about the church-yard could not be much short of 10,000. Not the slightest accident, however, occurred, and the procession of mourners, &c. returned in the same order it came by the Foundling, Lamb's-conduit-street, &c. The vigilance of the officers, in preserving order, was highly meritorious; but they were unable to resist the anxiety of the multitude at the church-yard, the gates being actually forced. A young man, a livery servant, in the crowd, who had spoken somewhat disrespectfully of the deceased, was rather roughly handled by the populace.

28th.—Paris.—The Duchess of Angouleme arrived yesterday at Paris. The horse and foot of the national guard, and the gendarmes, were drawn out to meet her. She alighted at the Thuilleries and paid her homage to the king, who received her with the greatest sensibility. She afterwards appeared with the king on the balcony, and was saluted by an immense multitude with cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive Madame!*

31st.—A distressing accident occurred on Monday near the village of Southgate. Mr Grenfell and Mr Bridges were proceeding to town together in a single-horse chaise, when it was found necessary to adjust some part of the harness. Mr Grenfell gave the reins to his friend until he got out, and made the requisite alteration. In the interim, unfortunately, the horse took fright, and Mr Bridges being alone in the chaise, and not well accustomed to the reins, could not at all manage the animal; the consequence was, that the chaise was shortly upset, and Mr Bridges being thrown with violence on the ground was killed on the spot.

The American Rivers.—Of all the people who ever imposed names upon a newly discovered country, the Americans have certainly been the most unlucky in their choice. Witness Bigmuddy River, and Littlemuddy River, Littleshallow River, Good Woman River, Little Woman Creek, Blowing Fly Creek, *cum multis aliis* in the same delightful taste. When this country shall have its civilised inhabitants, its cities, its scholars, and its poets, how sweetly will such names sound in American verse!

Ye plains, where sweet Bigmuddy rolls along,
And Teapot, one day to be famed in song;
Where swans on Biscuit and on Grindstone glide,
And willows wave upon Good Woman's side;
How shall your happy streams, in after time,
Tune the soft lay, and fill the sonorous rhyme!
Blest bards, who in your amorous verse will call
On murmuring Pork, and gentle Cannon Ball,
Split Rock, and Stick Lodge, and Two Thousand Mile,
White Lime, and Cupboard, and Bad-humour'd Isle!
Flow, Little Shallow, flow, and be thy stream
Their great example, as it will their theme!
Isis with Rum and Onion must not vie,
Cam shall resign the palm to Blowing Fly,
And Thames and Tagus yield to great Big Little Dry.

The Duke of Wellington's Victories.

Roleia and Vimeira, Aug. 17 and 21, 1808.
Corunna, January 16, 1809.
Oporto, May 12, 1809.
Talavera, July 27, 1809.
Busaco, September 27, 1810.
Coimbra, October 7, 1810.
Barossa, March 5, 1811.
Fuente de Onor, May 5, 1811.

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Almeida, May 11, 1811.
Albuera, May 16, 1811.
Arroyo del Molino, October 28, 1811.
Ciudad Rodrigo, January 19, 1812.
Badajos, April 6, 1812.
Madrid, May 14, 1812.
Almarez, May 19, 1812.
Salamanca, July 22, 1812.
Castalla, May 12, 1813.
Vittoria, June 21, 1813.
Pyrenees, July 25, 26, 27, and 28, 1813.
St Sebastian, September 9, 1813.
Bidassoa, October 9, 1813.
Pampeluna, October 31, 1813.
Neive, Dec. 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1813.
Orthes, February 27, 1814.
Toulouse, April 10, 1814.
Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

AUGUST.

1st.--This evening about six o'clock, Mr Byrne, a respectable tradesman, of Green-street, Leicester-square, went out in a one-horse chaise, with his wife and child, for an airing, but he had only crossed over Putney-bridge, when the horse startled at some object, and ran off in a most furious manner. The chaise was overturned, and the whole family thrown out with such violence, that Mr B. only survived the shock until yesterday morning, when he expired; his wife and child providentially escaped with only some slight bruises.

2d.—On Tuesday, about three o'clock, a smuggling boat with thirteen men, full of goods, and armed, ran on board the eight-oared boat belonging to the Fox cutter, in the service of the Revenue of Excise, on the coast of Kent; the crew of the smuggler shot four of the boatmen, and in the most brutal manner threw them overboard, and beat, bruised, and wounded the other boatmen, and left them for dead on the wreck of their own boat; his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased to grant (in last night's gazette) his majesty's pardon to any person who shall discover any one of the parties (except the person having the command of the smuggling boat), so that he or they may be convicted thereof. The Commissioners of Excise, in addition, offer a reward of 500*l.* on the above conviction.

3d.—A few days since as a gentleman with a Newfoundland dog was crossing in Air-street-fields, Bethnal-green, where there are two ponds, the dog plunged into one of them, and appeared to grapple with something, which his master perceived to be a human body: on examination it proved to be the body of a boy about 14 years of age. The dog instantly plunged into the other pond also, and brought out a woman's cap: this second circumstance created more alarm, and the pond was dragged, when the body of a woman genteely dressed was brought up: both bodies appeared to have been for some time in the water; they were carried to the bone-house to be owned.

4th.—The Conquest of the Kingdom of Kandy.—The Gazette published on Thursday contains Lieutenant-General Sir R. Brownrigg's account of the conquest of Kandy; and it gives us pleasure to add, that this achievement has not cost us a single life. The details in General Brownrigg's letter are long and uninteresting. Every necessary information re-respecting this conquest, is contained in the following official bulletin, which was published on Wednesday:—

Downing Street, August 2, 1815.

"Dispatches have this day been received from Lieutenant-General Sir R. Brownrigg, dated Kandy in Ceylon, the 25th of February, 1815. On the 1st of February, after overcoming great difficulties, principally in provisioning the troops, the first and second divisions, under the command of Major Hook, and Lieutenant-Colonel O'Connel, reached the foot of the

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Balain mountains, on the great road leading to the city of Kandy. The post commanding the pass through the mountains was taken on the 2d, after a trifling opposition, and on the 3d a fort, still further in advance, was taken possession of by the 1st division, without loss. On the 10th, the army again moved forward, and reached the great river of Muhavilliganga, three miles distant from Kandy, when it was first learnt that the king and his adherents had abandoned his capital, and the defences which had been erected to prevent the passage of the river.

"On the 18th Sir R. Brownrigg joined the advance of the army, and on the following day entered the city of Kandy, and fixed his head-quarters in the palace.

"On the 19th the king was surrounded by the people of Dombera, the province into which he fled; and after some resistance was, together with two of his wives, taken prisoner.

"Sir R. Brownrigg speaks most highly of the conduct and discipline of all the troops engaged in the operations."

The King appears to have been, not without reason, contemplated by the Kandians with feelings of hatred and contempt; hideous objects of his resentment presented themselves to Major Brownrigg, (who brought over the dispatches) in the remains of nineteen poor wretches, stuck up on poles, on both sides of a river, a few miles from the capital.—General Brownrigg, in congratulating the Prince Regent on the issue of this campaign, observes, that he tenders for his royal highness's acceptance, "the duties of a new and industrious hardy race of people, and the possession of a territory bountifully endowed with natural gifts, and requiring only the blessings of a just government, and an equitable administration of justice."

Windsor Castle, Aug. 5.

His majesty has continued in a state of tranquillity and comfort during the last month, and is in good health, but without any diminution of his majesty's disorder.

(Signed as usual.)

5th.—Thomas Scagg, Esq. a gentleman of extensive property at Farnborough, Kent, after having mounted his favourite horse, which became restive, flew into a paroxysm of rage, and violently corrected the animal; but such was the irritation of his feelings, that he within a few minutes afterwards fell off the horse, in presence of his wife, and instantly expired.

An accident of a most melancholy nature had nearly occurred in the family of a merchant of the first respectability in Aldersgate-street, from the fatal effects of arsenic. This gentleman had a select party of friends, two ladies and two gentlemen, to dine with him. The dinner passed over, and wine and fruit were placed on the table as usual, when in less than ten minutes the lady of the house felt herself so much indisposed, that she was obliged to quit the room, and was instantly followed by the other ladies. The indisposition of the lady was succeeded by that of the master of the house and one of his guests, who were seized with violent sickness, and every symptom of being poisoned. Mr Wheelwright, of Falcon-square, was called in, and on hearing the symptoms of the invalids described, declared without hesitation, that they had taken strong poison. The medicines proper for expelling the poison were administered, and an enquiry was instituted as to what they had eaten. The kitchen was visited, and the cooking utensils were examined, but nothing was discovered which could at all point out the cause of the accident, and what rendered the circumstance more perplexing was, that the cook and house-

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maid, neither of whom had partaken of the dinner sent into the parlour, were both at this period taken ill also. Dr Babington, who had arrived in the interval, now suggested, that the deleterious ingredient must have been contained in the wine which had been drank, and, to account for the servants being ill, charged them with having done that which is too frequently practised, tasted their master's wine before it reached his table. This was at first strictly denied by both, but on being told their lives depended on their now speaking truth, they confessed they had each tasted a *very little drop* before the butler took up his tray. This led to a discovery of the source from whence the evil had flowed; the wine in the decanter was examined, and in it was discovered a strong sediment of arsenic: the bottom left in the black bottle was also analyzed, when Dr Babington took nearly a desert spoonful of the powder out of it, which, from appearances, had been in the bottle before the wine was put into it. Two of the ladies and one of the gentlemen had fortunately not taken any of the wine, and the rest of the company only one glass each, when the providential indisposition of the lady of the house prevented any more being taken. Had any one taken a second glass, it is the opinion of the medical gentlemen, that the effects must have been fatal;—at present the sufferers, though still weak, are considered as out of all danger.

6th.—At South Shields last week, two old sons of Neptune, one of whom had a wooden leg, differed in politics over a can of grog. The one insisted that Buonaparte was a better general than Blucher, which the other was so far from acquiescing in, that the dispute ended in a challenge. The spectators of the affair prevailed on the disputants to assume the names of their favourite generals. Blucher, the more to resemble his original, caused epaulets to be painted on his shirt neck; thrust his head into a meal sack to hoarify his locks; and mustachoed his face with a burnt cork. Thus accoutred, each with an old firelock, they proceeded to the place appointed, where, after taking a very short distance, they fired.—Blucher's wadding struck poor Buonaparte, who, in the full persuasion that he was no more for this world, uttered a hideous roar and fell! Blucher, when he saw the effect of his shot, burst into tears, and it was some time ere their attendants could convince them of care having been taken that no shot had been put into their muskets; which at length accomplished, all parties drowned animosities in hearty draughts of grog.

A very extraordinary murder has been perpetrated at Portsmouth. A young man, named Anderson, having married a Miss Jerome, without the consent of her mother, the enraged parent instigated her son to shoot his sister's husband, which he actually did! The Coroner's jury pronounced a verdict of *wilful murder* against both Mrs Jerome and her son.

7th.—On Monday se'ennight, while a great number of people were assembled to witness the putting in motion of ten or twelve waggons by a steam-engine on a new rail road at Newbattle colliery, county of Durham, the engine burst, from being overheated, and melancholy to relate, seven persons were killed, and upwards of fifty were dreadfully scalded.

Trans-shipment of Buonaparte.—The Northumberland sailed from Portsmouth on Friday last; and, on nearing Torbay on Sunday, perceived two line of battle ships approaching her, which proved to be the Bellerophon, with Buonaparte on board, and the Tonnant with Lord Keith. In a few hours the Northumberland hailed them, and asked after Buonaparte,

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who, she was informed, had not come out of his cabin for some days. The ships came to an anchor off Torbay.

General Bertrand went first on board the Tonnant, where he dined with Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn. He is a man of about 50 years of age, and extremely well behaved. At dinner, Sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Buonaparte; one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the Northumberland. Bertrand expressed his opinion strongly against the measure of sending the emperor (as he and all the suite constantly style him) to St Helena, when his wish and expectation were to live quietly in England, under protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn did not enter into any discussion upon the subject.

After dinner, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn, accompanied by Bertrand, went on board the Bellerophon. Previously to their arrival, Buonaparte's arms and pistols had been taken away from him—not without considerable altercation and objections on the part of the French officers.

Those who were not to accompany him were sent on board the Eurotas frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers. Buonaparte took leave of them individually. A colonel Pistowski, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him: he had received seventeen wounds in the service of Buonaparte, and said he would serve him in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to go with him to St Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish officers were peremptory, and he was removed to the Eurotas. Savary and Lallemand, however, were not among those sent on board the frigate; they were left in the Bellerophon.

When Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn went on board the Bellerophon on Sunday afternoon, Buonaparte was upon deck to receive them, dressed in a green coat with red facings, two epaulets, white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, the star of the Legion of Honour, and a *chapeau bras*, with the three coloured cockade. His face is remarkably plump, and his head rather bald upon the top. After the usual salutations, Lord Keith, addressing himself to Buonaparte, acquainted him with his intended transfer from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland.

Buonaparte immediately protested with great vehemence against this act of the British government:—he did not expect it,—he did not conceive that any possible objection could be made to his residing in England quietly for the rest of his life!

No answer was returned by either Lord Keith or Sir George Cockburn. Some conversation ensued on different topics, when, after reminding him that the Northumberland's barge would come for him at ten on Monday morning, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn retired.

Early on Monday morning Sir George Cockburn went on board the Bellerophon to superintend the inspection of Buonaparte's baggage; it consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They were all sent on board the Northumberland about eleven o'clock.

At half-past eleven o'clock Lord Keith, in the barge of the Tonnant, went on board the Bellerophon to receive Buonaparte, and those who were to accompany him. Buonaparte, before their arrival and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland and the

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officers of the Bellerophon. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again. Lord Keith received in the barge the following persons: Buonaparte; General Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, with their children; Count and Countess Montholon, and child; Count Lascasas; Général Gorgaud; and nine men and three women servants. Buonaparte's surgeon having refused to accompany him, the surgeon of the Bellerophon offered to supply his place.

Savary and Lallemand were left behind in the Bellerophon.

Savary seemed in great dread of being given up to the French government, repeatedly asserting that the honour of England would not allow them to be landed again on the shores of France.

About twelve o'clock the Tonnant's barge reached the Northumberland. Bertrand stepped first upon deck, Buonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a seaman. The marines were drawn out and received him, but merely as a general, presenting arms to him. He pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir George Cockburn—"*Je suis à vos ordres.*" He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr Lyttleton, who were near the admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. To an officer he said, "*Dans quel corps servez vous?*" (In what corps do you serve?) The officer replied, "In the artillery." Buonaparte immediately rejoined—"*Je sors de cette service moi-meme*"—(I was originally in that service myself.) After taking leave of the officers who had accompanied him from the Bellerophon, and embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St Helena, he went into the after-cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled Lord Keith, Sir G. Cockburn, Lord Lowther, the Hon. Mr Lyttleton, &c.

Madame Bertrand appeared much distressed; said she was obliged to leave Paris in a hurry, without clothes, or any necessary. She lived in the house now occupied by the Duke de Berri. She spoke most flatteringly of her husband; said the emperor was too great a man to be depressed by circumstances, and concluded by expressing a wish for some Paris papers.

The Countess Montholon is a very interesting woman; she said little.

Bertrand asked what we should have done had we taken Buonaparte at sea.

As we are doing now, was the reply.

Lord Keith took leave in the afternoon of Buonaparte, and returned on board the Tonnant.

Lord Lowther and the Hon. Mr Lyttleton now entered into very earnest conversation with him, which continued for two hours. Of this learned colloquy we have been unable to obtain the particulars. They then took leave and went ashore.

His cabin in the Northumberland was fitted up with great elegance. His bed peculiarly handsome, and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet of silver. Among other articles upon it is a magnificent snuff-box, upon which is imbossed in gold, an eagle, with a crown, flying from Elba to the coast of France; the eagle just seeing the coast of France, and the respective distances are admirably executed.

The valets de chambre are particularly fine men. They and all about him always address him by the title of emperor.

8th.—BRIXHAM, TORBAY.—A melancholy accident happened yesterday afternoon. A party that was at Torquay lodging, consisting of Mr Litters, Thomas Harris (of Totness), a Miss Allin, sister to Mrs. Harris; Miss Edwards, a young lady about

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nine years of age, with three or four other persons, had been out for the purpose of seeing Buonaparte, when the boat was unfortunately run down by a cutter, by which accident Miss Allin and Miss Edwards were both drowned. A Lieutenant of one of the frigates, at the risk of his own life, jumped overboard, and succeeded in bringing up the body of Mrs Harris, but almost in a lifeless state.—The bodies of the young ladies have not yet been found.

9th.—Viscount Chetwynd, as clerk of the council, presented to the Prince Regent in council a new great seal of England, which is of silver, about eight or nine inches diameter, of a round form, representing the king on horseback on one side, and on the other side his majesty in his robes, seated on his throne, and surrounded by his ministers and attendants of state. At the close of the council the regent delivered it to the lord chancellor, as the keeper of the great seal of England; after which, the brass seal, which has been used as a temporary instrument since the great seal of England was stolen, about twelve years ago, from the lord chancellor's house, was destroyed in the council, by obliterating all the impression on it.

12th.—Colonel Labedoyere was tried on the charges of treason, rebellion, and seducing his troops from their duty. His treason and rebellion were clearly proved, and he was found guilty, and sentenced to suffer death. It appears, that on the news of Buonaparte's landing, he was ordered with his regiment, by General Devilliers, from Chambrey to Grenoble, where the troops were assembled to stop the progress of the usurper. He was placed in bivouac on the ramparts, where he incited his soldiers to revolt, and led them out to join the unprincipled invader. He had scarcely left the town, when he drew his sword, and cried out, *Vive l'Empereur*. He then broke open a chest, whence he took an eagle, placed it at the top of a branch of a tree, marched under it to join Napoleon, and returned with him the same evening to take military possession of Grenoble. His superior officer General Devilliers, followed, and tried in vain to bring him back, having already persuaded about 100 of the soldiers to return to their duty.—In the preliminary proceedings of the trial, he admitted these facts, but denied having taken the oath of allegiance to the king; saying, that he had not joined his regiment when the oath was administered to that corps.

After the ruin of Buonaparte's cause, Labedoyere joined Excelmans' corps, which had hoisted the white flag. He did not himself hoist a white cockade, but joined it as a simple citizen. He wished to escape to America; but found it impossible to embark, or even to proceed to Switzerland. He then returned to Paris, and surrendered himself. The council against the accused remarked in aggravation, that Labedoyre had given the first signal of revolt—it was to his defection that all other defections were owing.

M. Labedoyere read his defence, which appeared to be written in haste and without method, upon slips of paper.—"Gentlemen, if on this important day my life alone were compromised, I should abandon myself to the encouraging idea, that he who has sometimes led brave men to death, would know how to march to death himself like a brave man; and I should not detain you. But my honour is attacked as well as my life, and it is my duty to defend it, because it does not belong to me alone,—a wife, the model of every virtue, has a right to demand an account of it from me. Shall my son, when reason comes to enlighten him, blush at his inherit-

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ance? I feel strength enough to resist the most terrible attacks, if I am able to say honour is untouched! I may have been deceived—misled by illusions, by recollections, by false ideas of honour; it is possible these things spoke a chimerical language to my heart."—[He declared that he had no intention, nor the possibility of denying facts public and notorious; he was ready to sign the act of accusation drawn up against him; but he would justify himself from the charge of having been concerned in the plot that preceded the return of Buonaparte; and he protested that he was convinced no relation ever existed between the Isle of Elba and Paris.]

M. de Labedoyere made a tardy but touching reparation to the king. —"I see all promises fulfilled, all guarantees consecrated, the constitution perfected; and foreigners will see again, I hope, a great nation in the French united round their king. Perhaps I shall not be called upon to enjoy the sight; but I have shed my blood for my country; and I persuade myself that my death, preceded by my error, may be of some use; that my memory will not be held in horror; and that when my son shall have reached the age at which he shall be able to serve his country, that country will not reproach him with his name."

The president, after a long deliberation of the council, declared the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to suffer death. He was allowed to appeal to a court of revision. The council of revision (consisting of the Baron de Conchy and other officers) assembled in Paris at eight o'clock of the 19th instant. The reporting judge stated, that having considered the documents, it did not appear to him that the objections to the proceedings were sufficiently serious to afford ground for annulling the judgment; and the council declared unanimously, that the said judgment is confirmed, and that it shall have its full and entire execution.

When the family of Labedoyere heard that the council of revision had confirmed his sentence, his wife, clad in deep mourning, appeared before the king as he was getting into his carriage, and, falling at his feet, exclaimed, "Pardon, pardon, sire!"—"Madame," said the king, "I know your sentiments and those of your family, and never was it more painful for me to pronounce a refusal. If M. Labedoyere had only offended me, his pardon should be granted; but all France demands the punishment of the man who has brought upon her all the scourges of war. I promise my protection to you and to your child."—The mother of the unfortunate man was prevented from seeing the king by those around him.

Colonel Labedoyere displayed in the last moment considerable fortitude. His appeal was heard on Saturday morning; at half past one his judgment was confirmed; at half past six on the same evening he underwent his sentence. He was led to the plain of Grenelle; where, after receiving on his knees the benediction of his confessor, he rose up, and, without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, laid open his breast to the veterans who were to shoot him, "*Sur tout, ne me manquez pas.*" (Above all, do not miss me.) In an instant he was no more.

Suicide.—An inquest was held at Portsmouth, on Friday se'ennight, on the body of Frances Colvill, who died in consequence of taking a quantity of arsenic. The deceased, who was about 24 years of age, was a mantuamaker. She had received the addresses of a young man for some time; but he at length perceiving an irritability of temper in her, abandoned all his intentions concerning her, formed

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a similar connexion with another young woman, and a few days since was married. This last act, it would appear, unseated the mind of the deceased, and she conceived a dreadful act of revenge. On Thursday morning she purchased a pen-knife, and in doing so, requested to have one as long in the blade as possible. She then went to a neighbour's house, and sent a message to the young man to come thither, as a gentleman wished to speak to him. When he came, she said, "I am going to London—will you not drink with me?" He just tasted of the cup, and returned it. She said, "I wish it had been poison—I understand (she continued) you are married; are you not sorry for it?" He replied, "No." Instantly she shuffled the pen-knife from under her gown sleeve, and made a blow at him, inflicting a deep wound on the shoulder. The knife was broken three parts off by the violence of the thrust; but with the remaining part she continued to strike at the head, until, by his efforts, she was disarmed. She then left the house, proceeded to a druggist's shop and bought a quantity of arsenec, (under pretence that it was to poison rats,) and went to her home at Green's field, Green-lane. There she put the arsenic into a cup, filled it up from the pump, and drank the principal part of the contents. In a few minutes afterwards she informed her parents and neighbours of what she had done. Medical assistance was sent for; but she had taken so large a quantity of the poison, that it was found impossible to make her void the whole of it from her stomach. At half-past five in the evening she died. Coroner's verdict—Lunacy.

This being the Prince Regent's birth-day, it was observed for the first time in the metropolis by the court, and upon this occasion, the observance was nearly in every respect the same as on the king's birth-day, with the exception of a public court; but her majesty's splendid party in the evening, in some degree, was equal to it.

Carlton-house was thronged during the day with noblemen and gentlemen, leaving their names and congratulations on the returning day.

The park guns fired a double royal salute, as on the king's birth-day.

A grand dinner was given to the officers of state, court attendants, &c. at Carlton-house. Her majesty gave a grand dinner at six o'clock at her palace, at which were present, besides herself and the Princesses, the Prince Regent, the Dukes of Clarence and Kent, the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, &c.

At eight o'clock, parties of the foot guards and life guards were drawn out in front of the palace. A numerous assemblage of the yeomen of the guard were stationed at the entrances, and in the grand hall of the palace, which was most brilliantly illuminated for the reception of her majesty's splendid party, specially invited to commemorate the day, which was very numerous, there being, it is supposed, upwards of 300 present.

The Regent accompanied his royal mother in her drawing-room, to receive the congratulations of the distinguished assemblage on the return of the day. His royal highness was attended by his cabinet ministers, the great officers of state, and the household, surrounded by the Russian, Dutch, Bavarian, Spanish, Sardinian, and Austrian ambassadors and ministers, with their suites and ladies, the Prince and Princess Castelcicala, and a number of foreigners of distinction, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the Judge of the Admiralty Court, &c. After the company had paid their respects to the Queen, the

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Regent, and the other branches of the royal family, they partook of the most choice refreshments.

13th—His royal highness the Duke of York, on coming out of a shower bath at his seat at Oatlands on the 6th inst. fell, on account of the slippery state of the oil-cloth, and broke the large bone of his left arm half way between the shoulder and elbow joint. Sir Henry Halford, and Mr M'Gregor the surgeon were sent for express from London to attend his royal highness, and Mr M. put the displaced parts into their natural position. His royal highness was the next morning free from fever, and has since been going on favourably; and he had so far recovered on the 12th instant, that the daily bulletins of his health were discontinued.

14th.—A beautiful monument to Lord Rodney, in St Paul's cathedral, by Mr Charles Rossi, of Liston-grove, R.A., was opened for the first time for the inspection of the public. The monument is a national one, and represents Lord Rodney standing, with his left hand resting on a rudder, and his right on a sword; behind are laid across the pedestal on which he stands the three flags taken by him from the French, Spanish, and Dutch. On his left is a figure of the historic Muse, and on his right that of Victory—History is in the attitude of recording his victories.

16th.—Edinburgh.—Prince Regent's Birth-day.—On Saturday the Right Hon. the Lord Provost gave a dinner, in honour of the Prince Regent's birth-day, at which between eighty and ninety noblemen and gentlemen were present, amongst others were the following:—The Earl of Morton, Lord Audley, Lord Lynedoch, Sir David Dundas, Lord Chief Baron, Lord Chief Commissioner (Baron Adam), Right Hon. William Dundas, Admiral Sir William Hope, General Wynyard and Staff, Sir John Dalrymple, Sir Henry Hay Macdougall, Sir Alexander Muir Mackenzie, Sir Thomas Baring, Sir Robert Dick, Mr Solicitor-General, the Hon. Colonel Hamilton, General Maxwell, Mr Baron Clerk, Charles Forbes, Esq. M. P. &c. &c.—After the cloth was removed, the following toasts were given:—

"The King."

"The Health of the Day, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to whom not only this country, but all Europe, have been so deeply indebted."

"The Duke of York and the Army. May his Royal Highness speedily recover from his late accident."

"Lord Melville and the Navy."

"The Duke of Wellington, and the Heroes who fought under him."

"Lord Lynedoch."

In giving this toast, the Lord Provost presented his lordship with the freedom of the city in a gold box, accompanied by a neat and appropriate speech.

Lord Lynedoch, in returning thanks for the honour conferred upon him, expressed himself overpowered by the over-rated estimation in which any services he had been able to render to his country had been held. That he had the particular good fortune to serve under the greatest of all men, the Duke of Wellington; and to have served under his orders, and to have commanded British troops, almost insured success. He must, however, say, that nothing could be more gratifying to his feelings than the mark of approbation which he had this day received from the magistracy of the metropolis of his native country.

Lord Lynedoch begged leave to give a toast; and after stating he had not intended to have taken so much liberty with the company, he could not resist proposing the repetition of a toast which had been given by that venerable warrior Prince Blucher, at

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a grand dinner given by the Duke of Wellington, to all the high official characters now in Paris, and by them received with the utmost applause :—

"May the Ministers not undo with the Pen what the Army has so well begun with the Sword."—(*Great Applause.*)

The freedom of the city was presented to the following gentlemen :—Baron Adam, and Mr Forbes, M. P. for Beverley.

The body of a black man, nearly naked, was discovered on the beach beyond Southsea castle, at about 8 o'clock, with his throat cut in a most shocking manner. The body was first discovered by two gentlemen, walking on the beach, who immediately after meeting with J. Carter, Esq. one of the magistrates of this borough, gave him information of it, and he caused the body to be conveyed to the Five Cricketers, public-house. At the time Mr Carter examined the body it was quite warm, but all idea as to the perpetrators seemed at first to be in vain, though generally considered that it was done by men of colour, who latterly have been seen in great numbers in this town. However, by the great exertions of our police-officers, assisted by Charles Adams, pilot, to whom some suspicious circumstances were disclosed, Joseph Pique, a man of colour, was apprehended, and immediately confined in a solitary cell, until Friday morning, when he being informed that Antonio Pique and Philip Pique were also apprehended (though at this time it was not known that they had any knowledge of each other), he said, "Oh! Antonio is a bad man," and then voluntarily confessed that he did not murder the deceased, by name Dilly Jeromi, but that he held his legs. It seems that Joseph Pique, Antonio Pique, and Philip Pique, are three Africans, but not related to each other, the name of Pique being given them from belonging to his majesty's ship Pique, and that they were shipmates of the deceased, Dilly Jeromi, who was not an African, is represented to have been a good-natured fellow, and was rather free in occasionally treating the three murderers. Previous to the day they went on the common, it appears they had formed a plan to rob him, and when they had got to a certain distance beyond the castle, at about seven o'clock, in full daylight, they asked him for his money: he declared he had none: they then insisted upon robbing him of his clothes; this he resisted, when two of them proposed to murder him; to this the other objected, but agreed to rob him, for which purpose Joseph held his legs, and Philip, in attempting to strip his jacket from his shoulders, which, when half way down his arms, confined them behind him, he discovered to Antonio, who was in front, a knife suspended by a string from the deceased's neck, but concealed at first by his clothes: Antonio instantly seized it, and immediately with a back handed stroke nearly severed his head from his body—the poor creature fell, and they stript him almost naked, and then attempted to cover him with shingle, a quantity of which was found on the body, and the dreadful wound in the neck was filled up with sand and small stones.—They took the clothes to Portsea, and sold them to a Jew for 14 shillings, who questioned them as to their being wet (having, we suppose, attempted to wash the stain of blood out; they said the bundle had fallen overboard in coming ashore. The county coroner, J. Grigg, Esq. attended by R. Gallaway, Esq. the borough coroner, convened a jury on Friday, who adjourned till Saturday, when having given the greatest attention to the particulars that came before them, they returned at five o'clock a verdict of wilful murder against Joseph Pique, Antonio Pique, and Philip

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Pique, who were immediately sent off to Winchester.

17.—A most melancholy accident happened this evening between nine and ten o'clock to two ladies, at present unknown, who were travelling in a post-chaise belonging to Mr Trehern, of the White Horse inn, Uxbridge, to Watford. On going over Uxbridge-common, at a regular travelling pace, by some means or other the pole of the chaise dropped out of its regular situation, the horses took fright, and galloped off at a furious rate; when at the distance of half a mile the ladies made up their minds to jump out of the chaise, which they imprudently did, one out of each door, and shocking to relate, one of them was instantly killed, and the other survived only a few minutes. The horses still continued their rapid career, and soon after, the post-boy was thrown from the bar, on which he had permission to ride, under the wheels, and hurt in so dreadful a manner, that his life is despaired of. The horses getting out of the road were at last stopped by running up to a large tree upon the common, without any kind of damage to themselves or to the chaise.

19th.—A most unfortunate accident happened to Hearn's Stow-Market stage-waggon, attended with a serious loss of property. The above waggon, which was on its return from London, with a heavy load of goods, stopped for the night, as was usual, in front of the Trowel and Hammer, Mark's Tey; when about two o'clock on Saturday morning, a most dreadful explosion took place, to the serious alarm of the inmates of the house and the neighbourhood, which, it appeared, proceeded from a barrel of gunpowder in the waggon, which had, by some means not yet accounted for, caught fire and exploded, scattering the goods and waggon to a considerable distance, and causing their almost total destruction. The Trowel and Hammer is considerably injured by the explosion, which was distinctly heard at Colchester, and many miles round. We do not hear that any lives were lost. The road was so completely covered with the goods that the mail was detained some time before a passage could be cleared for it.

21st.—The Parliament was prorogued in the usual form, till the 2d day of November.

25th.—Thomas Foster, a cutler, and James Low, a hair-dresser, both residing in the vicinity of Wellclose-square, were some days back drinking together at a public house in Well-street, within the liberties of the Tower, and appeared as usual on the best terms of friendship, having been acquainted a considerable time; but after leaving the house, they differed about some subject introduced in conversation, when an altercation took place, and Low, without any previous notice, struck the other a violent blow and knocked him into the kennel, when the wheels of a cart, which happened to be passing at the time, passed over his body, and injured him so much that he was taken in a senseless state to the hospital, where he expired. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of Manslaughter.

27th.—*Fortunate Escape.*—Capt. Geo. Harris, of the navy, and his brother, Mr H. Harris, sons of Mr Harris, the respectable proprietor of Covent-Garden theatre, accompanied by two sons of Mr Longman, of the house of Longman and Co. Paternoster-row, left town a few days ago on a trip to Paris. On their arrival at Brighton, from which port they proposed to sail, they found the packet had got under weigh, but a boat being at hand they got into it with intent to overtake her. They had, however, only got a short distance from the land, when a sudden squall came on, and the boat

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swamped. The packet seeing the disaster, immediately put out her boat for their assistance, which with difficulty made her way to the spot at which the accident happened. It fortunately arrived just in time to save the party from a watery grave, having found Captain Harris and his brother, who are excellent swimmers, nearly exhausted, and with great difficulty supporting their two companions.

On Friday se'ennight, a man of Titchmarsh, near Oundle, destroyed himself in an extraordinary way. He and another man were taking a gravestone in a cart to the church-yard in which it was to be set up, and having to pass through a village in which the annual feast or wake was kept on that day, an acquaintance begged he would convey a bottle of rum for him in the cart, and leave it at a house in the village. The man consented; but afterwards thinking it would be a good *joke* to drink the rum, he got into the cart with the bottle and grave-stone, and drank to such excess that he died in consequence a few hours afterwards.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

There has seldom been a more favourable season than this. Since the date of our last report, the weather has been, upon the whole, uncommonly genial, and not for any length of time adverse to field-labour, even upon wet soils. Though showers have been frequent, in particular situations, yet the air has been almost always mild; and the clear breezy days which succeeded, seem to have carried off all the moisture that would have been superfluous or hurtful. In some instances, the rains prevented the due preparation of the turnip fields; in others, the growth of the young plants was checked by the drought of July; and, in the south, the ravages of the fly or beetle have been extensive; yet in general this crop promises well. Pastures have seldom been so early, and so luxuriant throughout; and a most abundant crop of hay has been saved, with but trifling exceptions, in very good order. It is scarcely necessary to add, that corn crops of every kind, now hastening towards maturity, give us reason to expect a most plentiful harvest. Wheat in particular, as well as oats, not only promises to be above an average, but has hitherto suffered little from those diseases which have so often of late disappointed the hopes of the farmer. Much, however, depends upon the weather of this and next month. The harvest will not be so early as was once expected; in Scotland, reaping can hardly be general for almost a month to come. The orchards and hop plantations form perhaps the only exceptions to the promised abundance of the season.

Corn markets have continued with very little alteration. Last month the demand seemed to be a little brisker, and prices started a few shillings; but it has now subsided, and prices are again falling. The great abundance of grass, having occasioned a better demand than usual for cattle, has prevented any great fall in their value; and as fodder must be plentiful next winter, it is probable the decline, which has already commenced, will be only gradual and moderate. Sheep, on the contrary, have been sold higher than last year, partly owing to the same cause, but still more, perhaps, to the advance in the price of wool. Long wool, in particular, was never known to bring so much money; and coarse wool has also risen. But there has not been so much demand for fine wool, a circumstance which is justly ascribed by Lord Sheffield to the immense importations of that article from every part of Europe, free of duty. Sheep farmers, however, are the only class who have little reason to complain of the present state of the markets.

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Numerous trials have been made this summer, in different parts of Scotland, with burnt clay and subsoil, as a manure for turnips; and, as far as it is possible, at present, to judge of its effects, there is reason to indulge great hopes of success.

If the harvest months should be as propitious as the spring and summer, it is probable, that the stock of corn in the united kingdom will be considerably greater than the consumption. Part of it might be wanted in the Peninsula, where the crops are said to be deficient; but the Americans, perhaps, will deprive us of that market. It ought to be considered, that the legislature can do no more for the corn grower, in regard to markets; and no great relief can be expected for some time from a reduction of taxes. The two great classes concerned in the growing of corn, have therefore no resources but in themselves. Good policy, as well as humanity, clearly prescribes indulgence on the part of landlords; and many of them, much to their honour, seem to have acted from the latter motive, in reducing their rents, even when the former could scarcely be supposed to operate. Rigorous measures at this time must be attended with the ruin of many of the tenantry, the deterioration of their own property, and the destruction of all confidence in their honour and generosity.

SEPTEMBER.

1st—An inquest was held before a coroner for the county of Kent, at Woolwich, on the body of P. Mitchell, Esq. a planter, of Tobago, who was drowned while bathing just above Woolwich. The accident happened on the afternoon of Sunday last, the deceased having jumped out of a sailing boat in which were several friends, after having expressed his determination during the whole day that he would bathe. Mr D. Campbell, his friend, and an eye-witness, stated the facts, that by the peculiar and eddying operation of the tide at the point where Mr Mitchell was drowned, the body while swimming was driven directly across the river, and the boat, in spite of every effort, in a directly contrary course. Mr Mitchell, although an excellent swimmer and diver, was drowned within three minutes after he left the boat. The body was found opposite Woolwich on Thursday. Verdict—*Accidentally drowned whilst bathing, by the impetuosity of the tide.*

Amongst the crew of the Queen Charlotte, 110 guns, recently paid off, it is now discovered, was a female African, who had served as a seaman in the royal navy for upwards of eleven years, several of which she had been rated able on the books of the above ship by the name of William Brown, and has served for some time as the captain of the fore-top, highly to the satisfaction of the officers. She is a smart well formed figure, about five feet four inches in height, possessed of considerable strength and great activity; her features are rather handsome for a black, and she appears to be about 36 years of age. Her share of prize-money is said to be considerable, respecting which she has been several times within the last few days at Somerset-place. In her manner she exhibits all the traits of a British tar, and takes her grog with her late messmates with the greatest gaiety. She says she is a married woman, and went to sea in consequence of a quarrel with her husband, who, it is said, has entered a caveat against her receiving her prize-money. She has declared her intention of again entering the service as a volunteer.

7th.—*Shoal of Porpoises.*—Early

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this morning, a large shoal of the cetaceous tribe was seen passing Cambus, up the Forth. The villagers, headed by the fishermen, went immediately in pursuit, in boats and on the bank; and on overtaking them, near Polmaise, where they were joined by a reinforcement of adventurers, began the work of death with boat hooks, net-forks, pitchforks, spits, and muskets. The latter instruments, however, being found more dangerous to the assailants than the assailed, they confined themselves to their rude and murderous harpoons. To wield these with greater effect, they endeavoured to chase the fish to the edge of the water, where, if they did not dispatch them, they found time to lash a boat to their fins, and in this hazardous manner continued to inflict wounds till the victim expired, which, in one or two cases, was not till he had dragged his persecutors up and down several miles. One of the largest drove in the stern of a boat with one stroke of its tail, and split and sunk it with another. The route proceeded up the river as far as Cambuskenneth Abbey, where another body of assailants joined in the fray. Out of the sixty, of which the shoal consisted, fifty were secured, the rest escaped backwards. A day or two after, about twice this number were killed near Alloa, and lower down the river numberless shoals were seen. They turned out to be common Porpoises, distinguished from the Grampus by a deep snout, longer and more taper pectoral fins. They were of very different dimensions, from eight or ten to twenty feet long. The blubber of the latter was about two inches thick, and was purchased by soap manufacturers, at an average of about 50s. per fish. The bodies sunk the day on which they were killed, but floated the next, when the putrid fermentation began. They evidently came on a predatory excursion; for salmon were seen leaping out of the river, or swimming in terror to the shore.

10th.—Paris.—On Tuesday evening between eight and nine o'clock, Mr Kean and Mr Clugstot, two Irish gentlemen, went out together for a walk upon the boulevards, which is a fashionable promenade, particularly in the evening, and is generally much crowded. As these gentlemen were passing along, one of them accidentally trod on the foot of a person who had the appearance of a French gentleman, and he expressed himself very impatiently, although he was told the trivial offence was entirely accidental. A crowd was soon collected to the spot, and created some confusion, in the course of which Mr Kean unhappily received a wound in his left side from a cane sword. Soon after it was inflicted, a person in plain clothes was observed brandishing such a weapon, exclaiming at the same time, "*Je suis un officier Francais!*" and it is very probable that this was the person who inflicted the wound. He got away in the confusion, and has not since been heard of. Mr Kean was very soon taken home, and died about ten o'clock on Thursday morning.

This assassination has excited among all ranks of the Prussians the utmost indignation: they have set on foot a strict search after the assassins, but hitherto without effect. However, the Prussian commandant, resolving to leave no stone unturned, has given notice that he will levy a special contribution of two thousand francs daily on the inhabitants of the Boulevard where the atrocity took place, until the villain shall have been discovered and delivered up to justice. The Duke of Wellington has offered a considerable reward for the discovery of the murderer.

16th.—Brighton.—*Singular Race.*

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—Match for 50gs.—Heats the new course, about one mile and three quarters.

Mr Bacon's br. h. Offa's Dyke, by Paynator, aged, - - - - -	2	1	0	0	1
Mr Allington's b. c. Wilmington, by Canopus, 4 years old. - - -	1	2	0	0	dr

For the first heat they ran neck and neck all the way, which was won by Wilmington, by about half a head; and the second heat by Offa's Dyke, by nearly a length, owing, it is supposed, to a dog crossing the course, which, in coming in, somewhat checked the speed of Wilmington. For the third heat, they went off at the top of their speed, and ran neck and neck all the way round, the whipping from the distance post being very severe on both sides, but without procuring any advantage, which terminated in a dead heat. At the commencement, the betting was five to four on Offa's Dyke, though he carried twenty-one pounds more than his antagonist; after the first heat, five to four on Wilmington; after the third heat five to four on Offa's Dyke. After a lapse of about twenty minutes, they were a fourth time started, refreshed, and eager for the trial, and neither whip nor spur was idle as propellants to the victory. Again, a sheet would have covered both all the way round. The noble animals, with singular speed, laboured with all their strength to exceed each other, and their riders assisted them by every art and means within their power to command, but it was ineffectual—for singular and interesting to relate, this struggle also terminated in a dead heat. When pulled up, and brought to the weighing stand, Offa's Dyke appeared to have suffered less from exhaustion than Wilmington, which induced Mr Allingham to resign the contest, and permit Offa's Dyke to walk over the fifth heat.

CORK.—This morning, about one o'clock, the mail-coach which left this city yesterday was attacked between Cashel and Littleton, by a band of armed ruffians. The passage of the coach was obstructed by a parcel of carts, fastened together with ropes, and the attack commenced on its arrival near the carts, when, we lament to state, one of the dragoon guards was shot dead, and one of the coach guards, a sailor, who was an outside passenger, and a serjeant of the Wexford militia, were desperately wounded. We are also sorry to state that another sailor is missing, supposed to have been murdered. Nothing could exceed the determined bravery of the guards of the coach in the resistance they gave these murderous villains, having succeeded in beating them off. Some sailors, passengers, who were not wounded, were very active in disengaging the carts, when the coach proceeded to the next stage without any further molestation. The unfortunate dragoon was killed while in the act of cutting the traces of the leading horses, which had been killed by the first discharge from the villains. It is not known how many of the miscreants have been killed and wounded, but from the number of shots fired at them, they must have suffered greatly.

20th.—Mad. Garnerin ascended in a balloon from the gardens of Tivoli. The assemblage of spectators was not numerous, though we remarked a number of personages of distinction, and among others, the King of Prussia, and the prince royal, his son. The balloon had been prepared in the large bowling-green of Tivoli. At four o'clock the wind blew with considerable violence from the N. E.: a small balloon of experiment was rapidly carried off. At half-past five, Mad. Garnerin went round the company with a

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noble assurance. This young person is twenty years of age; she excited the lively interest of the spectators; she was clothed in a simple white robe, and wore a garland of flowers on her head. At six o'clock all the preparations being terminated, the young æronaut threw herself into the car, and rose amidst the acclamations of the public. The balloon was rapidly carried in the direction of the plain of Montseaux. The signal to cut the cords of the parachute was given by M. Garnerin, her father, by means of a *boite*, which exploded two minutes after her departure; but it would seem that she was too elevated to hear the report, as she was not detached from the balloon till four minutes and a half after her departure. It is impossible to describe the effect produced the moment the parachute was separated from the balloon; a general cry was heard, and applause soon burst forth from all sides, when the parachute was seen rapidly evolving, and the descent effecting majestically and without danger. The elevation was so considerable, that the descent occupied more than five minutes. She reached the ground without accident near Meudon.

CLONMEL.—Last Monday, William Harty, of this town, was employed by a person named Wright, a proctor, to serve processes for tithes upon some persons in the neighbourhood of Lowe's-green, and, it is supposed, for safety, took his wife and brother with him. When he arrived near the place, three men armed, one with a club, and two with blunderbusses, overtook and instantly fell upon him. They did not shoot him—that would have been the more humane kind of murder. They knocked him and his brother down with the butts of their blunderbusses, and the fellow with the club knocked down the woman, while the two fellows with the blunderbusses battered Harty's skull to pieces. William Harty was not older than twenty-two; his brother, a good deal younger, made his escape, and got safe to Tethard. His wife, who in vain struggled to save him, and escaped these savages miraculously, took up the dead body, and conveyed it to the next cabin, where it was refused admittance; and with as little effect she sought to procure a car for hire, in order to bring the corpse to Clonmel. Captain Wilcocks being apprised of the occurrence, sent the police to the place. An inquest was holden by Mr Hill and Mr Ryan, coroners, the verdict of which, of course, was, *Wilful murder against three persons unknown.*—Not a man in the vicinage could be got to act as juror on the inquest, which of necessity was formed of the police.

21st.—PARIS.—BREAKING UP OF THE FRENCH MUSEUM.—Yesterday the commissioners appointed by the allies to recover the objects of art, which are foreign property, appeared at the door of the Louvre with about fifty French labourers; admission was refused them, and the Museum was stated to have been locked by order of M. Denon, the director.—The keys were formally demanded, but M. Denon refused to deliver them. Upon this an order was given for the advance of about a hundred men of the 71st regiment from the Champs Elysees, where they were stationed, to the door of the Museum. When the troops arrived, it was intimated to M. Denon, that if he did not quietly deliver up the keys, the whole building should be "shattered about his ears;" this had the desired effect, and the keys were given, with a protest, declaring that the allies entered the Louvre *vi et armis*. After entering, they proceeded directly to the gallery of Rubens, and commenced their operations, taking down every picture without distinc-

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tion. The workmen continued actively employed during the whole day; they completely stripped the walls as far as they proceeded.

25th.—On Tuesday morning last, the remains of Burns were removed to the vault of the mausoleum now erecting to his memory in St Michael's church-yard of Dumfries.

The Duke of Wellington has caused eight pieces of brass cannon, taken from the enemy, to be delivered to Colonel Osterman, of the troops of Brunswick, in order to be employed in the monument which it is intended to erect to the memory of the late Duke of Brunswick.

During the late events, Marshal Ney said to the Swiss General Bachman, "Do you know that we fight for honour, while you fight for money?—"Yes," returned the Swiss, "we both fight for that which we have not."

The gallant Marquis of Anglesea travelled from his seat at Beaudesert, Staffordshire, to Bradford, Yorkshire, in one day last week, to make the preparatory arrangements for being supplied with an artificial leg, the ingenious invention of Mr Mann of that place. His lordship was received with every mark of joy by many of the most respectable inhabitants, and went through the Piece Hall, conversing familiarly with the manufacturers. He afterwards invited Colonel Kutusoff, a Russian officer, (who is under Mr Mann's care, at Bradford, having sustained a similar loss to his Lordship) to dinner.

The Duchess of Cumberland.—Since the arrival of her royal highness in this kingdom, she has completely adopted the English style of dress, thus adding much to the natural gracefulness of her figure, which is rather tall, and elegantly formed. Her royal highness appears to be about thirty-six years of age; her features highly pleasing, and when she speaks, or smiles, they assume the appearance of much sprightliness and innate good nature; her hair is a light brown, and her complexion, of course, fair; in her manners she is extremely affable, and she possesses a considerable flow of spirits, with a mind highly cultivated. Her royal highness is niece to her majesty, and had been twice married before her union with the duke. She has at this time six children living, and has buried four. Her present royal husband seems most affectionately attached to her.

A whale brought to Shields in the Lady Jane, from Davis's Straits, this year, filled casks which held 10,060 gallons. It is supposed to be the largest ever brought into that port, and at a moderate calculation is worth 1500*l*.

OCTOBER.

1st.—Emigrants to America.—Intelligence has been received, by late arrivals from Canada, of the entire dispersion of the colony founded by Lord Selkirk, in conjunction with the Hudson's Bay Company, on the River Assiniboia, in the interior of the north-west continent of America. Disputes with the Metiffs of the country, a race of people between Canadians and Indians, inflamed the natural jealousy which the latter have always felt relative to agricultural encroachments on their hunting grounds in the interior, and compelled his lordship's governor to abandon the establishment which had been made. About 140 settlers were conveyed by the Canadian traders to Lake Superior, on their way to Canada, and the remainder are supposed to have gone to Hudson's Bay, with a view of finding a passage to Great Britain. The governor, Mr M'Donnell, and a sheriff also appointed by Lord Selkirk, Mr Spencer, were

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brought down prisoners to Montreal, the one for having granted, the other for having executed, a warrant, under the authority of which, provisions, the property of Canadian traders, were seized during the preceding winter for the maintenance of the colonists, and these gentlemen were admitted to bail in the courts of Lower Canada, to take their trials for this offence.

KING'S HEALTH.

"Windsor Castle, October 7th.

"The King has enjoyed good general health, and has been very quiet and comfortable during the last month, but his Majesty's disorder is not abated."

"H. HALFORD. W. HEBERDEN.
"M. BAILLIE. R. WILLIS."

9th.—More than 1800 pictures and other articles have been moved from the Louvre; and the famous brazen horses of Lysippus, brought from Venice, to be yoked to the triumphal car of Napoleon, are going back to their old station, in the square of St Marc, apparently as a present designed to procure a welcome from the Venetians for their new master, the Emperor of Austria. The assembly of officers and soldiers without leave at Paris, excites the particular attention of the government. Seven of them (five of whom were disbanded) have been arrested for being at Paris without authority, and sentenced to three months imprisonment, and one for uttering seditious language is ordered before a council of war.

13th.—A melancholy accident took place at Waltham Cross. The Boston coach stopped there for a short time, when the horses suddenly turned into a low covered gateway with the coach, where there was no room to admit the passengers on the roof; the consequence was, that four of them were so completely pressed between the coach and the upper part of the gateway as actually to prevent the vehicle from going on. When the sufferers were relieved from their unhappy situation one person was found quite dead, and the others were so much bruised, that their lives are despaired of.

24th.—ROME.—The official communication of the return of all our treasures of art from France excites here the greatest enthusiasm. People do not cease to praise the justice of those powers who contributed towards it, as well as the generosity of Lord Castlereagh, who has placed 100,000 francs at the disposal of Canova, to facilitate the packing up and conveyance of these precious articles. Abbe Canova, a brother of the celebrated sculptor, and Abbe Marini, received from the French library the MSS. medals and stones taken from Rome. The French Museum, besides what it formerly possessed, has, besides, a valuable addition to the works of art, bought of prince Camillo Borghese. In order to make the museum at Paris the sole point of union of the finest monuments of antiquity, Napoleon forced his brother-in-law to sell his collection to him, and an imperial decree of April 27, 1807, fixed the conditions. This decree was preceded by strict examinations on the part of the French government, and commissioners, at the head of whom was Denon, who was sent to Rome to make an exact inventory of all the articles, and fix their price. Connoisseurs at Rome, among whom was Canova, declared the Borghese collection to be invaluable; however, he gave it an approximate value far above the twelve millions, at which Napoleon set the price.

BERLIN.—To-day at one o'clock P. M. arrived here, amidst the thunder of artillery and the ringing of bells, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in company with our King, who had received his august friend at Fredericksfeld.

26th.—WATERFORD.—Yesterday evening, about half-past four o'clock, the cathedral of this city was discover-

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ed to be on fire. It is probable that the fire had been burning an hour or two before, as the flames had then reached to a very considerable degree of violence. No service had taken place in it for some Sundays, as the outer roof was undergoing a thorough repair. When the fire was discovered, the bells were rung, the alarm spread throughout the whole city, and all the engines were brought to the spot as speedily as possible. The interior of the building was wholly consumed, and the damage is estimated at upwards of 10,000*l*.

29th.—The Sir William Curtis packet sailed from Ramsgate for Ostend on Friday evening, the 27th, about nine o'clock, fine weather at that time, but afterwards becoming unfavourable, she did not arrive off Ostend until Sunday morning, too late to get in at that tide. In the afternoon a most severe gale sprung up at easterly, which made a great sea at the entrance of the harbour. At seven o'clock the light was hoisted on the east pier, which denoted a sufficient depth of water for the packet to enter; but Captain Falera being determined, if possible, to avoid any risk, delayed making for the harbour until nine o'clock, when the vessel struck on the ground, about 50 yards distant from the pier-head, and afterwards washed up against the piles on the west side; an attempt was then made to get the boat out, but she stove, and the vessel filled with water. At this moment Captain Falera attempted to fasten a rope to the piles that the passengers might by that means be assisted; but in endeavouring to accomplish this, Captain Falera was washed overboard by a tremendous wave, and it was with great difficulty that he got on shore and saved his own life. At this moment it is most probable that the unfortunate ladies were washed off the deck also. The steward of the ship caught hold of Miss Carleton with one hand, and with the other held by one of the piles, when the vessel heeled, and his leg was jammed against the piles, and he could keep his hold of the lady no longer, and she sunk and was seen no more. This man remained on the piles from nine until two o'clock in the morning, before he could be extricated from his situation—I believe that his thigh was broken. Colonel Kinnaird was one of the passengers, and got on shore from the piles considerably hurt: several others escaped in the same way. Mrs Carleton (mother of Lord Dorchester,) and her daughter, a young lady upwards of 20, and their female servant, unfortunately perished. The body of Mrs Carleton (only) had been found at the time the Liverpool left Ostend; the young lady and female servant had not been picked up on Saturday last.

No endeavours were wanting either by the captain or mate to save the unfortunate passengers that perished, and their exertions on this melancholy occasion were highly meritorious, although not attended with the desired success. The captain's not endeavouring to make the harbour of Ostend in the morning, is universally acknowledged to be good judgment, as he would then have been sure to have lost his vessel. Nothing but a most severe gale coming on at the time he made the harbour, caused this dreadful accident.

To the very extraordinary circumstances of there being several feet less water at the pier head on Sunday than there was the day before at the same time, and the being deceived by the light being hoisted, under the idea of there being the same depth of water as usual, this dreadful accident may be chiefly attributed.

31st.—This morning, between nine and ten, an alarming fire was discovered in the works at the Mint. The flames were first seen to issue from the shaking-machine room, on the south of

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the building. They soon communicated to the gold-room, from thence to the counting-houses, and eventually to the silver or rolling-room, on the eastern side; and in a short time the eastern and southern wings of the building were completely unroofed, and the interior totally destroyed. In these were contained the great machinery of the works, including the ten, fifteen, and thirty-horse power engines. During the fire, several ingots were taken from the ruins red-hot; and there was also discovered in one of the rooms, where the fire had been got under, nearly a ton and a half of copper in stivers, half-stivers, &c. which had not been much damaged. The loss sustained by this calamity, including all the implements, machinery, &c. is estimated to amount to from sixty to eighty thousand pounds. The magnificent pile in front of the manufactory has escaped.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

A most abundant crop of all kinds of corn has been secured in the best condition. Never have we heard fewer complaints of mildew, smut, and other distempers, or of loss either on the field or in the stack-yard. Turnips and potatoes are, upon the whole, rather deficient. Wheat has been sown under very favourable circumstances, and the plant is generally regular and healthy.

Prices of all sorts of produce have fallen considerably since the date of our last Report. The average price of wheat throughout England, for the week ending the 21st of October, is 57*s.* 5*d.* per quarter; and in Scotland, for the four weeks ending the 15th of October, is 50*s.* 7*d.*—Cattle and sheep are from ten to twenty per cent. lower than last year.

Our Reports do not enable us to speak decisively of the effect of clay ashes as a manure. It is probable that many experiments, with different sorts of clay and subsoil, must be made, before the merits of this practice can be fairly estimated; and some improvement introduced in the method of burning before it can become general.

NOVEMBER.

2d.—*Arrest and Execution of Murat, the Ex-King of Naples.*—It appears that the ex-king, hoping by some bold and fortunate enterprise to recover his lost dominions, landed with a few followers at a place called Pizzo, on the coast of Calabria. He there issued proclamations, inviting his former subjects to join his standard, and promising them the assistance of Austria. From the coast he marched quietly to the village. When he arrived there, he attempted to excite the stir of a civil war, by crying out to the people, "I am your King, Joachim Murat: you ought to acknowledge me." These words were the signal of a general commotion: they ran to arms. Murat, and his suite, who were proceeding towards Monte Leone, seeing themselves pursued by the populace, threw themselves precipitately among the mountains, whence they attempted to open for themselves a way to the coast, in order to find the vessel which awaited them; but, overcome by the number and courage of their pursuers, they were made prisoners, and conducted, in spite of every resistance on their part, to the fort of Pizzo. In the heat of the encounter, Captain Pernice was killed, and General Franceschetti wounded, as well as seven other persons in the suite of Murat; whose own death followed after the short interval of one week. He landed on the 8th, and was shot on the 15th of October.

Murat was born at an inn near Cahors; where, even when a child, he

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was remarkable for his courage and address in riding the most spirited horses. The same traits were afterwards eminent in his character when he entered the army as a soldier of fortune, and his early habits induced him particularly to cultivate the science of cavalry manœuvres, for which he became highly distinguished. His marriage with Buonaparte's favourite sister gave him a crown; and, as if fortune resolved that he should wear it, his cause, by the most unforeseen and prosperous events, was severed from that of Napoleon; so that he appeared even to triumph in the downfall of his master. But the restlessness of his ambition, and the contemptible chicanery of his politics, worked his ruin. Not satisfied with what the Austrian minister, in his remonstrance to him, justly called "one of the most ancient, compact, and beautiful kingdoms in Europe," impelled by the principles he learned in the school of Napoleon, this groom-king sighed after the patrimony of the Papal See, and attempted to seize on the three legations.—Success had rendered Murat an enthusiast; he fancied that Italy panted for liberty—that she would hail him as her regenerator, and reward him with her diadem. With these hopes he encountered the power of Austria, with about 30,000 men, after having severally deceived every court in Europe, and forfeited the bribe for which he sold his patron, by joining him again before the bargain was completed. The loss of his throne was the just punishment of his perfidy; and the loss of his life can be regarded in no other light than as the sacrifice of an incendiary, offered to the safety of his intended victims.

Murat suffered by the very law that he himself caused to be enacted two years back; which law ordered, that any person landing in the country, with an intent of disturbing the public tranquillity, was to be tried and shot—he had a confessor, but would neither sit down, nor have his eyes blinded.

3d.—PARIS.—The greatest vigilance and activity prevail among the British troops, since their occupation of the capital and its environs. From the general orders of the Duke of Wellington, it would appear that the French are not expected to remain quiet. The military precautions which his grace has ordered to be observed, are much more strict than whilst the troops were in camp; the officers cannot absent themselves, under any pretence, from their quarters during the night; but the most marked circumstance is that alarm-posts are assigned to every regiment, to which they are to repair instantly in case of attack. Measures have been taken to oblige the French officers to leave Paris; a considerable number of them are arrested for appearing in public without permission to reside in the capital.

The number of French officers in Paris, who are irritated by disappointed ambition, or by distress, cannot fall far short of 20,000. They are to be seen in uniform, and in coloured clothes, the few who can afford it, in all the places of public resort. These men express their discontent with little qualification. The French are not at all disposed to afford comfortable accommodation to the British officers billeted in their houses; the Duke of Wellington has, in consequence, issued a very strong order, that if an apartment is not opened, at the request of an officer, provided it be necessary for his accommodation, in a suitable manner, the door is to be forced open: in general they have been found very reluctant.

The following bulletin was exhibited on Sunday at St James's:—

KING'S HEALTH.

"*Windsor Castle, Nov. 4.*

"His Majesty has continued to enjoy good bodily health, and has been generally

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tranquil, though less uniformly so than during the preceding month. The general state of his Majesty's health is unaltered."
(Signed as usual.)

6th.—EDINBURGH.—MUSICAL FESTIVAL.—The commencement of this splendid entertainment, for which such extensive preparations have been so long arranging, and towards which the general attention has been so eagerly directed, was presented to the public, on the morning of Tuesday last, in the outer hall of the Parliament-house. As it had been announced several days before, that nearly as many tickets were subscribed for as this spacious saloon could contain individuals, the dread of being disappointed in places thronged the streets with chairs, carriages, and visitors on foot, at the early hour of eight in the morning. Every precaution had been previously taken to render the access to the public as safe and commodious as possible. Every thing like tumult and confusion, on the first day, was completely avoided; and the same attention and care having been equally exhibited within doors, the numerous visitors were accommodated in the hall with little bustle, and without any danger.

Yaniewicz was the leader, and Mather undertook the important responsibility of the organ. The violoncellos were headed by Lindley, and the double basses by Dragonetti. All the other departments were upon the same scale of excellence. The arrangements of the first day consisted of a Grand Miscellaneous Act from the works of Handel, together with the celebrated Creation of Haydn. The whole opened with the Overture to Esther, of which we may say, that although it produced a very powerful effect, yet perhaps a production of greater magnificence might have been selected, as the opening piece, from the works of its illustrious author. This was followed by the exquisitely beautiful song, from the Redemption, of *Lord remember David*, which was sung by Braham, with equal chastity, pathos, and effect. Mrs Salmon's silver tone and beautiful execution were exhibited to great advantage in the recitative and song, from Judas Maccabeus, of *O let eternal Honours*, and *From mighty Kings*. Mr Smith, a chaste and pleasing, though not powerful or brilliant, bass singer, delivered, *My Cup is full*, and *Shall I on Mamre's fertile Plain*, with good approbation. Madame Marconi, a professor of great, though recent celebrity, advanced her claims to our notice, in the song of *Return, O God of Hosts;* in which she displayed a degree of science, feeling, and energy, which merited infinitely greater applause than at first it obtained, or was in truth calculated to obtain on a first hearing. It was not until Madame Marconi had been heard repeatedly, that her eminent powers were acknowledged even by those whose ears revolt from the tasteless trickery which is sometimes resorted to in order to obtain an undeserved popularity. But in the course of her quiet and unexaggerated exertions, it was discovered, that, to a voice of singular power, and exquisite though peculiar tone, this lady added the finest taste, profound science, ardent feeling, and, in short, every characteristic of the highest and purest school of music.

Those who have only heard Mr Braham in modern English opera can form no idea of the splendid effects he produced by the style, not more powerful and impassioned, than free from every extrinsic ornament, in which he gave the sublime recitation and song, from Joshua, *'Tis well! Six times the Lord hath obeyed*, and *Glory to God! The strong cemented Walls*. In sacred music, where his taste generally (though not always) preserves him

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from the only vice of his style, his tendency to redundant ornament, this great singer, we think, has no competitor: His power of voice is almost without limits, his tenderness altogether subduing, his energy resistless, and the devotional feeling, which is the soul of sacred song, appears to come deep from his inmost heart. The chorusses, throughout the whole performances, were in the first style of excellence.

After the selection from the works of Handel, the remainder of the entertainment was devoted to the Creation by Haydn. This noble work strikes us to possess more general and sustained beauty than any of Handel's compositions; but not to exhibit, particularly in the chorusses, either such force or grandeur as the latter sometimes soar to. The genius displayed in the chorusses of Handel can hardly be said to have been equalled by any of his successors, particularly if we keep in view the immense aid which they have derived from the improvements that have been made upon some instruments since his æra, and the discovery of others, wholly unknown to that great composer. Even the sublime chorus, *And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the Waters*, does not appear to us to raise its author to the transcendent eminence of the author of the Hallelujah—a combination of sounds and sentiments reaching from earth to heaven. This opinion, however, we deliver with deference; and admitting, at the same time, that it is hardly possible to conceive a more ennobling effect than was produced by the burst of harmony at the words, "And there was light!" In the air and chorus of *Now vanish before the holy Beams*, the alternate sensations of horror and delight, the most soothing emotions of the latter succeeding to the most terrific agitations of the former, were excited with marvellous power. The *Heavens are telling*, concluded the second part in a strain of excellence which could not be surpassed. The whole of what remained was executed with equal beauty and perfection.

Having attempted, in this account of the first day's performance, to give a general idea of the effect produced upon the auditors by an embodying of excellence so perfectly new to Scotland, and at the same time to exhibit a faint idea of the merit of the principal singers, it is neither to be expected, nor desired, that we should be equally particular in describing those which followed. The second morning's performance, on Thursday, was the Messiah; and the extreme popularity of that celebrated work led to a press of candidates for admission, which, in spite of every possible precaution and attention on the part of the Directors, occasioned an enormous degree of crowding and inconvenience. No fewer than TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED and odds, contrived to make their way into the house, and no fewer than SIX HUNDRED unlucky aspirants were forced to leave the doors in disappointment! Perhaps—we might almost say certainly—this sublime effort of genius never received greater justice. With a very few exceptions, which it would be cruel to particularise, there was not a line nor a note which could have gained by any conceivable change.

The chorusses of this day were all supported with unexceptionable fire, spirit, and correctness. The Hallelujah was transcendent. The whole assembly rose by an involuntary movement at its commencement; and when it closed it appeared to leave the exhausted mind struggling, but vainly struggling, to retain those feelings of devotion, reverence, and love, which music, without that highest and most ennobling source of feeling which is

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furnished by religion, could never have excited.

There was a selection from Handel and Haydn, on Friday, to give an opportunity of gratification to those who had not found admission on the former days. With this view, it of course presented no peculiar features of novelty.

The last, and perhaps the finest, of the whole performances took place on Saturday; being a selection from the works of Handel, Beethoven, and Mozart.

The *Overture and Dead March in Saul* afforded to Mr Mather an adequate means of displaying his great powers as an organist; and we may here avail ourselves of the opportunity of paying to this ingenious and excellent musician the tribute of our thanks and our applause.

The evening concerts were conducted and executed with equal skill as those of the morning; but, excepting the means which they afforded to some of the instrumental performers of shewing more prominently their individual excellence, they exhibited no features of novelty which call for particular remark. The concertos of Lindley and Yaniewicz were the most applauded, and certainly the most worthy of applause. Dragonetti was limited by one of Corelli's duets, which shewed the brilliancy of his execution only, without at all calling into play the higher powers of his art. Holmes, Nicholson, and the Petrides, attracted also a great deal of applause.

On Friday evening, a new overture was produced by Mr G. F. Graham, a gentleman, whose science, genius, and feeling, are rapidly raising him to musical eminence. These qualities were all exhibited in the composition of Friday, which was received by a splendid audience with every mark of distinction and favour.

On looking back upon the whole of this fine exhibition, it impresses us as being honourable, and equally honourable, to those who first gave it activity, to the directors who so judiciously and liberally arranged its details, to the performers who were engaged in it, and to the country by which it was supported. We have already termed it an æra in the musical annals of Scotland; and we have little doubt that it will prove one, from which may be dated her rapid improvement in the true principles of harmony.

10th.—The splendid and valuable carriage taken at the battle of Waterloo, which was fitted up in the most magnificent style for Buonaparte, and captured while waiting for the ex-emperor, by a Prussian general, who sent it as a present to the Prince Regent, with the four horses which were attached to it, and a French driver, arrived a few days since at the Mews of Carlton House. On Friday it was exhibited to the Regent in its complete state, accompanied by the officer who took it, and a number of English and foreigners of distinction. The driver, in his full dress, sitting on the near pole horse, drives the four horses with a whip, the thong of which is about three yards long, but he manages the horses principally by talking to them. The two leading horses are at such a distance from the other two that there is nearly room for two more.

About eight o'clock this morning, one of the sons of Mr Bassett, of St Enodar, a fine young man, but who has for a considerable time been subject to temporary derangement, and was formerly an inmate of the Devon Lunatic Asylum, at Exeter, from which place he came out apparently restored to sanity, having been reproved by his mother for some impropriety of conduct, flew into a violent passion, and threatened to beat her with a stick

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which he held in his hand; but being prevented from accomplishing his intention by the interference of two of his brothers, he, unperceived by any of the party, snatched up a butcher's knife which was lying near him, and in an instant stabbed the whole three. The knife entered Mrs Bassett's stomach, which is feared will prove fatal; one of the brothers received the weapon between the 5th and 6th left ribs, and is likewise in a very dangerous state: the other, though struck twice on the breast with considerable violence, has sustained the least severe injury, and it is hoped may speedily recover. Immediately after the commission of these dreadful acts, the unhappy perpetrator fled, but was pursued, and has since been taken and placed in strict confinement.

15th.—The *Gazette de France* gives the following instance of the deep impression made by a theatrical representation:—A young woman, the mother of three children, went with her husband to see the performance of *The Guilty Mother*, a play by Beaumarchais; the situation and the remorse of the heroine affected her the more deeply, as she had a similar fault to reproach herself with; this recollection, which, for a long time, she endeavoured to stifle without success, took such lively possession of her soul, that she could not support the heart-rending scenes in the fourth act. She was conveyed home in great agitation of mind, and the next day, after a long struggle of anguish, she confessed to her husband a fault which he had never suspected, and which he pardoned. But the blow was struck, and she survived this confession three days only, in spite of the cares and assurances of tenderness which her husband lavished upon her.

16th.—OUDENARDE.—A dreadful crime was committed on the 14th of this month, at Onkerzeele, near Grammont: a woman of fifty years of age, enjoying a decent fortune, the mother of seven children, has been burnt alive, on suspicion of sorcery. A farmer had a daughter twenty years of age, who was seized with a lingering disorder; instead of applying for medical aid, he doubtless applied to soothsayers, and persuaded himself that his daughter was *charmed*. The question was to discover the sorceress; his suspicions fell on a female neighbour, whom he enticed into his house, where she had never before set foot. He immediately shut the doors and the windows, and in concert with his wife and sick daughter, after loading this unfortunate woman with maledictions, and after having used the most urgent importunities to make her confess her pretended crime, and reverse the charm, these barbarous wretches, without regard to her oaths of innocence, and to her tears, bound her hand and foot, struck her several blows with a sabre, which wounded her body and arms, and threatened her with the most horrible death: they immediately lighted a fire, which they renewed thrice, and on which they placed her several times, so that her feet, legs, and thighs, were consumed by a slow fire. This unhappy woman was thus tortured for above three hours, without being able to call for help, because her assassins stopped her mouth. It was not till the murderers saw her dying, and begging for the priest to attend her in her last moments, that they left her to fetch the ecclesiastic, by which means this horrible work was discovered. The criminals are arrested; they express neither fear nor repentance; they believe they have acted by a supernatural inspiration, and remain full of confidence.

Yesterday morning, about half-past ten o'clock, a dreadful explosion took place in the extensive premises of Messrs Constadt and Co. sugar refi-

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ners of Well-street, Well-close-square, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. A variety of reports were in circulation as to the causes of this shocking catastrophe; but the following may be depended upon to be as correct a statement as could be ascertained, in the midst of a scene equally confused and distressing. It appears that a new process has lately been discovered for the quick refinement of sugar by means of steam; and Messrs Constadt, under the direction of Mr Hague, the engineer, had constructed a new steam boiler, worked by what is called a pressure engine of about six-horse power, the boiler holding about 2000 gallons. To this was attached all the necessary apparatus of tubes, valves, &c. and the engineer had determined upon trying the effect of the whole yesterday morning. The fire was accordingly laid, and the engine put into play. At 10 o'clock, Mr Constadt expressed his fears that the boiler would be over heated, and the valves become over loaded with steam; and in consequence, he and Mr Hague went to inspect it more closely. Scarcely, however, had they reached the works, when a general explosion took place, carrying, in the awful crash, utter destruction to the concern, and closing, in the heap of ruins, the bodies of more than twenty persons. By three o'clock in the afternoon, nine of these unhappy beings were dragged from the ruins, dreadfully lacerated, and conveyed to the London Hospital, where the utmost attention was paid to them, and every thing was provided which surgical skill and humanity could suggest for their succour or consolation. At a late hour in the evening, five dead bodies were also taken from the ruins: among these was the son of Mr Spear, one of the partners of the house. The remainder of the sufferers were workmen employed in the concern, many of whom have left large families. The friends and relatives of these persons were assembled round the premises, and by their cries and lamentations rendered the scene truly heart-rending.

Not a vestige of this extensive establishment was left standing, and the party wall of the adjoining warehouse was completely destroyed, while the interior still threats destruction. There is also a sugar bakehouse belonging to the same firm, but conducted on a much smaller scale than that which had been destroyed. The latter was about 70 feet in height and 50 in depth, and the loss sustained by the sufferers, independent of so many valuable lives, is estimated at 25,000*l*. About six o'clock the voice of a man calling for help, was heard in the under floor of the building, but it was feared he would perish before the ruins which covered him were removed. The personal escape of Messrs Constadt and Hague is truly miraculous.

19th.—About five o'clock, as one of the regular smacks between Leith and London, called the Eclipse, Taylor, master, was coming from the former place, whence she sailed on the Friday preceding, she struck on a sand about three or four miles from Yarmouth: such was the violence of the shock that the atern-post and rudder were almost immediately carried away. The situation of the passengers and crew was alarming, and notwithstanding their united efforts at the pump, and bailing with buckets, the water was rapidly gaining on their exertions. Death appeared inevitable, as from their distance from the shore, and the impossibility of making their state known, no relief could be expected. At this critical juncture one of the passengers, who had been in the navy, sent a lad to the mast-head with an ensign to hoist, with the union

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downwards, as their last resort. The vessel in the mean time swung off the sand into deep water, and they were now, if possible, more perilously situated than before. A pilot boat, providentially attracted by the ensign (it was a moon-light night,) discovered the unfortunate sufferers, and by great exertions succeeded in rescuing them from a watery grave. The passengers consisted of twenty persons (six women,) and with the crew had not left the vessel any considerable time when she sunk gradually by the stern, and was shortly out of sight. The vessel was laden with great quantities of various articles, besides the passengers' luggage, nearly the whole of which was lost. At the time the vessel struck the master was in bed, and left the entire charge to the mate, and it seems he endeavoured to pass within the sand when he ought to have kept on the outside. The vessel and cargo, it is estimated, were worth between 5 and 6,000*l*.

A melancholy event took place at Warwick, arising from the burning of coke in a confined room. The unfortunate victims were Mr Newry, Mrs Newry (his wife,) and their son, about 12 years old. The room had been recently repaired, and was damp, and to air it, they had, previous to going to bed, placed a pot of coke in one corner; there being no chimney, the family fell a sacrifice to suffocation.

PEDESTRIAN PERFORMANCE.—The conclusion of one of the most extraordinary feats of this kind, by a man who appears to have made no particular preparation for the task, is related in the following article:

20th.—ROCHESTER.—This morning, five minutes before five o'clock, Baker completed his 1000 miles and one and three quarters more, which he has performed in twenty days. In the course of last night's labour, on his doing his 50th mile, at half-past ten o'clock, to the utter astonishment of even his confidential friends, he began to show a determined resolution to accomplish his undertaking before he left off, having then by him Dr Newson, his medical attendant, who being fully aware of his constitution, readily agreed in his determination. Baker went on till his finish, during which he danced three hornpipes, surprised the whole course, and in high spirits, accomplished 75 miles and 192 rods, completing then his match by the time already mentioned, and afterwards retired to the Cossack, amidst the cheerings of those present and the *roaring of a huge elephant*. He appeared again by ten, dressed in a white flannel jacket, new hat, and old boots, and continued to walk up and down the course. At twelve he began to complete the miles that had been allowed him in the rods; by this time thousands of spectators had arrived. He made good by one o'clock five miles, and by a quarter after two completed the ten miles. Baker and his friends afterwards went to the Cossack public-house to spend the remainder of the day.

24th.—PARIS.—Ney's trial commenced before the Chamber of Peers on the 21st, when the proceedings were opened with great solemnity. The charge against him, signed by all the ministers and by the procureur-general, was read. The prisoner was then called upon to declare, whether he had any matter to plead in bar of further proceedings. His counsel thereupon objected against the competency of the chamber, as having been formed into a criminal court, merely by an ordinance of the king, and not by an act of legislature. This matter was fully debated, and the objection over-ruled; but the counsel having stated that they had other pleas to urge to a similar effect, the chamber agreed to give him till

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Monday the 4th of December, when the trial is to be proceeded upon. Ney, whose features had exhibited the deepest dejection, smiled and seemed to recover himself as soon as he heard that a delay had been granted him to the 4th December.

Lavalette's trial closed at midnight on Tuesday, when, after five hours deliberation, the jury found him guilty. The fatal sentence of death has been pronounced. He has three days to appeal, on the grounds of form alone.

27th.—CORK.—William Baker of Lismacue, Esq. one of the most upright men living, was savagely murdered about five o'clock in the evening, in the middle of Thomas town demesne, on his way home from the sessions. Of the particulars of Mr Baker's murder no more is known, than that, about five o'clock in the evening, a shot was heard near the three gates in Thomastown demesne, by a man, who, on running to the place, found Mr Baker murdered on the road, having been shot through the body, and also through the skull: the last shot must have been fired very close to him, as his cravat was burning, and his face covered with gunpowder; he appeared to have received a desperate blow in the cheek, which was laid open to the bone; the murderer, or one of them, if there were more, broke his girth in remounting, and left his saddle behind him on the road. All the army in Cashel, with every gentleman in it, were immediately out, as were the troops from all the neighbouring cantonments, but without effect.

A reward of 5000*l.* has been offered by the government of Ireland for the discovery of the murderers of Mr Baker.

28th.—This morning, at one o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at an umbrella-maker's in High Holborn, between Featherstone-buildings and Brownlow-street. In one hour six houses in front were entirely burnt to the ground. Two of the houses were of wood and plaster, and of course greatly hastened the conflagration. Two small back houses were also consumed. The inhabitants had no time to save any part of their goods, but (with the exception of Mr Nutting the umbrella-maker, who is missing, and supposed to be burnt) no lives were lost. Several of the inhabitants, who escaped, were unable to save even their clothes. A female in one of the houses burnt, had been delivered of a child only an hour before the fire broke out, but both were safely removed. The houses burnt down are as follow:—1. Nutting, umbrella-maker; 2. Philips, ironmonger; 3. Hopkins, toy-shop; 4. Norris, upholsterer; 5. Woollet, hatter; 6. A Jew's sale shop. Part of Hand-court, in the rear, was at one time on fire, but a strong party wall prevented the further progress of the flames. The dead body of a female, laid out for interment, was removed from one of the houses when enveloped in flames, and deposited in the watch-house.

30th.—A sheriff's officer of Liverpool having a writ to serve upon a man in the neighbourhood of Knowsley, who was understood to be a very daring and resolute fellow, and likely to make considerable resistance, went thither, accompanied by a young man of the name of Shuttleworth. They took a gun with them, merely, as we have since been informed, to amuse themselves with shooting birds in the way, and they did not secure the object of their search without a severe struggle, in which all the parties gave and received many heavy blows. Having at length obtained possession of the person of their prisoner, the sheriff's officer and his companion threatened him, that if he should attempt to escape they would certainly shoot

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him; and at the same time Shuttleworth, as a confirmation of the reality of their intention, put the ramrod into the gun to show the man that the piece was charged. The prisoner, nevertheless, took to his heels immediately, and Shuttleworth, in his haste to put his threat in execution, instantly levelled his gun, without extracting the ramrod, and fired; the charge of the gun, together with the ramrod, entered the body of the unfortunate prisoner, who turned round, and attempted again to strike his assailants, but fell, and in a short time expired. The verdict of the coroner's inquest was *wilful murder*.

DECEMBER.

1st.—Trial and Condemnation of Marshal Ney.—The following from the Paris papers, is an account of the trial, condemnation, and execution of Marshal Ney. This great and necessary sacrifice has been made with all the solemnity and impartiality due to the magnitude of the crimes he committed, and to the character and justice of the court by which he was tried.—After his defence had been gone through against the evidence brought forward on the part of the prosecution, the marshal, it appears, reserved another ground of justification. It was a peremptory requisition, to be comprehended in, and to be allowed to take the benefit of, the Military Convention of Paris. This plea was overruled by the court, and Ney, finding it unavailing, and reduced to despair, exclaimed, "Until this moment my defence has been uncontrouled, but now I perceive that it is clogged and fettered. I prefer not having any defence set up for me to one which is but the mockery of a defence. I am accused against the faith of treaties, and I am prohibited from appealing to them. I shall act like Moreau; I appeal to Europe and posterity."

The Chamber of Peers voted five times in the course of their deliberations before they agreed to his conviction and the sentence of death. The first nominal appeal decided the question respecting the reception given by the marshal to the usurper's emissaries in the night between the 13th and 14th of March, by a majority of 113 to 47. The charge of having excited, by the proclamation of the 14th, his army to rebellion and desertion, of having ordered his troops to join the usurper, and of having at their head effected the junction, formed the second question, which was unanimously carried, with the exception of a single vote, which was withheld. The nature or designation of the crime constituted the third appeal, which was declared high treason, and a violation of the safety of the state, by an almost unanimous decision. The two last appeals took place on the application of punishment, which was pronounced death, according to the military forms, by a majority of 139. The conduct of Ney appears to have been essentially altered from the instant he was convinced that he had no prospect of escaping. He became collected, firm, bold, and vehement in his remarks and interruptions during the trial, and he heard his sentence with perfect composure.

The King's Health.—The following bulletin was exhibited on Sunday at St James's:—

"*Windsor Castle, Dec. 2.*

"His majesty has enjoyed good bodily health during the last month, and has in general been very tranquil; but his majesty's disorder is not abated."

(Signed as usual.)

Buonaparte's Arrival at St Helena.—Government have received dispatches from Sir George Cockburn

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from St Helena, dated the 25th October: he had arrived there on the 15th. Buonaparte is stated to be in good health and tolerable spirits. The persons of his suite are also well, but are reported to be heartily sick of their expedition.

6th.—Edinburgh.—On Saturday evening, about six o'clock, their Royal Highnesses the Archdukes John and Lewis, brothers to the Emperor of Austria, attended by Count Woyna, chamberlain, Count St Julien, secretary, Haffer Wittmensteden, and Dr Fischer, arrived at the Royal Hotel, Prince's-street. Shortly after, they were waited on by the Lord Provost, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, General Wynyard, and several other gentlemen, to welcome their arrival. These distinguished characters visit Edinburgh in the course of a tour through England and Scotland.

7th —Execution of Marshal Ney.—The sentence was carried into execution this morning, at twenty minutes past nine o'clock.

Just before the Marshal left his chamber, he changed his dress, put on a waistcoat, black breeches and stockings, blue frock coat, and a round hat. It was in the carriage of M. the Grand Referenderie that he was carried across the garden of the Luxembourg, to the extremity of the grand alley that leads to the Observatory, the place appointed for his execution. A small detachment of gendarmerie, and two platoons of veterans, were there waiting for him. On seeing that they stopped, the marshal, who probably thought they were conducting him to the plain of Grenelle, expressed some surprise. He embraced his confessor, and gave him his snuff-box, to be delivered to madame the marechale, and some pieces of gold which he had in his pocket, to be distributed among the poor.

Arrived at the gate, the carriage turned a little to the left, and stopped about forty paces from the gate, and thirty paces from the wall, near which the execution was to take place. A piquet of veterans, sixty strong, had been on the spot since five o'clock in the morning. At the moment when the carriage stopped, the platoon arranged itself. An officer of gendarmerie got out of the carriage first, and was followed by the marshal, who appeared to ask him if that was the place of execution. After embracing the confessor, who remained near the coach, praying fervently, the marshal proceeded, with a quick step and determined air, to within eight paces of the wall, and turning round upon the soldiers with vivacity, and, at the same time, facing them, cried out with a loud and strong voice "Comrades, straight to the heart—fire." While repeating these words, he took off his hat with his left hand, and placed his right hand upon his heart. The officer gave the signal with his sword at the same moment, and the marshal instantly fell dead, pierced with twelve balls, three of them in the head.

Conformably to military regulations, the body remained exposed on the place of execution for a quarter of an hour. There were but few persons however present, for the populace, believing that the execution would take place on the Place de Grenelle, had repaired thither.

After remaining exposed a quarter of an hour, the body was placed upon a litter, covered with a cloth, and carried by the veterans to the hospital of Foundlings.

At half-past six next morning (December 8) it was conveyed to the burying ground of Pere la Chaise, in a hearse, followed by a mourning coach and several other coaches. It had been inclosed in a leaden coffin within an oak one.

8th.—Last week, a man of the

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name of Bishop, who lives in Redcliff-street, Bristol, had a quarrel with a farmer Phelps, of Knowles, when a scuffle and battle ensued, during which the former bit off the thumb of the latter: mortification and death followed. Coroner's verdict—*Manslaughter*.

9th.—VENICE.—The horses of Corinth have become the objects of a kind of idolatry. Since their arrival the people flock in crowds to the square of St Mark, and kiss with enthusiasm these ancient monuments of Venetian glory. To satisfy the public curiosity, medals have been struck with the heads of the horses. The civic council has voted a sum of 4000 ducats for the relief of the Austrian soldiers wounded in the last campaign.—The city has also voted thanks to Lord Wellington.

ST PETERSBURGH.—Moscow is rising from its ruins finer than ever it was, though not so large. The change which has taken place in so short a time is almost incredible. The present governor, Tomazow (admiral and general), is incessantly and actively employed in its rebuilding. It is a spectacle astonishing and truly novel in our times, to see that immense plain, on which the eye distinguishes a various and confused mixture of ruins of palaces in stone and in wood, of houses large and small, of the nodding walls of burnt mansions, of uncultivated fields, every where intermixed with piles of brick and heaps of lime, while swarms of workmen of every kind give animation to the picture. The whole reminds us of the tower of Babel, with this distinction, that the result will be very different. All the roads leading to the city are covered with trains of carts laden with materials. The Kremlin is in part rebuilt, and on a more regular plan; those of its old walls that remained, are pointed anew and whitened. The cannons taken from the enemy are ranged in several lines in the grand square, in front of the Senate-house. The new Bazar is a much finer building than the old one.

11th.—This morning, when the gentlemen engaged in the Newbury bank entered it to proceed to business, they discovered that the whole of the property had been stolen, amounting, it is supposed, to near 20,000*l*. All the books and documents relative to the bank were also carried away. The robbery had been effected by means of false keys. It was in vain to keep the bank open, as there were no notes or cash to pay with; and the cruelty of taking the books away rendered it impossible to transact any business. An express was sent off to the public office Bow-street, where every assistance was rendered to the distressed parties. The officers have discovered that bank notes, part of the stolen property, to the amount of upwards of 800*l*. were paid to a respectable man at Abingdon, on Monday morning, for the purchase of some property. There is every reason to believe that this extensive depredation had been long in contemplation by some old thieves.

26th.—The traitor Lavalette has made his escape from prison. It appears that Madame Lavalette his wife, having in vain endeavoured to move the clemency of the king, determined to effect the escape of her husband. For this purpose, she in the course of Wednesday week, (the day on which he got off) repeatedly visited the prison of the Conciergerie, and every time in a different dress. In one of those visits she contrived to take in a suit of female attire similar to that which she herself had on, and in this disguise her husband escaped.—She is detained.

27th.—EATON, THE PEDESTRIAN.—Yesterday morning, at a quarter past eight o'clock, this person completed his task of walking 1100 miles

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in 1100 hours, upon Blackheath. The early period of the day, however, at which the performance was concluded, induced the pedestrian to continue his labours throughout the day, and this he was requested to do, by a large party of respectable persons, who proposed visiting the scene of his operations at four o'clock. At this hour he finally retired from the course, in the most perfect health and strength, greeted by the cheers of an immense multitude of people. Within the last few days, Eaton was visited by several persons of fashion as well as sporting celebrity.—Eaton is a native of Woodford, near Thrapston, in Northamptonshire, and since his youth has been equally distinguished for health and a power of pedestrianism scarcely known in his own country. The facility with which he has executed his unexampled task, and the unimpaired vigour he has still preserved, have induced him to propose some further undertakings, with a view to derive some advantage from his extraordinary powers.

28th.—A most audacious robbery was committed a few days since, on the premises of Mr Kean, corn-factor, on Bankside, the particulars of which are as follows:—On the day in question, about 12 o'clock, at which hour none of Mr Kean's men, except one, who works in the stables, were on the premises, three men, one of whom had the appearance of a miller, came to the yard; they first went to the dwelling-house, and told the female servant they came for some corn, which was lying in a certain part of the granary, and that they had a cart at the gate to take it away. The servants not suspecting any thing wrong, suffered the cart to drive up to the granary, and the two men put six quarters of corn into the cart, the master amusing Mr Kean's cook and nursemaid in the mean time with his conversation; when the loading was finished, the cart drove off, and was clear of the premises long before the fraud was discovered.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

During the last month the weather has been generally more severe than is usual at this period of the season. The sheep stocks on the high grounds have been fed with hay for some time, which, in several places, is already all consumed; and should the spring months be as unfavourable as they are often in the north, there is reason to fear great losses before the hills can yield a full bite of grass. On the lower grounds, turnips have been greatly injured by frost, which has forced into the market both cattle and sheep in greater numbers than the consumption required; and prices have accordingly fallen so much as scarcely to return the original cost. Farm work has been much retarded, especially ploughing; and the principal employment seems to have been thrashing and carrying corn to market, in such quantities as greatly to exceed the demand.

Until the last two or three weeks the prices of all sorts of grain continued to fall; and it is only for wheat that there has lately been some slight advance, and a more ready sale. The average price of wheat in England for the week ending 13th January was 52*s.* 6*d.*; and in Scotland, for the four weeks ending 15th January, 41*s.* 10*d.* per quarter. But if it be true, as there is reason to believe, that the quantity in the hands of farmers is much less than they commonly hold at this season, the depression must have passed its lowest point, and prices may be expected to rise, though but slowly, until they are regulated, in some measure, by the appearance of next crop. Barley is hardly saleable in Scotland; and now that the great distillers have ceased, or are about to cease working, it is difficult to conceive where this

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grain will find a market at any price. Every kind of farm produce, in short, is sold with difficulty at such rates as will leave not a shilling for the rent of land of a medium quality, under the best rotations of tillage husbandry. The minds of the corn growers, every where throughout Britain, are at this time clouded with gloomy apprehensions, and the efforts of the most spirited cultivators are paralyzed with dread approaching to despondency.

It would be improper, in this place, to speculate on the causes and consequences of this afflicting state of things, which is now felt, though in different degrees, and acknowledged by every class of the people. With regard to the prospects of the future, the chief resource, such as it is, of farmers in general, must be to lay their lands to grass; for it seems hardly possible that any considerable relief can be obtained from parliament, either in the shape of a reduction of taxes, or of a bounty on exportation; and as to the landed proprietor, if he were at once to give up two thirds of his income, he would only bring ruin upon himself, without enabling his tenantry to carry wheat to market at the present price in Scotland, of little more than 40*s.* per quarter. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this is nothing like an apology for the oppressive taxes on farmers, nor for the hard-hearted selfishness of some proprietors; but we make the observation with a view to those writers who would have rents and prices brought back to the rate of 1791, without pointing out the means, in that event, of paying the interest of the national debt, and the necessary expenses of government, which have been tripled since that period. The truth seems to be, that it is quite impossible to go on without the continuance, for some time at least, of the present system of an unconvertible paper currency, diminishing its quantity only in a very gradual manner; and, in fact, whatever disadvantages may attend it, the value of money in this country can never be brought up to its value in other countries; while, whether the pound sterling be worth more or less, about forty millions must be levied every year over and above the current expenditure.

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APPENDIX I.—GAZETTES.

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APPENDIX I.—GAZETTES.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 18.

Copy of a letter dated on board his Majesty's ship Superb, at anchor before New London, January 23.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you with the capture of the United States ship President, on the 15th instant, by the following force, viz.—the Majestic, Captain Hayes; Tenedos, Captain Hyde Parker; Endymion, Captain Hope; Pomone, Captain Lumley; which I had collected off the bar of New York, under the direction of Captain Hayes. She and the Macedonian armed brig, of 420 tons, loaded with provisions, sailed on the preceding evening, under the command of Commodore Decatur; but the present season of the year, and the dark nights of which he availed himself, have not enabled him to elude the vigilance of Captain Hayes, and the commanders of his majesty's ships under his orders, who have well discharged the important duty I assigned to them; and I beg leave to offer you my congratulations on the design of the American Government being defeated.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

HENRY HOTHAM,

Rear Admiral.

To the Hon. Alexander Cochrane, K. B. Vice Admiral of the Red, Commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Majestic, at sea, Jan. 17, 1815, *lat.* 39 *min.* 43 *deg. N. long.* 71 *min.* 53 *deg. W.*

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours to keep the squadron committed to my charge close in with Sandy Hook, agreeable to your directions, for the purpose of preventing the escape of the United States' ship President, and other vessels ready for sea at Staten Island, we were repeatedly blown off by frequent gales: but the very great attention paid to my orders and instructions by the respective captains, in situations difficult to keep company, prevented separation; and, whenever the wind did force us from the coast, I invariably, on the gale moderating, placed the squadron on that point of bearing from the Hook I judged it likely, from existing circumstances, would be the enemy's track; and it is with great pleasure I have now to inform you of the success of the squadron, in the capture of the United States' ship President, Commodore Decatur, on Sunday night, after an anxious chase of eighteen hours.

On Friday, the Tenedos joined me, with your order to take Captain Parker in that ship, under my command. We were then in company with the Endymion and Pomone, off the Hook, and in sight of the enemy's ships; but that night the squadron was blown off

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again in a severe snow storm. On Saturday, the wind and weather became favourable for the enemy, and I had no doubt but he would attempt his escape that night: it was impossible, from the direction of the wind, to get in with the Hook, and, as before stated, (in preference to closing the land to the southward,) we stood away to the northward and eastward, till the squadron reached the supposed track of the enemy, and, what is a little singular, at the very instant of arriving at that point an hour before day-light, Sandy Hook bearing W. N.W. 15 leagues, we were made happy by the sight of a ship and brig standing to the southward and eastward, and not more than two miles on the Majestic's weather bow. The night signal for a general chase was made, and promptly obeyed by all the ships.

In the course of the day, the chase became extremely interesting by the endeavours of the enemy to escape, and the exertions of the captains to get their respective ships alongside of him, the former by cutting away his anchors, and throwing overboard every moveable article, with a great quantity of provisions, and the latter by trimming their ships in every way possible to effect their purpose. As the day advanced, the wind declined, giving the Endymion an evident advantage in sailing, and Captain Hope's exertions enabled him to get his ship alongside of the enemy, and commence close action at half an hour past five o'clock in the evening, which was continued with great gallantry and spirit on both sides, for two hours and a half, when the Endymion's sails being cut from the yards, the enemy got a-head; Captain Hope taking this opportunity to bend new sails to enable him to get his ship alongside again, the action ceased, till the Pomone getting up at half-past eleven at night, and firing a few shots, the enemy hailed to say she had already surrendered.

The ship, on being taken possession of, proved to be the President as above stated, commanded by Commodore Decatur.

The vessel in company with her was the Macedonian brig, a merchant ship laden with provisions, which made her escape by very superior sailing.

And now, sir, a very pleasing part of my duty is, the bearing testimony to the able and masterly manner in which the Endymion was conducted, and the gallantry with which she was fought; and when the effect produced by her well-directed fire upon the President is witnessed, it cannot be doubted but that Captain Hope would have succeeded either in capturing or sinking her, had none of the squadron been in sight.

For your further information, I have the honour to enclose Captain Hope's letter, with a return of killed and wounded on board the Endymion.

I have the honour, &c.

JOHN HAYES, Captain.

Rear Admiral the Hon. Sir H. Hotham.

P. S. The ships having parted company in the gale, no further particulars have been obtained.

Number of persons of all descriptions on board the President previous to the action, about 490.

Number and Calibre of her Guns.—Main deck, 30 long twenty-four pounders.—Quarter deck, 14 forty-two pounder carronades, 1 long 24-pounder, 1 twenty-four pounder howitzer.—Forecastle, 6 forty-two pounder carronades, 1 long twenty-four pounder.—Foretop, 2 brass six-pounders.—Maintop, 2 brass six-pounders.—Mizentop, 2 smaller guns.—Total, 59.

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His Majesty's ship Endymion, at sea, Jan. 15.

Sir,—I enclose a return of the killed and wounded, and I have great pleasure in bearing testimony of the very great assistance I received from the senior lieutenant, Morgan, during the whole day's proceedings; together with the cool and determined bravery of my officers and ship's company, on this fortunate occasion. Where every individual has so conspicuously done his duty, it would be injustice for me to particularize; but I trust the loss and damage sustained by the enemy's frigate, will shew the steady and well-directed fire kept up by his majesty's ship under my command.

Although our loss has been severe, I am happy to state, that it is trifling when compared with that of the enemy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. Hope.

Admiralty-Office, March 9.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, addressed by Vice-Admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane, G. C. B., &c. to John Wilson Croker, Esq. were yesterday brought to this office by the Hon. Captain William Henry Percy, late of his majesty's ship Hermes.

Armide, off Isle-au-Chat, Dec. 16, 1814.

Sir,—Having arrived at the anchorage off Chandeleur Islands on the 8th instant, Captain Gordon, of the Seahorse (which ship, with the Armide and Sophie, I had sent on from off Pensacola to the anchorage within Isle au Vaisseau), reported to me that two gun-vessels of the enemy, apparently large size sloops, of very light draught of water, had fired at the Armide upon her way down, from within the chain of small islands that ran parallel to the coast from Mobile towards Lac Borgne, and having afterwards joined three others cruising in the Lake, were then visible from his mast-head.

The Bayone Catalan (or des Pecheurs) at the head of Lac Borgne, being the contemplated point of disembarkation, the distance from the inner anchorage of the frigates and troop ships to the Bayone full sixty miles, and our principal means of transport open boats, it became impossible that any movement of the troops could take place until this formidable flotilla was either captured or destroyed.

Rear Admiral Malcolm joined me with the fleet upon the 11th instant; and upon the 12th, I placed the launches, barges, and pinnaces of the squadron, with Captain Montressor of the Manly, and Captain Roberts of the Meteor, under the command of Captain Lockyer of the Sophie, and sent them into Lac Borgne in pursuit of the enemy, while the frigates, troop ships, and smaller vessels moved into the inmost anchorage, each vessel proceeding on until she took the ground.

After an arduous row of thirty-six hours, Captain Lockyer had the good fortune to close with the flotilla, which he attacked with such judgment and determined bravery, that notwithstanding their formidable force, their advantage of a chosen position, and their studied and deliberate preparation, he succeeded in capturing the whole of these vessels, in so serviceable a state, as to afford at once the most essential aid to the expedition.

For the particulars of this brilliant affair, I refer their lordships to the accompanying copy of Captain Lockyer's letter, detailing his proceedings, which I am fully aware their lordships will duly appreciate.

Captain Lockyer's conduct on this

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occasion, in which he has been severely wounded, and his long and active services as a commander, justly entitling him to their lordships' protection, and finding it expedient to place his flotilla collectively upon the establishment of a thirty-six gun frigate, I have appointed him to the command thereof.

Captain Montressor, whom I have placed in the command of the gun vessels, until Capt. Lockyer's wounds will admit of his serving, and Captain Roberts, whom I have before had occasion to mention to their lordships, together with Lieutenants Tatnell and Roberts of the Tonnant, and the whole of the officers mentioned by Captain Lockyer, I trust will not fail to meet their lordships' notice.

Our loss has been severe, particularly in officers; but, considering that this successful enterprize has given us the command of Lac Borgne, and considerably reduced our deficiency of transports, the effort has answered my fullest expectation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEXANDER COCHRANE,
Vice Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

His Majesty's sloop Sophie, Chat Island Roads, Dec. 18, 1814.

Sir,—I beg leave to inform you, that in pursuance of your orders, the boats of the squadron which you did me the honour to place under my command, were formed into three divisions, (the first headed by myself, the second by Captain Montressor, of the Manly, and the third by Captain Roberts, of the Meteor), and proceeded on the night of the 12th inst. from the frigate's anchorage, in quest of the enemy's flotilla.

After a very tedious row of thirty-six hours, during which the enemy attempted to escape from us, the wind fortunately obliged him to anchor off St Joseph's island, and nearing him on the morning of the 14th, I discovered his force to consist of five gun-vessels of the largest dimensions, which were moored in a line abreast, with springs on their cables, and boarding nettings triced up, evidently prepared for our reception.

Observing also, as we approached the flotilla, an armed sloop, endeavouring to join them, Capt. Roberts, who volunteered to take her with part of his division, succeeded in cutting her off and capturing her without much opposition.

About ten o'clock having closed to within long gun-shot, I directed the boats to come to a grapple, and the people to get their breakfasts; and as soon as they had finished, we again took to our oars, and pulling up to the enemy against a strong current, running at the rate of nearly three miles an hour, exposed to a heavy and destructive fire of round and grape, about noon I had the satisfaction of closing with the Commodore in the Seahorse's barge.

After several minutes obstinate resistance, in which the greater part of the officers and crew of this boat were either killed or wounded, myself amongst the latter, severely, we succeeded in boarding, and being seconded by the Seahorse's first barge, commanded by Mr White, midshipman, and aided by the boats of the Tonnant, commanded by Lieutenant Tatnell, we soon carried her, and turned her guns with good effect upon the remaining four.

During this time Captain Montressor's division was making every possible exertion to close with the enemy, and with the assistance of the other boats, then joined by Captain Roberts, in about five minutes we had possession of the whole of the flotilla.

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I have to lament the loss of many of my brave and gallant companions, who gloriously fell in this attack; but considering the great strength of the enemy's vessels (whose force is underneath described) and their state of preparation, we have by no means suffered so severely as might have been expected.

[The letter concludes with expressions of acknowledgment to several officers.]

(Signed) NICH. LOCKYER, Capt.

Sir Alexander Cochrane,
&c. &c. &c.

A return of the seamen and marines killed and wounded in the boats of his majesty's ships at the capture of the American gun vessels, near New Orleans.

Total—3 midshipmen, 13 seamen, 1 private marine, killed; 1 captain, 4 lieutenants, 1 lieutenant of marines, 5 masters' mates, 7 midshipmen, 50 seamen, 11 marines, wounded.—Grand total—17 killed; 77 wounded.

Armide, off Isle-au-Chat, Jan. 18, 1815.

Sir,—An unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of the enemy's lines near New Orleans on the 8th instant, having left me to deplore the fall of Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Pakenham, and Major-Gen. Gibbs; and deprived the service of the present assistance of Major-Gen. Keane, who is severely wounded; I send the Plantagenet to England to convey a dispatch from Major-General Lambert, upon whom the command of the army has devolved, and to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the operations of the combined forces since my arrival upon this coast.

The accompanying letters, Nos. 163 and 169, of the 7th and 16th ult. will acquaint their lordships with the proceedings of the squadron to the 15th of December.

The great distance from the anchorage of the frigates and troop ships to the Bayone Catalan, which, from the best information we could gain, appeared to offer the most secure, and was indeed the only unprotected spot whereat to effect a disembarkation, and our means, even with the addition of the captured enemy's gun-vessels, only affording us transport for half the army, exclusive of the supplies that were required, it became necessary, in order to have support for the division that would first land, to assemble the whole at some intermediate position, from whence the second division could be re-embarked in vessels draught light into the Lake, as near the Bayone as might be practicable, and remain there until the boats could land the first division and return.

Upon the 16th, therefore, the advance, commanded by Col. Thornton of the 85th regiment, was put into the gun-vessels and boats, and Captain Gordon of the Seahorse proceeded with them and took post upon the Isle aux Poix, a small swampy spot at the mouth of the Pearl river, about 30 miles from the anchorage, and nearly the same distance from the Bayone, where Major-General Keane, Rear-Admiral Codrington, and myself, joined them on the following day; meeting the gun-vessels and boats returning to the shipping for troops, and supplies of stores and provisions.

The Hon. Captain Spencer of the Carron, and Lieutenant Peddy of the quarter-master-general's department, who were sent to reconnoitre the Bayone Catalan, now returned with a favourable report of its position for disembarking the army; having, with their guide, pulled up in a canoe to the head of the Bayone, a distance of

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eight miles, and landed within a mile and a half of the high road to, and about six miles below, New Orleans, where they crossed the road without meeting with any interruption, or perceiving the least preparation on the part of the enemy.

The severe changes of the weather, from rain to fresh gales and hard frost, retarding the boats in their repeated passages to and from the shipping, it was not until the 21st that (leaving on board the greater part of the two black regiments and the dragoons), we could assemble troops and supplies sufficient to admit of our proceeding; and on that day we commenced the embarkation of the second division in the gun-vessels, such of the hired craft as could be brought into the Lakes, and the Anaconda, which by the greatest exertions had been got over the shoal passages.

On the 22d these vessels being filled with about two thousand four hundred men, the advance, consisting of about sixteen hundred, got into the boats, and at eleven o'clock the whole started, with a fair wind, to cross Lac Borgne. We had not, however, proceeded above two miles, when the Anaconda grounded, and the hired craft and gun-vessels taking the ground in succession before they had got within ten miles of the Bayone, the advance pushed on, and about midnight reached the entrance.

A picquet, which the enemy had taken the precaution to place there, being surprised and cut off, Major-General Keane, with Rear-Admiral Malcolm and the advance, moved up the Bayone, and having effected a landing at day-break, in the course of the day was enabled to take up a position across the main road to New Orleans, between the river Mississippi and the Bayone.

In this situation, about an hour after sunset, and before the boats could return with the second division, an enemy's schooner of 14 guns, and an armed ship of 16 guns, having dropped down the Mississippi, the former commenced a brisk cannonading, which was followed up by an attack of the whole of the American army. Their troops were, however, beaten back, and obliged to retire with considerable loss, and Major-Gen. Keane advanced somewhat beyond his former position. As soon as the second division was brought up, the gun-vessels and boats returned for the remainder of the troops, the small-armed seamen and marines of the squadron, and such supplies as were required.

On the 25th Major-General Sir E. Pakenham, and Major-Gen. Gibbs, arrived at head-quarters, when the former took command of the army.

The schooner which had continued at intervals to annoy the troops having been burnt on the 27th by hot shot from our artillery, and the ship having warped farther up the river, the following day the general moved forward to within gun-shot of an entrenchment which the enemy had newly thrown up, extending across the cultivated ground from the Mississippi to an impassable swampy wood on his left, a distance of about one thousand yards.

It being thought necessary to bring heavy artillery against this work, and also against the ship which had cannonaded the army when advancing, guns were brought up from the shipping, and on the 1st instant batteries were opened; but our fire not having the desired effect, the attack was deferred until the arrival of the troops under Major-Gen. Lambert, which were daily expected.

Major-Gen. Lambert, in the Vengeur, with a convoy of transports, having on board the 7th and 43d regiments, reached the outer anchorage

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on the 1st, and this reinforcement was all brought up to the advance on the 6th inst. while preparations were making for a second attack, in the proposed plan, for which it was decided to throw a body of men across the river to gain possession of the enemy's guns on the right bank For this purpose, the canal by which we were enabled to conduct provisions and stores towards the camp, was widened and extended to the river, and about fifty barges, pinnaces, and cutters, having, in the day time of the 7th, being tracked under cover and unperceived, close up to the bank, at night the whole were dragged into the Mississippi, and placed under the command of Captain Roberts of the Meteor.

The boats having grounded in the canal, a distance of three hundred and fifty yards from the river, and the bank being composed of wet clay thrown out of the canal, it was not until nearly day-light that, with the utmost possible exertions, the service was completed.

The 85th regiment, with a division of seamen under Captain Money, and a division of marines under Major Adair, the whole amounting to about six hundred men, commanded by Colonel Thornton, of the 85th regiment, were embarked and landed on the right bank of the river without opposition, just after day-light; and the armed boats moving up the river as the troops advanced, this part of the operations succeeded perfectly; the enemy having been driven from every position, leaving behind him seventeen pieces of cannon.

The great loss, however, sustained by the principal attack, having induced General Lambert to send orders to Colonel Thornton to retire, after spiking the guns and destroying the carriages, the whole were re-embarked and brought back, and the boats, by a similar process of hard labour, were again dragged into the canal, and from thence to the Bayone, conveying at the same time such of the wounded as it was thought requisite to send off to the ships.

Major-Gen Lambert having determined to withdraw the army, measures were taken to re-embark the whole of the sick and wounded that it was possible to move, and the stores, ammunition, ordnance, &c. with such detachments of the army, seamen, and marines, as were not immediately wanted; in order that the remainder of the army might retire unencumbered, and the last division be furnished with sufficient means of transport.

This arrangement being in a forward state of execution, I quitted head-quarters on the 14th instant, leaving Rear-Admiral Malcolm to conduct the naval part of the operations in that quarter, and I arrived at this anchorage on the 16th, where I am arranging for the reception of the army, and preparing the fleet for further operations.

I must in common with the nation lament the loss which the service has sustained by the death of Major-General the Hon. Sir Edward Pakenham, and Major-Gen. Gibbs. Their great military qualities were justly estimated while living, and their zealous devotion to our country's welfare will be cherished as an example to future generations.

In justice to the officers and men of the squadron under my command who have been employed upon this expedition, I cannot omit to call the attention of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to the laborious exertions and great privations which have been willingly and cheerfully borne by every class, for a period of nearly six weeks.

From the 12th of December, when

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the boats proceeded to the attack of the enemy's gun-vessels, to the present time, but very few of the officers or men have ever slept one night on board their ships.

The whole of the army, with the principal part of its provisions, its stores, artillery, ammunition, and the numerous necessary appendages, have been all transported from the shipping to the head of the Bayone, a distance of seventy miles, chiefly in open boats, and are now re-embarking by the same process. The hardships, therefore, which the boats' crews have undergone, from their being day and night continually passing and re-passing in the most changeable and severe weather, have rarely been equalled; and it has been highly honourable to both services, and most gratifying to myself, to observe the emulation and unanimity which have pervaded the whole.

Rear-Admiral Malcolm superintended the disembarkation of the army and the various services performed by the boats; and it is a duty that I fulfill with much pleasure, assuring their lordships that his zeal and exertions upon every occasion could not be surpassed by any one. I beg leave also to offer my testimony to the unwearied and chearful assistance afforded to the rear-admiral by Captains Sir Thomas M. Hardy, Dashwood, and Gordon, and the several captains and other officers. Rear-Admiral Codrington accompanied me throughout this service; and I feel much indebted for his able advice and assistance.

Capt. Sir Thomas Troubridge and the officers and seamen attached under his command to the army, have conducted themselves much to the satisfaction of the generals commanding. Sir T. Troubridge speaks in the highest terms of the captains and other officers employed under him, as named in his letter (a copy of which is inclosed) reporting their services. He particularly mentions Capt. Money, of the Trave, who, I am much concerned to say, had both bones of his leg broken by a musket shot, advancing under a heavy fire to the attack of a battery that was afterwards carried. The conduct of Capt. Money at Washington and near Baltimore, where he was employed with the army, having before occasioned my noticing him to their lordships, I beg leave now to recommend him most strongly to their protection. The wound that he has received not affording him any probability of his being able to return to his duty for a considerable time, I have given him leave of absence to go to England, and shall entrust to him my dispatches.

I have not yet received any official report from the captain of the Nymphe, which ship, with the vessels named in the margin, were sent into the Mississippi to create a diversion in that quarter.

The bombs have been for some days past throwing shells into Port Placquemain, but I fear without much effect. I have sent to recal such of them as are not required for the blockade of the river.

I have, &c.

ALEXANDER COCHRANE, Vice-Admiral, and Commander-in-Chief.

June 5.

Letters, of which the following are extracts, have been this morning received by Lord Castlereagh from E. Cooke, Esq. one of his Majesty's under secretaries of state for foreign affairs, dated

Rome, a Via della Croci, May 20.

I enclose copies of military reports

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from Colonel Church, who is employed under Gen. Nugent, to the 18th inst. by Lord Stewart's directions.

On Tuesday last I went to Civita Vecchia, with the view of communicating with Lord Exmouth in his passage from Genoa to Naples. On Thursday evening his lordship's flag appeared in the offing, with four sail of the line, and I went on board, and put him in possession of all details; upon which he proceeded forthwith to the Bay of Naples, where he must have arrived this morning.

The Berwick, of 74 guns, Captain Bruce, came to Civita Vecchia on Saturday; finding that a French frigate had gone into Gaeta, probably with a view of carrying off the Buonaparte family, he proceeded, by my desire, on Tuesday evening, in order to blockade Gaeta.

A Neapolitan general arrived at Civita Vecchia on Wednesday from Palermo, which he left the 8th; he reported to me, that the king had left Palermo for Messina; and that the British and Sicilian troops were ready to embark. Letters had been sent from General Nugent and Lord Burghersh, by Terracina and Ponza, to General M'Farlane, advising the debarkation to be as near Naples as possible.

If Lord Burghersh's dispatches have arrived, your Lordship will have been informed that the Duc de Gallo had surrendered two sail of the line, and the whole arsenal of Naples, by capitulation, to Captain Campbell, of the Tremendous, on his threatening to bombard the city.

The accounts herewith sent will prove satisfactorily to your lordship, that the war is on the eve of being successfully terminated. The Neapolitan army does not support the cause of Murat, much less the people, who receive the allied troops as liberators, and are merely anxious for the restoration of their ancient and legitimate sovereign, being exasperated and disgusted with all the vexations, deceptions, and perfidies of Murat.

I have sent the originals of Colonel Church's reports to Lord Stewart at Vienna.

I most sincerely congratulate your lordship on the prospect of so early and happy a termination to the projects of Murat.

ARMY OF NAPLES.

Head-Quarters of General Count Nugent, bivouac of Arce, May 15, 1815.

My Lord,—My last report, dated Rome, the 11th instant, stated the march of Gen. Count Nugent's corps from Valmontone, in the Roman States, on Firentine, and towards the frontier of the kingdom of Naples; the enemy retiring before him, and only engaging in partial combat occasionally, has since that period been driven beyond the Garigliano, as far back as St Germano, a distance of thirty miles from his frontier, followed by the advance guard, close to that town.

On the 14th, Marshal Murat having arrived in person at St Germano, and the enemy being considerably reinforced, he advanced again from St Germano, and drove back the advance guard of this army; the same evening he attacked the outposts at all points, and surrounded them with great superiority of numbers; notwithstanding which the gallantry of the troops was such, that every detached guard not only cut its way through the enemy, but brought in a number of prisoners, to the amount of three or four hundred. The attack of the outposts was not followed up, as we had reason to expect, by a serious operation against our position at Ceprano on the Garigliano, in expectation of which the troops remained the greater part of

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the day in order of battle. On the 15th the enemy began again to retire; his movement was then plainly ascertained to be a manœuvre to cover and facilitate the escape of Marshal Murat to Capua, who arrived at St Germano, with only three or four officers, and a few dragoons, and left it again in a couple of hours. Towards sun-set on the same day, General Nugent resumed the offensive, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, the enemy having near 10,000 men: crossing the Garigliano on a bridge thrown over it, to replace that burnt by the French General Manheis, when he sacked and burnt the unfortunate town of Ceprano, he pursued his march on the road towards St Germano, and bivouacked under the little town of Arce, whence this report is dated.

General Manheis has been joined by the Minister at war M'Donald, and it is probable that their combined force will occupy this night a position on the Melfa, a few miles from this camp.

On the line of operations of General Count Nugent, the right occupies Ponte Corvo, Fondi, and Itri, and the left extends as far as Isola and Sora.

I have great satisfaction in informing your lordship of the loyal disposition of the inhabitants of this part of the country, where the cockade of the legitimate sovereign is universally worn.

The army will advance again to-morrow, and the details of its progress transmitted to your lordship as soon as St Germano is occupied, or a combat accepted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

C. CHURCH.

His Excellency Lieut.-Gen.
Lord Stewart, G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c. Vienna.

ARMY OF NAPLES.

Head-quarters of General Coun. Nugent, San Germano, May, 17, 1815.

My Lord,—My last dispatch, dated from the bivouac of Arce, brought the details of the operations of General Count Nugent's corps up to the date of the 15th instant.

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that, since that period, a series of bold and rapid movements, on the part of that general, have been crowned with the most complete success, and the enemy's army opposed to him defeated and totally dispersed.

On the night of the 15th, the advanced guard moved forward from the camp of Arce on the road towards St Germano, having the enemy in front strongly posted on the banks of the Melfa; during the night, however, he retreated to San Germano, breaking down the bridge across that river. No time was lost in throwing a bridge over the Melfa, and at ten o'clock on the morning of the 16th, it was crossed by the infantry; the cavalry in the mean time having passed it where it was fordable for horses.

On the same day before day-light, General Nugent advanced his whole corps to the Melfa, and having there received a reinforcement of hussars and chasseurs, he marched forward in order of battle to attack the enemy at San Germano, where the united forces of Macdonald, Manheis, and Pignatelli had taken post. A small corps of advance had marched from Ponte Corvo to turn the enemy's left flank, and which had already got behind his position, and the armed inhabitants of the village of Piedmonte, with a few soldiers, possessed themselves of the strong position of the Convent of Monte Casino, upon the mountain which protects the right

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flank of San Germano: the army at the same time advanced upon the high road, preceded by the whole of the Tuscan cavalry, and some squadrons of hussars. On the approach of the troops, the enemy declined the combat, and hastily abandoned his position, leaving behind him many prisoners and deserters, and fell back to the village of Mignano, nine miles distant from this place; San Germano was in consequence immediately occupied by the allied troops.

The taking of San Germano was but the prelude to a movement which terminated gloriously for this army, in the total annihilation of the enemy's corps opposed to it.

In the position of Mignano, where his whole force was again united, he was attacked at midnight by the advanced guard commanded by Baron D'Aspre, with about 7 or 800 men, the darkness of the hour preventing him from ascertaining the strength of the attacking corps, the enemy's troops after a few discharges of musketry were totally routed, saving only his cavalry and artillery. In this attack, singularly successful and highly creditable to Baron D'Aspre and the troops under his orders, above 1000 prisoners have been made, a quantity of arms, and military equipments taken, and the whole of the enemy's infantry dispersed. Deserters, in companies of hundreds, have come in and are hourly joining this camp.

This brilliant affair has concluded the operations of Count Nugent in this quarter, in which he has destroyed the army called the Army of the Interior, with a force originally very inferior to that of the enemy. During the last ten days, the Neapolitan army has lost at least from 6 to 7000 men; and the whole number of this army (alluding solely to the army opposed to General Nugent) escaped from the general overthrow, cannot amount to more than 700 men. In the course of this general's movements, commencing at Pistoia, he has, at different periods, defeated the enemy's generals Carascosa, Manheis, Livron, Macdonald, and the two Pignatellis, besides others; and not even the presence of Marshal Murat himself, at San Germano, on the 16th, could prevent the destruction of his army, and consequently the ruin of his authority.

General Count Nugent's head-quarters are at Mignano, from whence I have returned and forward this report; and the column of his right wing, which advanced from Terracina, occupies Mola di Gaeta, the enemy having retired over the Garigliano, and burnt the bridge.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. CHURCH.

His Excellency Lieut.-Gen.
Lord Stewart, G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c. Vienna.

ARMY OF NAPLES.

Head-quarters, Bivouac of Cajaniello, (near Calvi,) May 18, 1815.

My Lord,—I had the honour to transmit to your lordship a report, dated yesterday, with details of the occupation of St Germano, and of the defeat of the enemy at Mignano; I have now to report the junction of the whole Austrian force, under the command of General Baron Bianchi, at this camp; Cajaniello being the angle of the junction of the high roads leading from Rome, Aquila, and Pescara to Capua and Naples. The different divisions commanded by the Generals Nugent, Mohr, Neyperg, and D'Eckart, form for the moment but one corps, the advanced guard of which, under General Stahremberg, is at Calvi. The shattered and wretched remains of the enemy's army, which little more than a month ago Marshal Murat published to the world as consisting of 80,000 combatants is now reduced to a corps

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perhaps not amounting to 8000 effective men, including the detachments of invalids, gendarmerie, civic guards, &c. drawn from Naples and the provinces; with this force, broken in spirit, the majority of which detest the cause of the usurper, it appears that Marshal Murat will take post in and about Capua, until finally overwhelmed by the superb and victorious army which will now surround him in every direction.

Having but this moment reached the general head-quarters with General Nugent's corps, I cannot yet state which of the Austrian corps will march on Naples by Caijagga and Caserta, nor which will blockade the enemy's position of Capua, and in the present state of affairs it seems immaterial; the great object being now to save the capital from any rising of the populace, and the consequences that might follow an event so much dreaded by all classes of the inhabitants.

The organization of the Neapolitan volunteers has gone on amazingly well; and it is even probable that a detachment of them may be sent to pass the Volturno at its mouth, and push on to Naples, by the road of Pozzuoli; in that case I believe I shall be entrusted with this operation.

I am very happy to state, that although the whole of the country through which we have passed has risen in arms against the usurper's forces, no act of disorder or excess has been committed by the armed inhabitants, who have on no occasion been allowed to act in independent bodies, under the denomination of Massa; on the contrary, they have been obliged to act according to military discipline, and under the direction of regular officers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. CHURCH.

His Excellency Lieut.-Gen.
Lord Stewart, G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c. Vienna.

Extract of a second letter from Edward Cooke, Esq. dated

Rome, May 22, 1815.

I have kept my courier, hoping every hour to hear from Lord Burghersh, and I have now the satisfaction to send an extract from his letter, which has just been received, dated Teano, the 21st instant.

"I send this letter in great haste. A military convention has been signed, by which the whole of the kingdom of Naples, save a few places, Gaeta, Pescara, and also Ancona, has been surrendered to the allies. Murat has not yet treated, nor is it exactly known where he is, but he has been informed he must go under a guard of honour to Austria. The army goes into Capua to-day; to-morrow we occupy the heights round Naples, and the next day, the 23d, we go into the city."

June 7, 1815.

The following copy and extract of dispatches from Lord Burghersh, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Florence, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs:—

Rome, May 16, 1815.

My Lord,—I have received a letter from Captain Campbell, of the Tremendous, dated Naples, the 13th inst. in which he states, that in consequence of the arrangements made with me at Florence, and transmitted to your lordship in a former dispatch, he had proceeded off the Bay of Naples.

He stated, on his arrival there, to the Neapolitan government, that unless the ships of war were surrendered to him, he would bombard the town. A French frigate appearing at that moment, Captain Campbell proceeded towards her, and followed her into Gaeta.

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He returned on the 11th with his squadron, consisting of his own ship the Tremendous, the Alcmene frigate, and the Partridge sloop of war. By a letter from the Duke de Gallo, he was requested not to proceed against the town; Prince Cariati was sent by Madame Murat to negociate for the surrender of the ships, and Capt. Campbell dictated the following terms, which were agreed to:

1st. The ships of the line in the bay to be given up.

2d. The arsenal of Naples to be delivered over, and commissioners appointed to take an inventory of its actual state.

3d. The ship of the line on the stocks, with all the materials for its completion, to be also given up and guaranteed.

These captures to be at the joint disposition of the government of England, and of Ferdinand the Fourth of Naples.

In return, Captain Campbell engaged not to act against the town of Naples.

Captain Campbell was in possession of the two ships of the line when he wrote to me at 8 p. m. on the 13th; they were to proceed the next day to Palermo or Malta.

I beg to congratulate your lordship on this success; it reflects the highest credit on Capt. Campbell, by whose energy and activity it has been obtained. The feeling of the inhabitants of Naples is excellent; a riot in the town against the government had been feared, but since the arrival of the British squadron, more order had been established.

On the 13th instant, General Bianchi, with the greatest part of his troops, was at Aquila. His advanced guard occupied Solmona, where his head-quarters were to be established the following day.

General Mohr, having pursued the enemy in his retreat by Fermo, &c. after leaving 2500 men to blockade Pescara, joined General Bianchi, on the 13th, at Popoli.

General Nugent moved yesterday from Ceprano towards St Germano.

Since the battle of Tolentino, the enemy has retreated without shewing the least disposition to make any resistance; his army has suffered most considerably by desertion. General Bianchi is moving by Solmona, Castel di Sangro, and Isernia; his advanced guard was to be at Castel Sangro on the 14th. General Bianchi states Marshal Murat's army to have been reduced, when it passed Popoli on the 11th, to 12,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry. General Bianchi will march from Isernia, by Campo Basso, upon Benevento, and thence on Naples.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BURGHERSH.

The Right Honourable the
Viscount Castlereagh,
K. G. &c.

Extract of a dispatch from Lord Burghersh to Viscount Castlereagh, dated

Teano, May 21, 1815.

I have the honour of congratulating your lordship on the termination of the war with the government of Naples, closed by the military convention I herewith transmit, by which the kingdom, its fortresses, arsenals, military force, and resources, are, almost without exception, surrendered to the allies, to be returned to the lawful sovereign of the country, Ferdinand IV.

After the successes obtained by General Nugent, and stated in my last dispatch, General Bianchi received on the 18th, a message from the Duke de Gallo, requesting an interview, to communicate to him propositions he was charged with from Marshal Murat.

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A meeting for the next day was appointed: on the part of England, General Bianchi requested me to attend it, and in the absence of the British commanders in chief, both by sea and land, I consented.

I met therefore the Duke de Gallo with General Bianchi, on the morning of the 19th.

The conversation which ensued with that minister led to no other result than in having given the allies an opportunity of stating to him the grounds on which alone they would engage to arrest their military movements.

Having stated that he had no authority to treat on any basis of the nature so announced to him, the Duke de Gallo returned to Naples, having received, however, an assurance, that any propositions General Carascosa might wish to make, should, in the course of the following day, be received.

The meeting with General Carascosa took place this morning. General Niepperg, on the part of Austria, General Colletta, on that of Naples, and myself, in the absence of the British commanders in chief, negociated the military convention.

On the part of Naples, propositions were at first made totally inadmissible; on our part the abdication of Marshal Murat was insisted upon. General Colletta wished to secure for that person a safe retreat to France; but finding that such was totally impossible, and having declared that he had no authority from Marshal Murat to treat with regard to him, the convention, such as your lordship will receive it, was agreed to.

It is impossible to conclude this dispatch without calling your lordship's attention to the manner in which the campaign, now terminated, has been carried on by General Bianchi. The activity with which he has pushed his operations is almost without example. The constant successes which have attended his arms, are crowned in the satisfaction of his being able to re-establish the authority of the legitimate sovereign, without those misfortunes to the country attendant on protracted military operations.

With regard to Marshal Murat, he is stated to be in Naples; General Bianchi has declared that he must consent to go to the Austrian hereditary states, where his future situation will be fixed; no answer whatever has been received from him.

(*Translation.*)

MILITARY CONVENTION.

The undersigned, after having exchanged the full powers with which they were invested by their respective commanders in chief, have agreed upon the following articles; subject, nevertheless, to the ratification of the above-mentioned commanders in chief:—

Article I. From the day in which the present military convention shall have been signed, there shall be an armistice between the allied troops and the Neapolitan troops, in all parts of the kingdom of Naples.

Art. II. All fortified places, citadels, and forts of the kingdom of Naples, shall be given up in their actual state, as well as the sea ports and arsenals of all kinds, to the armies of the allied powers, at the periods fixed upon in the following article, for the purpose of being made over to his majesty King Ferdinand the Fourth, excepting such of them as may before that period have already been surrendered. The places of Gaeta, Pescara, and Ancona, which are already blockaded by the land and sea forces of the allied powers, not being in the line of operations of the army under the general in chief Carascosa, he declares himself unable to decide upon their fate, as the

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officers commanding them are independent, and not under his orders.

Art. III. The periods for the surrender of the fortresses, and for the march of the Austrian army upon Naples, are fixed as follows:—

Capua shall be given up on the 21st of May, at noon: on that day the Austrian army will take its position on the canal de Reggi Lagui.

On the 22d day of May the Austrian army will occupy a position in the line of Averse, Fragola, Meleto, and Juliano.

The Neapolitan troops will march on that day upon Salerno, which place they will reach in two days, and concentrate their head-quarters in the town and its environs, in order to wait the decision of their future destiny.

On the 23d of May, the allied army will take possession of the city, citadel, and all the forts of Naples.

Art. IV. All the other fortresses, citadels, and forts (the above-mentioned excepted), situated within the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, such as Scylla, Omandea, Reggio, Brindisi, Manfredonia, &c., shall be likewise surrendered to the allied armies, as well as all the depots of artillery, arsenals, magazines, and military establishments of every kind, from the moment that this convention shall reach the said places.

Art. V. The garrisons will march out with all the honours of war, arms and baggage, clothing of the several corps, the papers relative to the administration; without artillery.

The engineer and artillery officers of these places shall make over to officers of the allied armies, named for this purpose, all papers, plans, inventories of effects belonging to both departments pendent thereon.

Art. VI. Particular arrangements will be concluded between the respective commandants of the said places, and the generals or officers commanding the allied troops, as to the manner of evacuating the fortified places, as well as for what regards the sick and wounded, who will be left in the hospitals, and for the means of transport which will be furnished to them.

Art. VII. The Neapolitan commandants of the said places are responsible for the preservation of the magazines within them, at the moment of their being made over; and they shall be given up, in military order, as well as every thing which is contained within the fortresses.

Art. VIII. Staff officers of the allied and Neapolitan armies shall be immediately dispatched to the different places above-mentioned, in order to make known to the commandants these stipulations, and to convey to them the necessary instructions for putting them into execution.

Art. IX. After the occupation of the capital, the remainder of the territory of the kingdom of Naples shall be wholly surrendered to the allies.

Art. X. His excellency the gen. in chief, Baron de Carascosa, engages, until the moment of the entry of the allied army into the capital of Naples, to superintend the preservation of all the public property of the state without exception.

Art. XI. The allied army engages to take measures in order to avoid all kind of civil disorder, and to occupy the Neapolitan territory in the most peaceable manner.

Art. XII. All prisoners of war that have reciprocally been made during this campaign, as well by the allied armies as by the Neapolitan army, shall be given up on both sides.

Art. XIII. Permission will be granted to all foreigners, or Neapolitans, to leave the kingdom with legal passports, during the space of a month from the present date. The sick or wounded must make a similar application within the same period.

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The present convention, when it shall have received its ratification, shall be exchanged with the least possible delay.

In faith of which the undersigned have affixed their signatures and the seals of their arms.

Made upon the line of the advanced posts at Casa Lanzi, before Capua, the 20th of May, 1815.

(L. S.)

The Baron COLLETTA, Lieutenant-general, Councillor of State, Commander of the Royal Order of the Two Sicilies, decorated with the Medal of Honour, Chief Engineer of the Neapolitan Army,

In virtue of my powers, and in quality of General in Chief of the Neapolitan Army, we have approved and ratified, and hereby approve and ratify the above Articles of the present Military Convention.

Given at Casa Lanzi, before Capua,

(L. S.)

The Baron CARASCOSA.

(L. S.)

The Comte de NIEPERG, Chamberlain, Knight of the Order of Maria Theresa, and of Saint George of Russia, Grand Cross of the Orders of Sweden, of St Anne, and of St Maurice of Sardinia, Field-marshal, commanding a division of the Imperial Austrian Army in the Kingdom of Naples,

In virtue of my powers, and as General in Chief of the Austrian army in Naples, I ratify the above Articles of the present military Convention.

(L. S.)

BIANCHI, Lieut.-Gen.

Signed and ratified by us, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty at the Court of Tuscany, in the absence of the Commanding Officers of the British Sea and Land Forces, employed on the coast of Naples.

Given at Casa Lanzi, before Capua, May 20, 1815.

(L. S.) BURGHERSH.

June 13, 1815.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by Viscount Castlereagh, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Lord Burghersh, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Tuscany, dated

Naples, May 23, 1815.

My Lord,—Prince Leopold, of Sicily, greeted by the general applause of the people, made his entry into this city, at the head of the Austrian troops on the 22d.

The passage of that prince through his father's states to the capital has been most gratifying. The inhabitants from considerable distances flocked to meet him, and having re-assumed the national cockade, brought him proofs of their attachment to his family, and their detestation of the rule they were escaping from, imposed upon them by conquest, and maintained by force.

By the Convention transmitted to your lordship in my last dispatch, the allied armies were to have been placed in possession of Naples on this day. The popular feeling had, however, so strongly manifested itself against the

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then existing government, on the 20th and 21st, that Marshal Murat left the town in disguise, and his wife sought the security which had been assured her on board a British man of war.

General Carascoso sent to General Bianchi, requesting he would prevent the misfortunes with which the town was menaced, by entering it immediately; and Madame Murat, by the same request to Admiral Lord Exmouth, prevailed upon him to land a body of 500 marines to maintain tranquillity.

Marshal Murat appears to have been aware of the little support his usurped dominion, when menaced, would receive either from the army or the inhabitants of this kingdom: his children were already placed at Gaeta.

General Bianchi sent forward his cavalry, under Count Niepperg, on the evening of the 31st. It occupied this city during the night, and preserved it from disorder.

Prince Leopold has requested all the authorities of the kingdom, the ministers of state, and the officers of the army, to remain at their post to await the orders of the king.

Admiral Penrose sailed from hence to Melazzo, to bring his majesty to his capital. In a few days his majesty's arrival may be expected.

Admiral Lord Exmouth arrived in the Bay of Naples on the 20th. The expedition from Sicily is arrived this morning.

Madame Murat will sail to-morrow on board of his majesty's ship Tremendous towards Gaeta, to receive her children on board, and will then proceed to Trieste.

No disturbances of any serious nature have taken place. The enmity against such as are supposed from their employments to have been attached to the late government is great, but the activity with which General Bianchi has carried his assistance to the points where it might be required has retained the country quiet.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) BURGHERSH.

Downing-street, June 22.

Major the Honourable H. Percy arrived late last night with a dispatch from Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the war department, of which the following is a copy:—

Waterloo, June 19, 1815.

My Lord,—Buonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters, to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroy was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroy, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sambref, holding the villages in front of his position of St Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroy towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince de Weimar, posted at Frasne

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and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher, with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of cavalry and infantry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-General Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-General Charles Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division and those of the Brunswick corps were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sambref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the fourth corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sambref in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry, brought from

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his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st life guards, upon their debouché from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroy and Nivelle, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelle road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohaim; and the Marshal promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Hay Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the life guards, royal horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Euschermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohaim, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of can-

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non, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark; and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, his Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service, and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated. The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never upon any occasion conducted itself better. The division of Guards, under Lieut.-Gen. Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-General Maitland and Major-Gen. Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his Royal Highness's approbation, Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Clinton, Major-Gen. Adam, Lieut.-Gen. Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-General Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda, Col. Mitchell, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; Major-Gen. Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, Major-Gen. Lambert, Major-Gen. Lord E. Somerset; Major-Gen. Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-Gen. Sir C. Grant, and Major-Gen. Sir H. Vivian; Major-Gen. Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-Gen. Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer department were conducted much to my satisfaction by Col. Sir G. Wood and Col. Smith; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-Gen. Major-Gen. Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-Master-Gen. Col. Delancy, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his Majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieut.-Col. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Sir Alex. Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his Majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and general Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

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General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alva, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them.

The operation of General Bulow, upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send with this dispatch, two eagles taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness.

I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a report, that Major-General Sir William Ponsonby is killed, and, in announcing this intelligence to your lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief, for the fate of an officer, who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession.

2d P. S. I have not yet got the returns of killed and wounded, but I enclose a list of officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as the same can be made out without the returns; and I am very happy to add, that Col. Delancy is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

Downing-Street, June 23, 1815.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received from Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the war department.

Brussels, June 19, 1815.

My Lord,—I have to inform your lordship, in addition to my dispatch of this morning, that we have already got here five thousand prisoners, taken in the action of yesterday, and that there are above two thousand more coming in to-morrow; there will probably be many more. Among the prisoners are Count Lobau, who commanded the 6th corps, and General Cambrone, who commanded a division of the guards. I propose to send the whole to England by Ostend.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

Downing-Street, June 29, 1815.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst from Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Cateau, 22d, and Joncourt, 25th instant.

Le Cateau, June 22, 1815.

We have continued in march on the left of the Sambre since I wrote to you. Marshal Blucher crossed that river on the 19th, in pursuit of the enemy, and both armies entered the French territory yesterday; the Prussians by Beaumont, and the allied army, under my command, by Bavay.

The remains of the French army have retired upon Laon. All accounts agree in stating, that it is in a very wretched state; and that, in addition to its losses in battle and in prisoners, it is losing vast numbers of men by desertion.

The soldiers quit their regiments in

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parties, and return to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country.

The 3d corps, which in my dispatch of the 19th I informed your lordship had been detached to observe the Prussian army, remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th; it then made good its retreat by Namur and Dinant. This corps is the only one remaining entire.

I am not yet able to transmit your lordship returns of the killed and wounded in the army in the late actions.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to inform you, that Col. Delancy is not dead: he is badly wounded, but his recovery is not doubted, and I hope will be early.

Joncourt, June 25, 1815.

Finding that the garrison of Cambray was not very strong, and that the place was not very well supplied with what was wanting for its defence, I sent Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Colville there, on the day before yesterday, with one brigade of the 4th division, and Sir C. Grant's brigade of cavalry; and upon his report of the strength of the place, I sent the whole division yesterday morning.

I have now the satisfaction of reporting that Sir Charles Colville took the town by escalade yesterday evening, with trifling loss, and from the communications which he has since had with the governor of the citadel, I have every reason to hope that that post will have been surrendered to a governor sent there by the King of France to take possession of it, in the course of this day.

St Quentin has been abandoned by the enemy, and is in possession of Marshal Prince Blucher; and the castle of Guise surrendered last night.

All accounts concur in stating, that it is impossible for the enemy to collect an army to make head against us.

It appears that the French corps which was opposed to the Prussians on the 18th inst. and had been at Wavre, suffered considerably in its retreat, and lost some of its cannon.

Downing-Street, July 5.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, was received last night by Earl Bathurst, addressed to his lordship by the Duke of Wellington, dated

Orville, June 28, 1815.

The citadel of Cambray surrendered on the evening of the 25th instant, and the King of France proceeded there with his court and his troops on the 26th. I have given that fort over entirely to his majesty.

I attacked Peronne, with the 1st brigade of guards, under Major-General Maitland, on the 26th in the afternoon. The troops took the hornwork, which covers the suburb on the left of the Somme, by storm, with but small loss; and the town immediately afterwards surrendered, on condition that the garrison should lay down their arms and be allowed to return to their homes.

The troops upon this occasion behaved remarkably well; and I have great pleasure in reporting the good conduct of a battery of artillery of the troops of the Netherlands.

I have placed in garrison there two battalions of the troops of the King of the Netherlands.

The armies under Marshal Blucher and myself have continued their operations since I last wrote to your lordship. The necessity which I was under of halting at Cateau, to allow the pontoons and certain stores to reach me, and to take Cambray and Peronne, had placed the marshal one march before me: but I conceive there is no danger in this separation between the two armies.

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He has one corps this day at Crespy, with detachments at Villars Coterets and La Ferté Milon; another at Senlis; and the fourth corps, under General Bulow, towards Paris: he will have his advanced-guard to-morrow at St Denis and Gonasse. The army under my command has this day its right behind St Just, and its left behind Taub, where the high road from Compiegne joins the high road from Roye to Paris.

The reserve is at Roye.

We shall be upon the Oise to-morrow.

It appears by all accounts, that the enemy's corps collected at Soissons, and under Marshal Grouchy, have not yet retired upon Paris; and Marshal Blucher's troops are already between them and that city.

Downing-Street, July 7.

Captain Lord Arthur Hill arrived last night with dispatches, of which the following are an extract and a copy, addressed to Earl Bathurst by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Gonasse, 2d and 4th instant.

Gonasse, July 2, 1815.

The enemy attacked the advanced guard of Marshal Prince Blucher's corps at Villars Coterets, on the 28th, but the main body coming up they were driven off, with the loss of 6 pieces of cannon, and about 1000 prisoners.

It appears that these troops were on the march from Soissons to Paris, and having been driven off that road by the Prussian troops at Villars Coterets, they got upon that of Meaux. They were attacked again upon this road by General Bulow, who took from them five hundred prisoners, and drove them across the Marne.

They have, however, got into Paris.

The advanced guard of the allied army under my command crossed the Oise on the 29th, and the whole on the 30th, and we yesterday took up a position with the right upon the height of Rochebourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy.

Field-Marshal Prince Blucher having taken the village of Aubervilliers, or Vertus, on the morning of the 30th June, moved to his right, and crossed the Seine at St Germain as I advanced, and he will this day have his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles.

The enemy have fortified the heights of Montmartre and the town of St Denis strongly; and by means of the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mar, they have inundated the ground on the north side of that town, and water having been introduced into the canal de l'Ourcq, and the bank formed into a parapet and batteries, they have a strong position on this side of Paris.

The heights of Belleville are likewise strongly fortified, but I am not aware that any defensive works have been thrown up on the left of the Seine.

Having collected in Paris all the troops remaining after the battle of the 18th, and all the depots of the whole army, it is supposed the enemy have there about 40 or 50,000 troops of the line and guards, besides the national guards, a new levy called Les Tirailleurs de la Garde, and the Federés.

I have great pleasure in informing your lordship that Quesnoy surrendered to his Royal Highness Prince Frederick of the Netherlands on the 29th June.

I enclose a copy of his royal highness's report upon this subject, in which your lordship will observe with satisfaction the intelligence and spirit with which this young prince conducted this affair.

I likewise understand that Bassaume has surrendered to the officer sent there

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by the King of France to take possession of that town.

TRANSLATION.

Petit Wargnies, June 26, 1815.

"On the day before yesterday I had the honour of receiving your grace's letter, dated Joncourt, 26th inst. sent by your aide-de-camp, Captain Cathcart, whom I have requested to inform your excellency that Marshal Count Rothallier had arrived this morning to summon the place in the name of Louis XVIII. He entered into a negociation with Lieutenant-General Despreaux, governor of Quesnoy. The only result, however, produced by this was a very singular reply from the governor, from which it appeared to me that he might possibly be induced to capitulate, and I determined at once on firing some shells and shot into the town, and of advancing our tirailleurs to the very glacis, to annoy them in every quarter, with a view of making some impression on the commandant, and of endeavouring by that means to excite to revolt the national guards and inhabitants, who are said to be well disposed towards us.

From information collected as to the fortifications, there appeared to me no reasonable chance of taking it by escalade, the ditches being filled with water, in addition to the inundation which had been made. At eleven o'clock at night, I ordered five howitzers and six 6-pounders to open on the town, and I continued the fire until three o'clock at day-break. The town was at one time on fire in three places, but the fire was shortly extinguished. Some men were killed in the town, and several wounded, which appears to have produced exactly the effect which I wished. Last night General Anthing, who commands the Indian brigade, sent an officer with the proposals to the commandant, according to the authority which I had given to him, and coupled with a threat of bombardment and assault.

Upon this a negociation was entered into, which ended in the signing of the following capitulation this night: that is to say, that he would send an officer, with an aide-de-camp of General Anthing, to Cambray, to ascertain the fact of the residence of the King of France in that town, and the abdication of Buonaparte in favour of his son, and that, thereupon, he would give us this night, at six o'clock, possession of the Porte des Forets, to be occupied by a company of artillery, and that the next morning the garrison should march out of the town; the national guards to lay down their arms and return to their homes; the commander and that part of the garrison who were not national guards, were to go and receive the orders of Louis XVIII., in whose name we shall take possession of the town.

Gonasse, July 4, 1815.

My Lord,—Field Marshal Prince Blucher was strongly opposed by the enemy in taking the position on the left of the Seine, which I reported in my dispatch of the 2d inst. that he intended to take up on that day, particularly on the heights of St Cloud and Meudon, but the gallantry of the Prussian troops, under General Ziethen, surmounted every obstacle, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. The French attacked them again in Issy, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, but were repulsed with considerable loss; and finding that Paris was then open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was opened between the two allied armies by a bridge which I had established at Argenteuil, and that a British corps was likewise moving up-

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on the left of the Seine, towards the Pont de Neuilly, the enemy sent to desire that the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, with a view to the negociation, at the palace of St Cloud, of a military convention between the armies, under which the French army should evacuate Paris.

Officers accordingly met on both sides at St Cloud; and I enclose the copy of the military convention which was agreed to last night, and which had been ratified by Marshal Prince Blucher and me, and by the Prince d'Eckmuhl on the part of the French army.

This convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, and touches nothing political.

General Lord Hill has marched to take possession of the posts evacuated by agreement this day, and I propose to-morrow to take possession of Montmartre.

I send this dispatch by my aide-de-camp, Captain Lord Arthur Hill, by way of Calais. He will be able to inform your lordship of any further particulars, and I beg leave to recommend him to your favour and protection.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

This day, 3d of July, 1815, the commissioners named by the commanders in chief of the respective armies, that is to say, the Baron Bignon, holding the portefeuillem of foreign affairs; the Count Guillemont, chief of the general staff of the French army; the Count de Bondy, prefect of the department of the Seine, being furnished with the full powers of his excellency the Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl, commander in chief of the French army on one side, and Major-General Baron Muffling, furnished with the full powers of his Highness the Field-Marshal Prince Blucher, commander in chief of the Prussian army; Colonel Hervey, furnished with the full powers of his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, commander in chief of the English army, on the other side, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be a suspension of arms between the allied armies commanded by his Highness the Prince Blucher, and his Excellency the Duke of Wellington, and the French army under the walls of Paris.

Art. II. The French army shall put itself in march to-morrow, to take up its position behind the Loire. Paris shall be completely evacuated in three days; and the movement behind the Loire shall be effected within eight days.

Art. III. The French army shall take with it all its materiel, field artillery, military chest, horses, and property of regiments, without exception. All persons belonging to the depots shall also be removed, as well as those belonging to the different branches of administration, which belong to the army.

Art. IV. The sick and wounded, and the medical officers whom it may be necessary to leave with them, are placed under the special protection of the commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies.

Art. V. The military and those holding employments to whom the foregoing article relates, shall be at liberty immediately after their recovery to rejoin the corps to which they belong.

Art. VI. The wives and children of all individuals belonging to the French army, shall be at liberty to remain in Paris. The wives shall be allowed to quit Paris for the purpose of rejoining the army, and to carry with them their property, and that of their husbands.

Art. VII. The officers of the line employed with the *Federés*, or with

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the tirailleurs of the national guard, may either join the army or return to their homes, or the places of their birth.

Art. VIII. To-morrow, the 4th of July, at mid-day, St Denis, St Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up. The day after to-morrow, the 5th, at the same hour, Montmartre shall be given up. The third day, the 6th, all the barriers shall be given up.

Art. IX. The duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard, and by the corps of the municipal gens d'armerie.

Art. X. The commanders-in-chief of the English and Prussian armies engage to respect, and to make those under their command respect, the actual authorities so long as they shall exist.

Art. XI. Public property, with the exception of that which relates to war, whether it belongs to the government, or depends upon the municipal authority, shall be respected, and the allied powers will not interfere in any manner with its administration and management.

Art. XII. Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

Art. XIII. The foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacles to the provisioning of the capital, and will protect, on the contrary, the arrival and the free circulation of the articles which are destined for it.

Art. XIV. The present convention shall be observed, and shall serve to regulate the mutual relations until the conclusion of peace. In case of rupture, it must be denounced in the usual forms, at least ten days before hand.

Art. XV. If difficulties arise in the execution of any one of the articles of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris.

Art. XVI. The present convention is declared common to all the allied armies, provided it be ratified by the powers on which these armies are dependant.

Art. XVII. The ratifications shall be exchanged to-morrow, the 4th of July, at six o'clock in the morning, at the bridge of Neuilly.

Art. XVIII. Commissioners shall be named by the respective parties, in order to watch over the execution of the present convention.

Done and signed at St Cloud, in triplicate, by the commissioners above named, the day and year before mentioned.

(Signed)
The Baron Bignon.
Count Guillemont.
Count de Bondy.
The Baron de Muffling.
T. B. Harvey, Colonel.

Approved and ratified the present suspension of arms, at Paris, the 3d of July, 1815.

Approved,
(Signed) Marshal
The Prince D'Eckmuhl.

Downing-street, July 6, 1815.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Field Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Louvres, the 30th of June, and Gonasse, the 2d of July, 1815.

Louvres, June 30, 1815.

My Lord,—I have the honour of enclosing to your lordship, the returns of the killed and wounded of the army, on 16th, 17th, and 18th; lists of officers, &c.

Brigadier General Hardinge, who was employed by me with the Prus-

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sian army, is not included in these returns; but he received a severe wound in the battle of the 16th, and has lost his left hand. He had conducted himself during the time he was so employed, in such a manner, as to obtain the approbation of Marshal Prince Blucher, and the officers at the Prussian head-quarters, as well as mine, and I greatly regret his misfortune.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Total of the British loss in the action of the 16th ult.—1 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 14 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 1 staff, 17 serjeants, 3 drummers, 269 rank and file, 19 horses killed; 4 lieutenant-colonels, 7 majors, 35 captains, 68 lieutenants, 23 ensigns, 4 staff, 100 serjeants, 5 drummers, 1909 rank and file, 14 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 27 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

Total loss of Hanoverians.—2 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 29 rank and file, killed; 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 11 serjeants, 193 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain, 2 ensigns, 4 serjeants, 142 rank and file, missing.

Total of British loss on the 17th ult.—1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 24 rank and file, 45 horses, killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 8 serjeants, 41 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded; 1 major, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 30 rank and file, 33 horses, missing.

Total Hanoverian loss.—9 rank and file, killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 2 ensigns, 5 serjeants, 74 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file, missing.

Total British loss on the 18th ult.—2 general staff, 1 colonel, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 46 captains, 26 lieutenants, 19 ensigns, or cornets, 5 staff, 2 troop quarter-masters, 100 serjeants, 13 drummers, 1536 rank and file, and 1462 horses, killed; 10 general staff, 4 colonels, 21 lieutenant-colonels, 28 majors, 107 captains, 209 lieutenants, 47 cornets or ensigns, 17 staff, 3 troop quarter-masters, 330 serjeants, 36 drummers, 5067 rank and file, and 863 horses, wounded; 1 lieut.-colonel, 4 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 17 serjeants, 15 drummers, 703 rank and file, 702 horses, missing.

Total Hanoverian loss.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, 3 cornets or ensigns, 7 serjeants, 279 rank and file, 33 horses, killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 10 majors, 15 captains, 28 lieutenants, 13 cornets or ensigns, 2 staff, 91 serjeants, 11 drummers, 1014 rank and file, 28 horses, wounded; 1 major, 1 lieutenant, 1 cornet or ensign, 5 staff, 12 serjeants, 17 drummers, 779 rank and file, 11 horses, missing.

[Transmitted by the Duke of Wellington.]

Govy, June 28, 1815.

My Lord,—Lieutenant Colonel Sir N. Campbell, (major of the 54th regiment) having asked my leave to go to head quarters to request your grace's permission to return to England, I beg leave to take the opportunity of mentioning, that I feel much obliged to him for his conduct in closing, in the town of Cambray, with the light companies of Major-General Johnson's brigade, and in leading one of the columns of attack.

The one which he commanded escaladed, at the angle formed (on our right side) by the Valenciennes gateway, and the curtine of the body of the place.

A second, commanded by Colonel Sir William Douglas, of the 91st regiment, and directed by Lieutenant Gilbert, royal engineers, took advantage of the reduced height in that part of the escarpe (which, on an ave-

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rage, is on that side about 55 feet) by placing their ladders on a covered communication from this place to a large ravelin near the Amiens road.

The Valenciennes gate was broken open by Sir N. Campbell, and drawbridges let down in about half an hour, when, on entering the town, I found that the attack made by Colonel Mitchell's brigade on the side of the Paris gate, had also succeeded: the one directed by Captain Sharpe, royal engineers, forced the outer gates of the Corre Port in the horn-work, and passed both ditches, by means of the rails of the draw-bridges, which they scrambled over by the side; not being able to force the main gate, they escaladed by the breach (the state of which your grace had observed) in the morning, and before which, although the ditch was said to have twelve feet water, a footing on dry ground was found, by wading through a narrow port in the angle of the gate, within the rampart. I have every reason to be satisfied with the light infantry of the division, who by their fire covered the attacks of the parties, of sixty men each, which preceded the column.

The three brigades of artillery of Lieutenant-Colonel Webber Smith, and Majors Knott and Browne, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Hawker, made particularly good practice, and immediately silenced the fire of the enemies artillery, except from two guns on each flank of the citadel, which could not be got at, and two field-pieces on the ramparts of the town, above the Valenciennes gate, and which played upon the troops as they debouched from the cover they had been posted in. Twenty prisoners were made at the horn work of the Paris gate, and about one hundred and thirty altogether in the town. Their fire was very slack, and even that, I foresaw, they were forced to, by the garrison of the citadel. I left the 23d and 91st regiments in town, with two guns, and a troop of Ensdorff hussars, and am much indebted to Sir William Douglas and Colonel Dalmer, for their assistance in preserving order. Some depredations were committed, but of no consequence, when the circumstances we entered by are considered.

From the division, as well as my personal staff, I received every assistance in the course of the three days operations. I am, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES COLVILLE.

Total Loss at Cambray.—1 lieut. 7 rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 28 rank and file, wounded.

Downing-Street, July 11, 1815.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received from Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, K.G. addressed to Earl Bathurst, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the war department:

Paris, July 8, 1815.

My Lord,—In consequence of the convention with the enemy, of which I transmitted your lordship the copy in my dispatch of the 24th, the troops under my command, and that of Field-Marshal Prince Blucher, occupied the barriers of Paris on the 6th, and entered the city yesterday, which has ever since been perfectly quiet.

The King of France entered Paris this day.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

Admiralty-Office, July 25.

Extract of a letter from Capt. Maitland, of his Majesty's ship Bellerophon, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated in Basque-roads, the 14th inst.

For the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I

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have to acquaint you that the Count Las Casses and General Allemand, this day came on board his Majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal for me to receive on board Napoleon Buonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

Conceiving myself authorised by their lordships' secret order, I have acceded to the proposal, and he is to embark on board this ship to-morrow morning.

That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Casses, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but that all I can do is, to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as his royal highness may deem expedient.

Admiralty-Office, July 25, 1815.

Copy of a letter from Admiral Viscount Keith, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship the Ville de Paris, in Hamoaze, the 21st instant.

Ville de Paris, in Hamoaze, July 21, 1815.

Sir—Captain Knight, of the Falmouth, arrived last night from the Gironde, bringing the satisfactory intelligence of that river having been successfully entered without loss on the 13th instant, by the Pactolus, Hebrus, and Falmouth.

I enclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of the Hon. Captain Aylmer's letter, reporting his proceedings in the execution of this service, in which both Captain Palmer and he have shewn a commendable zeal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) KEITH, Admiral.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

P. S. I also enclose a copy of a letter from Captain Palmer, of the Hebrus.

His Majesty's ship Pactolus, in the Gironde, July 14.

My Lord—I arrived off this port on the 3d instant, and, in compliance with the wishes of General Donnadieu, sent in a flag of truce, with an aide-de-camp of the general's, for the purpose of communicating with the General Clausel, commanding at Bourdeaux; but as two days more elapsed without any answer or news of the aide-de-camp, I sent another flag into a corvette lying in the river; and I learnt from her commander that he had received the most positive orders from General Clausel not to hold any kind of communication with us. In addition to this we received a proclamation, signed by that general, declaring Bourdeaux and its whole vicinity in a state of siege, and threatening with military execution any who manifested signs of disaffection to his government. The aide-de-camp, it appeared, was detained.

While this negociation was attempting, the Hebrus arrived with the charge of a small expedition, with arms and supplies for the royalists, and when it became evident that no good could arise out of any attempt to conciliate General Clausel, Captain Palmer made me a very strong representation upon the necessity which he conceived there was for his attempting to enter the Gironde and open a direct communication with the royalist party. After weighing the circumstances, I thought it my duty to accede to the proposal, and I united the ships for the prosecution of the service.

The General Donnadieu, being anxious to pursue his mission on the coast, I dispatched the Larne with him to Passages.

On the 11th the squadron weighed

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from an outer anchorage we had taken, and formed for the purpose of entering the river; but, as we stood in, the enemy's corvette was perceived to weigh and manœuvre in the north entrance, while five sail pushed out through the southern passage to sea. Under these circumstances, it became necessary for the intercepting those vessels that the squadron should separate for the time; and in consequence the forcing the river was obliged to be given up for that day; during the night, the squadron united again, after having examined the vessels which it appeared had sailed in so suspicious a manner, which circumstance was developed by the embargo having been that morning discontinued in the river.

Yesterday the wind being favourable, the squadron again weighed, and formed in a close line for entering the Gironde; the Pactolus led, the Hebrus followed, and the Falmouth brought up the rear; the two former had transports in tow: as we proceeded, a person came off with a message from the people of the town of Royan, saying that they would not fire at us, provided we did not assail them. We passed on with the royal colours of France at the mast-head; the tri-coloured flag flew along the batteries, which were all in preparation, but no act of hostility occurred until we reached the heavy battery at Verdun, which opened its fire upon us, and continued it until the ships reached the anchorage. No injury, however, was sustained, and the squadron did not return a gun, for I was unwilling to disturb the feeling which appeared so generally and so happily to prevail. Directly the ships were secured, a communication was sent up with a flag of truce to General Clausel by the Count de Lasteur, deputed by M. La Duchesse D'Angouleme, and we are in expectation of his answer. In the mean time nothing can wear a more favourable aspect than the face of things in this river.

I beg to assure you, that every measure shall be adopted, in conjunction with the Baron Montalembert, to arm and organise the royal party, and establish the power of predominance of his Majesty the King of France, in the vicinity of wherever our means can operate.

I lose no time in dispatching the Falmouth to your lordship, and Captain Knight will explain our situation, as well as that we are taking every precaution in respect to the defence of that river, in the event of General Clausel sending down any strong force to stifle the spirit of the people. I shall also write to Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, and perhaps the Rear-Admiral may strengthen our means here, so that we may fully avail ourselves of such opportunity of pushing the royal cause with vigour and celerity, and of cherishing the excellent disposition with which all here seem inspired. I have just learnt that the enemy evacuated the fort of Verdun last night, and retired with his garrison. We have sent a force on shore to dismantle and destroy the guns, &c. This is the fort which disputed our entrance, and it is a very strong work.

I have also the pleasure to add, that the propositions of the Baron Montalembert, and his mission, have hitherto been every where attended with success. The forts and the positions are gradually pulling down their tri-coloured flags, and hoisting that of their legitimate sovereign: and several of them have saluted the squadron upon their hoisting the white flag. While writing this letter, another battery has hoisted the white flag, and there now remains only the fort at Meche with the tri-coloured flag.

Captain Palmer, who was entrusted with the service, has throughout di-

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meeted it, and the accident alone of my being the senior officer, induces me to give the account to your lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) F. W. Aylmer, Captain.

To Adm. Lord Viscount Keith, &c. &c. &c.

His Majesty's ship Hebrus, in the Gironde, July 14, 1815.

My Lord,—I have the honour to state to you, that I arrived off this port on the 6th, where I found his Majesty's ship Pactolus, and I learn from Captain Aylmer that General Donnadieu (the French officer he had on board) was endeavouring to open a communication with the commandant at Bourdeaux, General Clausel, and that an aide-de-camp had been dispatched in for that purpose. But as General Clausel thought proper to detain the messenger, and also to adopt the most decided measures to prevent any kind of intercourse, there appeared no prospect of any accommodation from any further attempts to conciliate him.

From the nature of this coast, and the complete military possession which the enemy had of it, it seemed impossible that any free communication could be opened with the royalists, unless I could effect an entrance into the river; and as the Baron de Montalembert expressed the greatest anxiety upon the subject, and I possessed a discretionary power of passing into the Gironde, should I be of opinion that circumstances justified me in doing so, I decided, after the best consideration I could give the matter, that it was the most proper course I could pursue for the good of the cause I was employed on.

As I felt, that the committing the transports and their lading in the river, at a time it was in full possession of the enemy, was a strong measure, and as there were serious obstacles to overcome, in a well defended entrance and a hazardous navigation, I considered it my duty to render our means as effective as possible before the attempt was made, and as the Pactolus was on the spot, I stated my opinion fully to Captain Aylmer, requesting the junction of his ship to those under my orders. Captain Aylmer having acceded to the request, and being the senior officer, of course the command of the squadron devolved on him, and your lordship will learn from that officer the further proceedings of the expedition.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Edmund Palmer, Capt.

To Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. &c &c.

Downing-street, July 23, 1815.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received by Earl Bathurst, addressed to his Lordship by Colonel the Baron de Montalembert, dated in the Gironde, July 31, 1815.

My Lord,—With the greatest satisfaction I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the ship, with the arms, equipments, and ammunition, placed under my charge, entered the Gironde this morning, protected by his Majesty's ships Pactolus, Hebrus, and Falmouth. On our approach near the fort of Royan, which commands the entrance of the river, Captain Palmer of the Hebrus hoisted the white flag at the main. The effect produced by this emblem of loyalty and honour was instantaneous. Not a gun was fired from the batteries, the Verdun one excepted, and we were received as friends and deliverers.

The communications we have had with the inhabitants during the few hours we have been at anchor, are of the most favourable nature, and such

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as might have been expected from their well known attachment to the cause of their legitimate sovereign. General Clausel still occupies Bourdeaux with some force. Our appearance in this river, and the means we will immediately pursue to arm the population, will produce the double effect of paralyzing his measures to keep possession of the town, and of preventing his sending any reinforcement to the French army behind the Loire.

I cannot close this communication without stating to your lordship, that to Captain Palmer's zeal for the cause, and indefatigable exertions, we are entirely indebted for our present advantageous position in this river.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

Le Baron de MONTALEMBERT.

To Earl Bathurst, &c.

Downing-Street, Aug. 2, 1815.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received from Lieut.-Gen. Sir C. Brownrigg, K. B., dated Candy, February 25, 1815, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

British Head Quarters, Candy, February 25, 1815.

My Lord,—For some days subsequent to the date of the last dispatch, which I had the honour to address to your Lordship, on Candian affairs, dated 16th January, no circumstance occurred of sufficient consequence to be reported to your lordship, the several divisions of the invading force being partly in movement, and partly preparing to move.

It was found, however, that great, and apparently insurmountable difficulties would occur in provisioning the troops, on so many routes, with our scanty means of conveyance, and I determined in consequence on a modification of the plan. This alteration consisted chiefly in disposing the march of the troops in such a manner, that the 1st and 2d divisions, the 3d and 4th, the 6th and 7th, should arrive on the same line, and, at certain convenient points, unite together; an arrangement which, I am happy to say, brought the supplying of the army within our means, and laid the ground-work of a successful progress towards the several assigned places of destination above the hills.

On the 1st of February I learnt, by a letter of the 30th of January, from Major Hook, that the 1st division, under the command of that officer, had reached Ganeoyani, situate at the foot of the Balani Mountains, and on the great road leading through the Pass of Gravet of that name towards the city of Candy.

Lieutenant O'Connell, with the 2d division, was close in the rear, advancing to the same point, from which Major Hook was then to diverge to the left towards Weywood, in the seven Korles, to co-operate with Captain de Busseche, already in that quarter, with a small force, formed to supply the absence of the auxiliary corps, originally expected from Madras.

No serious opposition was made to the advance of these divisions. The first adikar of the King of Candy, by name Molligodde, brother to the Dessave of the three Korles, who had previously come over to the British territory, and himself Dessave of the four Korles, kept hovering in front of Major Hook's march, with some followers, but had intimated, both to Major Hook and Mr D'Oyley, that he was desirous to join the British standard, and was only prevented from doing so by his apprehension for the fate of his family, who were under the king's power in the capital, but whose liberation or escape he expected as soon as the troops should advance sufficiently near to Candy to induce the king to

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retire from that place: he further gave it to be understood, that although he was obliged to keep up the appearance of firing, he would do no harm; and in all these points, although his assurances could not in prudence be fully confided in at the time, he afterwards faithfully kept his word.

In the evening of this day (the 1st of February) I left Columbo to join the army, and proceeded by the route of Avissahavelle (usually called Sittawakka) and through the three and four Korles towards Lieut.-Colonel O'Connel's camp at Ganniteynne. While at Kooroonagodde, on the 3d of February, a letter from the lieut.-colonel, dated at Ganniteynne, on the 2d, informed, that the advance of that division, under Major Moffatt, of the 1st Ceylon regiment, having been detached to support a patrole which was conceived to be in danger, had advanced so near the fortified post which commands the Balani Pass, that it was deemed advisable to attack it: and it had been carried after a trifling opposition.

At Attypittya, on the 4th, I received Major Hook's report, dated from Gerigamme the preceding day, apprizing me that he had taken possession of that strong position and the neighbouring hill fort of Galgederah, with hardly any resistance, and no loss.

On the 6th I reached Ganniteynne, where it became necessary to halt for some days, to give time for the concentration of the divisions advancing from Trincomalee and the east side of the Candian territory. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Connell was encamped here, and Major Moffatt posted at Amenoopoora, one mile and a half beyond the pass, and a free communication opened between the two corps.

Here the Adikar Molligodde, by a message through Mr D'Oyley, requested permission to surrender himself with the banners and records of the four Korles, of which he is Dessave, having received intimation of the escape of his family from Candy. My consent being signified to him, he, on 8th of February, came into camp in state, attended by a number of chiefs of the four Korles, who had not previously appeared, and formally gave up the insignia and records of his Dessave into the hands of Mr D'Oyley, whom I had deputed as commissioner on the part of the British government to confer with him.

Learning by reports from Major Kelly, commanding the 3d division, and proceeding through the province of Saffragam and Ourah towards the Indulgasinha Pass, that he could be sufficiently advanced to support a forward movement on the part of Lieut.-Colonel O'Connell and Major Hook's divisions, I, on the 10th, directed Lieut.-Colonel O'Connell to ascend the pass, and occupy Major Moffatt's position, sending his detachment a little in advance; and on the evening of the same day, I joined the camp at Amenoopoora.

The Adikar Cheylapola, who had followed my progress as far as Ganniteynne, proposed to take a different route from thence; and being furnished with an escort of about 50 men, proceeded up the mountains, by a road to the right, leading into the province of Oudinoora, the inhabitants of which he was desirous to communicate with.

Late in the evening of the 11th, a report was brought to Mr D'Oyley, that a division of the British troops, supposed to be that commanded by Major Hook, had reached Kattugastotte, a ferry of the great river called Mahaviliganga, about three miles distant from Candy; that the king had quitted the capital, and that the defences at Gonarooha, another ferry of the same river, about an equal distance from the city, were abandoned.

A patrole, sent forward during the

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night, under the command of Major Brownrigg, reached Gonarooha early in the morning, and, fording the river, ascertained the truth of the intelligence in all its parts. Batteries of great extent were erected here, reaching from the common place of crossing for a considerable distance along the opposite bank, and commanding the ford; but were entirely destitute either of men or guns. Hideous objects of the king's resentment here presented themselves, in the remains of poor wretches stuck up on poles on both sides of the river, seven of which were full in view at the ferry, and the whole number counted in that neighbourhood was 19.

Major Moffatt, with the advance of the 2d division, being a few miles in front of the general encampment, was, by Major Brownrigg, on his return with the patrole, directed to proceed forward to Gonarooha, in consequence of my orders to that effect.

On learning the foregoing particulars, I, on the 12th, dispatched Major Willerman, deputy quarter-master-general, towards Candy, with instructions to prevent the possibility of injury to persons or property, by prohibiting the entry of the troops within the gates of the city, otherwise than as guards, under such disposition as Major Willerman might judge advisable.

Mr D'Oyley, who had accompanied the patrole the preceding evening, and remained at Gonarooha until joined by Major Moffatt's detachment, with which, before the arrival of Major Willerman, he had advanced to the city, which was found entirely deserted of inhabitants, and stripped of all property; empty chests, baskets, and matts, were the only things found, except some few articles of furniture, not portable enough nor of sufficient value to be removed.

The detachment encamped without the gate.

On the 13th in the morning I left the position at Amenoopoora, with Lieut.-Colonel O'Connell's division, which I caused to halt at a convenient place on the hither side of the river, proceeding myself to the king's granary, between Gonarooha and the town, where I passed the night, and on the following day entered Candy with my personal suite, and fixed my head-quarters in the palace.

In the mean time I had learnt by reports from Major Hook, that he had been induced to advance, in prosecution of a plan formed with Captain de Busseche, who, with his detachment, had ascended the Jaltoewre Gravet, and was in communication with the first division, at a short distance to the left.

Information which those officers had received, rendered it probable that the king was about to fly, and that the only remaining hope of securing him was by a rapid and secret movement of those two corps.

I was apprized by Major Kelly, that he had, after a faint resistance by the enemy, possessed himself of the batteries commanding the Idulgasinha Pass, and ascended the mountains. A subsequent letter of the 13th announced the further progress of this division as far as Maturate, and by one, dated in the afternoon of the same day, at Mangala Dobbada Ganeure, one day's march from Haugeraukette, received by me on the 14th, soon after reaching the palace, I was informed of Major Kelly having seized (together with a great deal of treasure) a number of women and children, whom he considered to be of the king's family; but this idea was afterwards found erroneous, though several of the women proved to be related and allied to persons of the king's retinue. The treasure is reported to consist of several coins of different descriptions, household implements, and ornaments of silver, to the weight of about 1000lb.

No report had been received of Ma-

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jor Mackay's approach, with the 5th division, from Trincomalee, but I calculated with confidence that he must be within two or three day's march.

I had learnt by reports from Major-General Jackson, that, notwithstanding the most zealous and anxious exertions on his part, the movement of the 6th division had been retarded much beyond the appointed time, by unavoidable and insurmountable difficulties in the means of carriage; and conceiving that the strength and disposition of the troops already in the field would prove sufficient to accomplish the objects of the campaign, I addressed General Jackson on the 15th inst. countermanding the march of the 6th division, and the return of any portion of it that might be on the march.

It resulted from this situation of the troops, that the king, who was known to be in the Dessavany of Dombera, with a small number of adherents, was so environed, as to render his escape extremely difficult, and if he did succeed in getting through the pass leading to his last place of refuge, the mountains of Bintenni, Capt. Anderson, of the 19th regiment, commanding the 7th division from Batticaloa, would arrive at that point, with every probability of intercepting him.

I now made a claim on the Adikar Ehelapola, for the performance of his promise to raise the people of these provinces, so as to prevent the king's escape, and to ascertain the precise place of his retreat, to which a detachment might be sent to make him prisoner.

This task the Adikar undertook with alacrity and confidence, offering to proceed to Dombera in person; dispositions were made for the proposed purpose, by preparing a detachment to accompany the Adikar, and dispatching another to form a chain of military communication with Major Kelly's force at Haugeraukette.

Every thing being thus prepared, the Adikar set out for Dombera, on the 16th, preceded by the detachment under the command of Lieutenant Mylans, of the 1st Ceylon regiment, and accompanied by Mr D'Oyley, who, on his arrival at Hakkeytugala, in the forenoon of the same day, found the detachment already there, and learnt that they had fallen in with a party of the king's people, and, after a sharp resistance, but without loss on our side, had killed three and wounded one, and captured a number of persons, two of whom were near relations of the king, and men of leading consequence, and almost all were related or allied to him.

This account, dated the 16th, reached me on the 17th, and the same day the prisoners were sent in: when conferred with, they claimed with earnestness their connection with the East India Company's government. The principal man, by name Mutal Sawney, made a merit of having received presents and marks of distinction from the gentlemen in authority under the presidency of Madras. Being asked as to the king's hiding place, and the force along with him, he said, it was several days since he had seen him: he was then in Dombera; he could not say if he continued in the same place, but if not, he could only go to Bentenine; that his court was in a great measure dissolved, and that there were no principal Sirdars or chiefs remaining with him. These communications were by no means made in the tone of a willing informer, but appear to have been true. The dispersion of the court we had every reason to believe, as on that and the following day, several Naykars (as they are called) or relations of the king, surrendered themselves.

In so far also as regarded the king's place of retreat, the account of the prisoners agreed with the daily reports received from Mr D'Oyley, who re-

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presented him still in Dombera, but did not venture to flatter himself or me, that he could succeed in at once cutting him off from escaping to the mountains. His letter of the 18th stated, that the king had fled from his last known place of halting, and that the inhabitants of two villages had appeared, and promised to co-operate in searching for him. The latest report that Mr D'Oyley could then communicate was, that the king was concealed in a forest about a league and a half from Fildinya, and he had sent a detachment to endeavour to intercept him.

On the 19th in the morning I had the satisfaction to know, by a letter from Mr D'Oyley of the same date, that the king was in our hands: he had been surrounded the preceding evening in the precincts of Medda Maha Nuwera (the place from whence he was reported to have fled) by the people of Dombera, in conjunction with some armed Kandayans, sent by Eheylapola Adikar, and taken prisoner, with two of his wives, in the house of an Aratchy (a subordinate headman) at a place called Gallehewatte, about a mile beyond Medda Maha Nuwera. His two remaining wives and his mother were known to be at Hanweylle, a short distance off, and being sent for, with conveyances and an escort, were brought to Fildinya.

I have since learnt, that the few Malabar attendants remaining with the king, made some resistance, and wounded one of the assailants, on which the party retired a few paces, and fired upon the house; that the king then came out and delivered himself up. It further appears, that his pursuers bound him and reviled him, and I fear plundered him of some articles of value.

As no regular troops or any British officer were present, it was impossible to give full relief; such of the clothes as could be recovered, were returned. The Adikar claims, and with seeming justice, considering the sentiments he must entertain towards the king, some merit in having, by strict orders, saved his life; and great probability arises from what did pass, that nothing less than high authority could have induced them to spare him. In another view, this is one of the many facts which concur to shew the feelings of the people towards him (exemplified in this his favourite province) to be, when divested of the terrors of tyrannical power, no other than those of hatred and contempt.

Besides the property taken by Major Kelly, further captures, to a considerable amount, have been made, and information has been received of many places where more treasure is hid.

In a military view, the resistance, and consequently the danger, has been comparatively trifling, but it would be the highest injustice to estimate, by the inadequate opportunities which have presented themselves, what might have been achieved if the occasion had called forth the full exertions of the troops. Of fatigue and hardship of weather, they have had considerable trials, the roads being indescribably rugged, with frequent interruptions both of mountains and morass, and every difficulty that marching can possibly admit. These, however, with the dispiriting addition of frequent rain, only served to display their ardour, which no obstacles, no discouragements, could subdue. But that for which I hold myself principally indebted to the army, which I have had the honour and good fortune to command in this undertaking, is, their orderly behaviour, and abstaining from all acts of plunder, violence, and irregularity. They have, in consequence, been every where received by the chiefs and inhabitants with unfeigned welcome, assisted with supplies and means of carriage, and their camps

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frequented by all classes of the natives with extraordinary freedom and familiarity. Your lordship will readily perceive the happy tendency of this kind of behaviour, in encouraging and propagating that confidence, on the part of the inhabitants of these provinces, in the justice and moderation of his majesty's government, and the protection of his arms, which served to invite and attach them to the cause in which they were engaged, and led, under Providence, to a conquest, the attempting of which has in former instances proved so fatal, as to leave terrific lessons of caution and forbearance to future invaders; an enterprize which, I have no hesitation in saying, could not, with any common prudence, have been entered upon, except with the most creditable assurances of the concurring wishes of the chiefs and people, nor could ever have been brought to a successful issue without their acquiescence and aid.

The army has enjoyed in a very surprising degree the blessings of health. Our returns of sick are much below the number which might be expected in the same force, stationed in any of the garrisons of the colony.

I am now occupied in returning to their former stations such parts of the troops as will not be required to remain for the maintenance of the British government in the interior.

I am not yet prepared to present to your lordship any connected view of the complicated and important considerations, of a political and civil nature, which arise out of this great change: these I shall therefore reserve for a separate dispatch, and conclude the present with soliciting your lordship to do me the honour of presenting to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the expression of my humble congratulations in being enabled, by the speedy and happy issue of a campaign, ending with the unparalleled good fortune of not losing a single life, to tender for his royal highness's acceptance, the duties of a new and industrious hardy race of people, and the possession of a territory bountifully endowed with natural gifts, and requiring only the blessings of a just government, and an equitable administration of justice, and the indulgent care and countenance of a humane and gracious prince.

I consider the circumstances which have taken place to be of so much national interest and importance, as to warrant my entrusting them to the care of a confidential staff officer. My son, Major Brownrigg, deputy-adjutant-general to this army, will therefore have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and as he has a perfect knowledge of all the occurrences of our short campaign, he is enabled to afford such information as your lordship may be pleased to require of him.

He will be charged with the banner or standard of Candy, to be laid, with my most respectful duty, at the feet of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent,

From the Ceylon Government Gazette Extraordinary, March 6, 1815.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

British Head-quarters, Candy, March 2.

This day a solemn conference was held in the Audience Hall of the palace of Candy, between his excellency the governor and commander of the forces on behalf of his Majesty, and of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the one part, and the Adikars, Dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Candian provinces on the other part, on behalf of the people, and in presence of the Mohottalles,

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Corals, Vidaans, and other subordinate headmen from the different provinces, and a great concourse of inhabitants.

A public instrument of treaty, prepared in conformity to conditions previously agreed on, for establishing his Majesty's government in the Candian provinces, was produced and publicly read in English and Cingalese, and unanimously assented to.

The British flag was then, for the first time, hoisted, and the establishment of the British dominion in the interior was announced by a royal salute from the cannon of the city.

All the troops present in this garrison were under arms on the occasion of this important event.

By his excellency's command.

JAMES SUTHERLAND,
Dep. Sec.

OFFICIAL DECLARATION OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CANDIAN PROVINCES.

Led by the invitation of the chiefs, and welcomed by the acclamation of the people, the forces of his Britannic majesty have entered the Candian territory, and penetrated to the capital. Divine Providence has blessed their efforts with uniform and complete success—the ruler of the interior provinces has fallen into their hands, and the government remains at the disposal of his majesty's representative.

In this sacred charge, it is his earnest prayer, that the Power which has vouchsafed thus far to favour the undertaking, may guide his counsels to a happy issue, in the welfare and prosperity of the people, and the honour of the British empire.

Under circumstances far different from any which exist in the present case, it would be a duty, and a pleasing one, to favour the re-establishment of a fallen prince, if his dominion could be fixed on any principles of external relation compatible with the rights of the neighbouring government, or his internal rule in any reasonable degree reconciled to the safety of his subjects.

But the horrible transactions of the fatal year 1803, forced upon the recollection by many local circumstances, and by details unknown before; the massacre of 150 sick soldiers lying helpless in the hospital of Candy, left under the pledge of public faith, and the no less treacherous murder of the whole British garrison commanded by Major Davie, which had surrendered on a promise of safety, impress upon the governor's mind an act of perfidy unparalleled in civilized warfare, and an awful lesson recorded in characters of blood against the momentary admission of future confidence, while the obstinate rejection of all friendly overtures, repeatedly made during the intermission of hostilities, has served to evince an implacable animosity, destructive of the hope of a sincere reconciliation.

Of this animosity, a daring instance was exhibited, in the unprovoked and barbarous mutilation of ten innocent subjects of the British government, by which seven of the number lost their lives—a measure of defiance calculated, and apparently intended, to put a final negative to every probability of friendly intercourse.

If, therefore, in the present reverse of his fortunes and condition, it may be presumed the king would be found more accessible to negociation than in former times, what value could be set on a consent at variance with the known principles of his reign; or what dependence placed on his observance of conditions which he has hitherto so perseveriagly repelled?

Still less could the hope for a moment be entertained, that any condi-

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tions of safety were capable of being established on behalf of the inhabitants, who had appealed to his majesty's government for protection, and yet more hopeless the attempt to obtain pardon or safeguard for the chiefs, who had deemed it a duty paramount to every other obligation, to become the medium of that appeal.

How far their complaints have been groundless, and their opposition licentious, or, on the contrary, their grievances bitterly and intolerably real, may now be judged by facts of unquestionable authenticity.

The wanton destruction of human life comprises or implies the existence of general oppression. In conjunction with that, no other proofs of the exercise of tyranny require to be specified; and one single instance, of no distant date, will be acknowledged to include every thing which is barbarous and unprincipled in public rule, and to pourtray the last stage of individual depravity and wickedness, the obliteration of every trace of conscience, and the complete extinction of human feeling.

In the deplorable fate of the wife and children of Eheylapola Adikar, these assertions are fully substantiated, in which was exhibited the savage scene of four infant children, the youngest torn from the mother's breast, cruelly butchered, and their heads bruised in a mortar by the hands of their parent, succeeded by the execution of the woman herself, and three females more, whose limbs being bound, and a heavy stone tied round the neck of each, they were thrown into a lake and drowned.

It is not, however, that under an absolute government, unproved suspicion must usurp the place of fair trial, and the fiat of the ruler stand instead of the decision of justice; it is not that a rash, violent, or unjust decree, or a revolting mode of execution, is here brought to view, not the innocent suffering under the groundless imputation of guilt; but a bold contempt of every principle of justice, setting at nought all known grounds of punishment, dispensing with the necessity of accusation, and choosing for its victims helpless females uncharged with any offence, and infants incapable of a crime.

Contemplating these atrocities, the impossibility of establishing with such a man any civilized relations either of peace or war, ceases to be a subject of regret; since his Majesty's arms, hitherto employed in the generous purpose of relieving the oppressed, would be tarnished and disgraced, by being instrumental to the restoration of a dominion exercised in a perpetual outrage to every thing which is sacred in the constitution or functions of a legitimate government.

On these grounds his excellency the governor has acceded to the wishes of the chiefs and people of the Candian provinces, and a convention has in consequence been held, the result of which the following public act is destined to record and proclaim:—

PROCLAMATION.

At a convention held on the 2d day of March, in the year of Christ, 1815, and in the Cingalese year, 1736, at the palace, in the city of Candy, between his Excellency Lieutenant-General Robert Brownrigg, governor and commander in chief in and over the British settlements and territories in the island of Ceylon, on the one part, and the Adikars, Dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Candian provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, and in the presence of the Mohottalles, Corals, Vidaans, and other subordinate headmen from the several provinces, and of the people then and

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there assembled, on the other part, it is agreed and established as follows :—

1st. That the cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar ruler, in the arbitrary and unjust infliction of bodily tortures and the pains of death without trial, and sometimes without an accusation, or the possibility of a crime, and in the general contempt and contravention of all civil rights, have become flagrant, enormous, and intolerable, the acts and maxims of his government being equally and entirely devoid of that justice which should secure the safety of his subjects, and of that good faith which might obtain a beneficial intercourse with his neighbouring settlements.

2d. That the Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, by the habitual violation of the chief and most sacred duties of a sovereign, has forfeited all claims to that title or the powers annexed to the same, and is declared fallen and deposed from the office of king. His family and relatives, whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also for ever excluded from the throne ; and all claim and title of the Malabar race to the dominion of the Candian provinces is abolished and extinguished.

3d. That all male persons being, or pretending to be, the relations of the late Rajah Sri Wikreme Rajah Sinha, either by affinity or blood, and whether in the ascending, descending, or collateral line, are hereby declared enemies to the government of the Candian provinces, and excluded and prohibited from entering these provinces on any pretence whatever, without a written permission for that purpose, by the authority of the British government, under the pains and penalties of martial law.

4th. The dominion of the Candian provinces is vested in the sovereign of the British empire, and to be exercised through the governors or lieutenant-governors of Ceylon for the time being.

5th. The religion of Boodhe, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces, is declared inviolable ; and its rites, ministers, and places of worship, are to be maintained and protected.

6th. Every species of bodily torture, and all mutilation of limb, member, or organ, are prohibited and abolished.

7th. No sentence of death can be carried into execution against any inhabitant, except by the written warrant of the British governor.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By his excellency's command,
JAMES SUTHERLAND,
Dep. Sec.

Downing-Street, Aug. 1.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Cujes, July 24, 1815.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the forts and ships in Toulon have this day hoisted the white flag, and that Marshal Brune, and all the generals and admirals in that place, have signed their acts of submission to the king.

The circumstances which led to this event, so far as in any way connected with the operations of the force under my orders, have been as follows :—

On the first appearance of the fleet and transports, under Lord Exmouth, off the coast of France, Marshal Brune, who was opposite to Nice with a body of about 5000 infantry, and 300 cavalry, called the corps of observation

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of the Var, made immediate propositions for an armistice with the commander of the Piedmontese force at Nice, in which object he succeeded, and then marched directly to the relief of Toulon. On the 14th of July, the day on which the troops landed at Marseilles, he caused a letter to be addressed to the admiral, Lord Exmouth, enclosing a copy of the armistice signed at Paris, and demanding an extension of it to the British force in this country, which was immediately rejected.

He then addressed Lieutenant-General the Marquis de Riviere, exercising the king's authority in Provence, stating his desire to send two officers to Paris, to offer the submission of Toulon, and saying he should refrain from hostilities during the ten days necessary for his communication. This proposition was also objected to, and the marshal was informed he must resign his authority to the officer who governed Toulon before Buonaparte's invasion, hoist the white flag, and suffer the garrison of Toulon to be composed of national guards and royalists, in as large proportion as the troops of the line. On the same day his letter was received by the Marquis de Riviere, information was had that he was marching towards Aix, on which I immediately ordered the whole of the British troops out of Marseilles, to take up such a position as might menace Toulon, watch him, and secure Marseilles itself against attack; but the report of his march on Aix gave way to that of his concentring near Toulon, when the following dispositions were made by me:—I directed the troops to move forward in two columns, one on the high road to Toulon, by Aubagne, Gemenos, and Cujes, and the other by the coast to Cassis and Ciotat, in which latter place I stationed a small garrison, and afterwards moved the column to Leques and St Cyr, having an advance at Bandol. My own head-quarters were at Cujes, having an advance at St Anne's, with very strong ground both to my front and rear, and the power of collecting my force to act along the coast, or on the high road, as circumstances might best point out. The national guards and royalists occupied Beausset, Castelet, La Cadiere, and other strong points in my immediate front or flank. Admiral Lord Exmouth had, in the mean time, detached one line of battle ship to Ciotat, and another to Bandol. The enemy's advanced posts were on the outside of the pass of Ollioules. It was whilst the troops were in this position that the Marquis de Riviere and Marshal Brune carried on their negociations, through the means of Admiral Ganteaume, who, on the day after the marshal's first proposition was made, was received in Toulon as the king's commissioner. Various propositions were made, all with the view of gaining time. The two following were immediately rejected—that of acknowledging the king's authority, but retaining the tri-coloured flag, and that of requiring that the British troops should retire, and promise not to attack Toulon; on which no assurance would be given. Whilst these points were discussing, a party of the national guards having moved to Saint Nazaire, had thus turned the pass of Ollioules, which caused so much agitation, as having occurred whilst Admiral Ganteaume was treating, that Marquis de Riviere thought proper to withdraw it, whilst I collected my left column and pushed forward an advance to support him, should the circumstance have brought forth an attack. Finally, yesterday the submission of Marshal Brune and his generals was received, but the regiments still refused to wear the white cockade; and it was only this day, whilst at Ollioules with Admiral Lord Ex-

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mouth, the submission of the whole was notified, and consent given to the royalists and national guards occupying the forts, in conjunction with a portion only of the regular troops.

The garrison of Toulon consisted of six regiments* of the line, a regiment of marines, a detachment of three hundred cavalry, artillery, veterans, &c., battalion of half-pay officers and federalists, called "Le Battalion Sacrè," most of whom, with Marshal Murat, and some of his adherents, were suffered to quit Toulon, and absconded, it is not known where, on the eve of the resolution being taken for hoisting the white flag.

The nature of the operation in which I have been engaged, has been such as to afford little or no opportunity of distinction for the officers and men under my orders; yet I cannot avoid expressing my sense of the zeal which animated all ranks, &c. &c.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. Lowe, Maj.-Gen.

Foreign-Office, August 26, 1815.

Lord Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, has this day notified, by command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to the ministers of friendly powers, resident at this court, that, in consequence of events which have happened in Europe, it has been deemed expedient and determined, in conjunction with the allied sovereigns, that the island of St Helena shall be the place allotted for the future residence of General Napoleon Buonaparte, under such regulations as may be necessary for the perfect security of his person; and for that purpose it has been resolved, that all foreign ships or vessels whatever shall be excluded from all communication with, or approach to that island, so long as the said island shall continue to be the place of residence of the said Napoleon Buonaparte.

COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

Downing-Street, Sept. 16.

Captain Leith Hay, aide-de-camp to Lieut.-General Sir James Leith, G. C. B. commanding his majesty's forces in the Windward and Leeward Islands, arrived this afternoon with a dispatch, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following is a copy:—

Basseterre, Guadaloupe, Aug. 12, 1815.

My Lord,—Having concerted with the commander in chief the necessary naval arrangements, Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Durham was so obliging as to receive me, with the head-quarters, on board his Majesty's ship Venerable, bearing his flag.

The fleet, consisting of the vessels of war, such parts of the troops as had been assembled from the South American Continent, and from the Windward Islands, sailed from Carlisle bay, Barbadoes, on the 31st of July, whilst the land force destined to proceed from St Lucia, Martinique, and Dominique, were directed to rendezvous without delay at the Saintes.

Your lordship will have already been apprised by a former dispatch, that the important post of the Saintes was already garrisoned by British troops, and placed in a state to have resisted all attacks of the enemy, while the expedition was not yet in a state of preparation.

It was important to keep the attacking force to windward of Guadaloupe as long as the hurricane season (already begun) might permit.

* 9th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 35th, 106th, veterans.

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The 1st division from Barbadoes anchored in the bay of St Louis, Mariegalante, on the 2d of August, and from thence were ordered to threaten a landing to windward off Point-a-Pitre and Fort Fleur d'Epée, where the enemy was in force.

The 2d, or leeward division, assembling (but were not yet collected,) at the Saintes, threatened the whole coast from St Marie to Basseterre and Bailif.

It was deemed advisable to accompany the demonstration of a landing in force from Gosier, by a summons to surrender the forts Point-a-Pitre and Grande-Terre. It was the rear-admiral's intention and mine to have met the 1st division in the Venerable, which sailed from the Saintes for that purpose; calms and currents, however, prevented the Venerable from reaching the coast, and obliged the 1st division to anchor.

The appearance of the atmosphere denoted the approach of a hurricane; it became therefore necessary to give up secondary objects, and to embrace the first favourable moment for getting the fleet into the Saintes, for which the commander in chief made the necessary dispositions.

It was not until the night of the 7th that the whole force was assembled at the Saintes.

I had previously reconnoitred the coast, in the Barbadoes brig of war, which Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Durham had sent with me for that purpose.

The internal state of Guadaloupe and the season were both so critical, that not a moment was to be lost; I determined therefore to attack the enemy on the morning of the 8th instant.

Having made the necessary arrangements with the naval commander in chief, the whole fleet got under weigh at break of day, and stood towards the Ance St Sauveur, where the landing most to windward was to be effected.

I had received information that the troops of the line, and militia under arms, altogether amounted to 6000. I determined, therefore, to throw my principal force between that of the enemy in Grande-terre and Basse-terre, where it was his intention to have assembled nearly the whole of his force, immediately after our demonstration to windward had of necessity terminated. My plan was to attack in three columns; the scarcity of boats and the surf, required that the whole should assist in each disembarkation, which was therefore effected successively. The first was made at the Ance St Sauveur, where a detachment of the enemy, about 500 strong, moving from Grande-terre to join Admiral Linois and General Boyer, shewed a disposition to oppose the landing.

The brigs of war and gun-boats, however, soon scoured that point, and 850 of the Royal York Rangers, under Lieut.-Colonel Starck, disembarked (notwithstanding a heavy surf) without the loss of a man.

Lieut.-Colonel Starck had instructions to make a rapid movement to drive and disperse the enemy occupying the strong country and ravines of Trou-anchun, Petit Carbet, and looking towards Trois Rivieres, to threaten the left flank and rear of the enemy, posted to oppose the landing at Grande Ance, and to drive him from the important communication of Pautrizel, which leads to turn the strong post of Dolé and Morne Palmiste, the latter being one of the principal keys to Basseterre.

Meanwhile the fleet dropped down to Grand Ance, to effect the principal landing, where the enemy was in force, and possessed a strong position, with batteries commanding the landing-place, which was susceptible of obsti-

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nate defence. The brigs of war and a gun-boat, placed to enfilade, soon obliged the enemy to abandon his guns, one of which only, a long 12-pounder, was found mounted.

The surf was very great, and one of the gun-boats was lost, but the exertions of the navy, and the steadiness of the troops, surmounted every difficulty.

The 15th and 25th regiments, with the remainder of the 1st and 2d brigades, under Maj.-Generals Sir Charles Shipley and Stehelin, were safely disembarked.

I immediately moved forward the troops to drive the enemy; but if he had before any hopes of maintaining his position for the night, a sharp fire of musquetry, by which we speedily drove him from Pautrizel, placed his left flank en l'air, and obliged him to retire.

The approach of darkness left no farther means of attack that night, and I placed the troops in their bivouac.

At break of day on the 9th, the troops were put in motion in two columns; the 1st brigade, under Major-General Sir Charles Shipley, moved upon, and occupied Dolé; the 2d, under Major-General Stehelin, marched upon the left of the Morne Palmiste, by Pautrizel. It appeared that Comte de Linois and General Boyer had evacuated Dolé in the night. The enemy, however, shewed himself in considerable force on the left of the Morne Palmiste, and on the face of that mountain commanding the main road to Basse-terre: his advance occupied Petit's plantation.

Capt. Leith Hay, my aid-de-camp, was ordered to gain the top of Morne Boucanier, by a difficult detour, with a rifle company of the Royal West India Rangers and light company of the 6th West India regiment, to alarm the enemy's right flank and rear, which being accomplished, obliged him to withdraw; his posts were every where driven, and he retreated to the Morne Palmiste.

I determined to push the enemy as rapidly as was possible, considering the nature of the country, of which every part is not only susceptible of defence, but is even difficult of access, without resistance, especially under the heat of a tropical sun.

A heavy cannonade now announced the disembarkation of the 3d brigade, under Major-General Douglas, in the vicinity of Bailliff, and to leeward of Basse-terre. I had instructed him to seize the Batterie des Trois, to occupy the capital, to mask, or, if practicable, to take Fort St Charles by a coup-de-main, to open his communication with the columns moving to the attack of Morne Palmiste, and to menace his retreat from thence to Morne Houel.

Major-General Douglass was, if necessary, also to detach from his rear, for the purpose of taking the passes of Zougeres, Pont de Noziere, and Constantine, commanding the approaches to the strong heights of Matouba, in reverse: so that the enemy might not have the means of equivocating between those positions, but be compelled to choose at once his dernier resource.

The enemy, who had been driven by the vessels covering the landing, collected on the heights and attacked the light company of the 63d regiment who were advanced; they gallantly maintained their ground against upwards of 300 of the enemy, who came down to attack them. Captain Lynch and Lieutenant Wigley were wounded on that occasion.

Major-General Douglass, in person, supported them by part of the York chasseurs, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, and he was immediately driven with loss.

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While this operation was going on, the columns of the 1st and 2d brigades gained the heights of Morne Palmiste, from whence the enemy was driven at all points, and was now retiring to Morne Houel, which he had fortified with eight pieces of artillery. This was the position where Comte Linois and General Boyer had professed their determination of ultimately disputing the superiority in the field.

I received information that the commandant of Grande-terre, with the whole armed force, was, as I expected, moving in my rear to form a junction with the main body at Morne Houel. I accordingly reinforced my rear-guard to protect our communications, and occupied in force all the passes of the Gallion, a river running through a formidable ravine at the foot of Morne Palmiste. Thus the troops from Grande-terre were completely cut off from forming their junction, which they attempted, without success, by paths through the wood late in the afternoon, but with light sufficient to point out to Comte Linois and Gen. Boyer that all their plans of concentration were defeated.

After these laborious movements, which the troops executed in the most creditable manner, there was only time before night to place the columns in readiness to attack the formidable position of Morne Houel at day-break in the morning.

The troops accordingly took up their bivouacs. It rained heavily. At eleven o'clock P. M. in the night of the 9th, the commanding French engineer came to me on the top of Morne Palmiste, verbally to propose a capitulation in the name of Le Comte de Linois, to which I replied, that the only terms I ever would accede to were already published in the proclamation issued on landing; and that I would not delay the attack on Morne Houel to wait for any farther communications. It was so dark, and the rain fell in such torrents, that the officer from the enemy, and Capt. Moody, my aide-de-camp, took up the greatest part of the night in finding their way to the enemy's position.

The troops were put in motion at day-break. An officer soon after met me with written proposals, which I positively refused, and proposed some additional conditions. A white flag was displayed on Morne Houel, but I sent Major-General Murray (who had joined the army from Demerary the preceding night), and my aide-de-camp, Captain Leith Hay, with the British flag, to say, that the only signal which should stop the troops would be to see it displayed on the parapet.

I had the satisfaction immediately after to see the British standard flying on Morne Houel, and thereby to ascertain that all the troops were prisoners of war, and all the forts and the colony in our possession.

I am happy to be enabled to assure your lordship, that the conduct of the troops has been most zealous, gallant, and exemplary.

To the naval commander-in-chief, Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Durham, the service is highly indebted for his prompt and active exertions in whatever concerned the co-operation of the naval force with the army on this expedition.

From Major-Gen. Sir Charles Shipley, Stehelin, Johnston, and Douglass, I have received most useful and zealous assistance, as also from Major-General Murray since his joining the army. Major-General Sir Charles Shipley was employed in the preliminary occupation of Mariegalante, and in reconnoitring Guadaloupe, which he executed with much advantage to the service.

Major-General Douglass, to whose assistance as adjutant-general I am

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much indebted, served on this expedition with a brigade, and executed the service on which he was detached, in a gallant and soldierlike manner.

The exertions of all the captains and officers of the navy who conveyed troops, covered and conducted the disembarkation, are deserving of the highest commendation, and I hope may recommend them to favour.

Major-Gen. Douglass has especially reported the obligations he is under to Captains Chads and Deacon, in the service of the second leeward division.

Lieutenant Sandilands, of the flag ship, accompanied me as an aid-de-camp, and assisted me with such intelligence and activity as I hope may recommend him to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Lieut.-Col. Starck conducted the service intrusted to him with intelligence and gallantry.

Lieutenant-Col. Farquharson displayed throughout the service a zeal and attention to the discipline of the 25th regiment, which was proved by the usual efficiency and good conduct of that corps under his command.

Lieut.-Colonel Ewart, York Chasseurs, is reported to me, by Major-General Douglass, as having distinguished himself.

During the absence of Major-General Douglass with the line, Lieutenant-Colonel Berkeley, deputy adjutant-general, has conducted that department with zeal and ability, and has rendered me essential assistance. I am particularly indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Popham, and the officers of the quarter-master-general's department. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, assistant quarter-master-general, fitted up and conducted the mortar-boats, which would have been of great use, had an opportunity of employing them presented itself.

The medical arrangements were conducted by Doctor Ferguson, inspector of hospitals, in a manner that might be expected from his zeal, knowledge, and experience; and I have every reason to be satisfied with Mr Bullock, commissary-general, and the officers of his department.

I must not omit to mention to your lordship the zeal and intelligence of the officers of the royal artillery and engineers.

I received every assistance from the intelligence and activity of the officers of my personal staff.

I have the honour to transmit herewith returns of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops under my command, which, I am happy to say, are inconsiderable.

When it is considered that this beautiful and extensive colony, with a population of 110,000 souls, with forts, and an armed force numerically greater than ours—when it is known that every sanguinary measure had been devised, and that the worst scenes of the revolution were to be re-commenced, that the 15th of August, the birth-day of Buonaparte, was to have been solemnized by the execution of the royalists, already condemned to death, it is a subject of congratulation to see Guadaloupe completely shielded from jacobin fury in two days, and without the loss of many lives.

Thus, my lord, the flag of the most unprovoked rebellion, under which the slaves had been called to arms, and many were wrought up to a pitch of sanguinary frenzy, threatening the immediate destruction of the colony, has disappeared from the American Archipelago, while the colonies, faithful to his most Christian Majesty, are secured to his dominions by British garrisons. I cannot avoid on this occasion expressing my sense of the honourable, firm, and wise conduct of Admiral le Comte de Vaugirard, Governor-General of Martinique, who had afforded me every information and assistance in his power against the common enemy.

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This dispatch will be delivered to you by Captain Leith Hay, my aide-de-camp and military secretary, who was on my staff the whole Peninsular war; he will be enabled to give any information which you may be pleased to require. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.
JAMES LEITH,
Commander of the Forces.

His Majesty's ship Venerable, Aug. 3, 1815.

Sir,—We send you a proclamation which it is our intention to circulate upon landing at Guadaloupe.

It is unnecessary to make any comments on the contents, as they are applicable to you, sir, as well as every other individual of the colony.

We are, Sir, &c.
(Signed) JAMES LEITH.
Lieut.-Gen. Commander of his Britannic Majesty's land forces, &c.
P. C. DURHAM.
Commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's naval forces.
To Le Comte De Linois, &c.
&c. &c. Guadaloupe.

PROCLAMATION.

(*Translation.*)

By Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, K. G. C. B. &c. &c. commanding in chief his Britannic Majesty's land forces in the Leeward Islands, and Rear-Admiral Sir C. Durham, commanding in chief his Majesty's naval forces.

Inhabitants of Guadaloupe!—The misrepresentations and artifices which have been employed to deceive you with regard to the true situation of Europe, the principles resulting at the same time from despotism and anarchy, by which your revolutionary chiefs have conducted you to the brink of the precipice on which you stand, can no longer prevail. The veil is torn—your eyes are opened.

You are not ignorant that it was the intention of our sovereign to furnish every assistance for the support of your legitimate government; but these generous offers have been rejected by the men who have misled you.

We consequently come with a formidable military and naval force to place Guadaloupe under the protection of his Britannic Majesty.

The loyal and honourable supporters of Louis XVIII. will see, that after having done every thing which depended on us to maintain the white flag, no other alternative remained, either for the salvation of Guadaloupe or for your own security, but to hoist the British standard.

We are not the less, however, the allies of the legitimate government of France, and we invite all good and loyal Frenchmen to rally round us.

It is necessary to make known to you the situation of Europe and France, which has, no doubt, been concealed from you by your revolutionary chiefs. Buonaparte has been defeated by the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher in a great and decisive battle, fought on the 18th of June—his army annihilated, and all his artillery and baggage taken. The usurper fled with some of his perjured generals, and reached Paris, where, knowing how desperate was his situation, he abdicated the pretended imperial crown.

The allies were at La Fere and Laon on the 24th of June, in full march on Paris, where they would arrive on the 26th; there was nothing to oppose them.

The Austrians and Russians were penetrating into France, in mass, by Italy, Switzerland, and Alsace. At

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the same time his most Christian Majesty had re-entered France, and by the latest accounts was advancing from Cambray.

The terms upon which we propose to receive the colony, and the consequences which will result from a refusal, are briefly these:—

As there is reason to believe that many officers and soldiers of the line, have only yielded to circumstances, and serve under the tri-coloured flag, merely with the hope of seizing the first favourable opportunity to evince their loyalty; those who shall immediately so declare themselves, shall be admitted to the protection of the British flag, and shall be recommended in the strongest manner to Count Vaugirard, governor-general of the French islands, and representative of his most Christian Majesty.

All officers and soldiers of the line actually serving under the tri-coloured flag, who shall so declare and separate themselves from the partizans of Napoleon Buonaparte, and who shall surrender with their arms to the British forces, shall be sent to France as prisoners of war, to be disposed of according to the orders of the Duke of Wellington. The officers and soldiers who shall thus surrender themselves, shall preserve their baggage.

The militia and other inhabitants, in arms, under the tri-coloured flag, who shall immediately separate themselves from the troops of the line serving under the revolutionary banner, and lay down their arms, shall be permitted to return immediately to their respective homes, where they shall be protected, as well as their property.

Every officer or soldier of the line, who after the publication of this notice shall continue to oppose the arms of his Britannic Majesty, shall be sent a prisoner of war to England.

Every officer or soldier of militia, and every other inhabitant, who, after this proclamation, shall be found in arms, shall be treated as a prisoner of war, and sent immediately out of the colony to be placed in confinement.

Provided Guadaloupe shall immediately submit to his Britannic Majesty's forces, and its inhabitants shall take an oath of fidelity for the time the colony may remain under British dominion, the inhabitants and their private property shall be protected, and the commerce of the colony shall be placed upon a more advantageous footing than during the last war.

The religion and laws of the country shall be respected.

No person who shall avail himself of the advantages of this proclamation shall be molested on account of his opinions or political conduct, previous to the day of its promulgation.

Every person who shall not immediately avail him of this proclamation shall be treated, as well as his property, according to the laws of war, and the right of conquest.

(Signed) JAMES LEITH,
P. C. DURHAM.

(TRANSLATION.)

Capitulation between his excellency Sir J. Leith, G. C. B. &c. &c. and the Count de Linois and Baron de Peyreleau.

Conditions demanded by his excellency Rear-Admiral Count de Linois, Governor-General of Gaudaloupe, and the Adjutant-General Boyer, second in command in that colony, addressed to his excellency Sir James Leith, commanding-in-chief the British troops.

Art. I. The governor, the second in command, and all the French troops of the line, shall be sent to France as prisoners of war, as well as the persons composing the military administration.

10

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Answer. The Count de Linois and Baron Boyer de Peyreleau, the French troops of the line, with the military administration, shall be sent to France to the Duke of Wellington, as prisoners of war, according to the tenor of the proclamation of Sir James Leith.

Art. II. The officers shall keep their swords, and all the military their baggage.

Answer.—Refused, with the exception of the baggage belonging personally to the military.

Art. III. All the national guards of the colony shall be allowed peaceably to remain at their homes.

Answer.—The militia which have already withdrawn to their habitations shall be protected as well as their respective property, but such as are still in arms shall be treated as prisoners of war, and immediately sent away.

Art. IV. No individual of Guadaloupe and its dependencies shall be molested for his past political opinions or acts, and shall be placed under the protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer.—No one shall be molested by the British government on account of his political opinions or conduct to the present moment.

Art. V. The laws of the colony and private property shall be respected, and placed under the safeguard of his Britannic Majesty.

Answer.—Granted. As far as respects the laws and private property on shore,

(Signed) JAMES LEITH.

Accepted the conditions proposed by H. E. Sir James Leith, the 10th of August, 1815.

(Signed) LE COMTE DE LINOIS.
BOYER DE PEYRELEAU.

CONDITIONS DEMANDED BY H. E. SIR J. LEITH, &c.

Art. I. All the forts, redoubts, and all other places furnished with artillery in the colony, shall be delivered up immediately to his Britannic Majesty's troops.

Art. II. All the eagles, tri-coloured flags, the public treasure, archives, plans, every thing which appertains to the administration civil and military, the magazines of every description, arms of all kinds, shall be immediately given up, as well as all other public property, to commissaries named by the general in chief.

Art. III. All persons under arms, who are comprized under these stipulations, shall march from their respective posts at three o'clock this afternoon, to be removed to their places of destination, having first surrendered their arms.

(Signed) JAMES LEITH.

Accepted the three above articles.

(Signed) LE COMTE DE LINOIS.
BOYER DE PEYRELEAU.

INDIA BOARD WHITEHALL.
Sept. 16, 1815.

A dispatch, dated Fort William, February 20, 1815, together with its enclosures, of which the following are extracts, have been received, at the East India House, from the Vice-President in Council.

For a statement of the operations of the division of the army, commanded by Colonel Ochterlony, from the 27th of November down to the close of December, we have the honour to refer your honourable court to a dispatch from Mr Secretary Adam, dated the 10th of January.

The skill, judgment, perseverance, and patience which have distinguished the conduct of Colonel Ochterlony in the arduous service in which he is employed, cannot fail to attract the particular notice of your honourable court. The exertions of that able officer still continued to be directed against the enemy's supplies, and such of his new

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positions as might be found to be assailable.

Extract of a letter from John Adam, Esq. secretary to government, to John Moreton, Esq. acting secretary to government at the Presidency, dated camp at Iheend, Feb. 10, 1815.

I am directed to transmit to you, for the purpose of being laid before his excellency the vice president in council, the enclosed copy of a letter from the adjutant general, under date the 8th instant, enclosing copies of dispatches from Colonel Ochterlony, and containing a statement of the operations of the division of the army under that officer's command subsequently to the 27th November, up to which date they are already known to the vice president in council, from the communications which I had the honour to make to you from time to time. The general result of the operations detailed in the enclosed papers has also been communicated to his excellency in council, in my letter to your address of the 5th instant, enclosing Col. Fagan's dispatch of 2d instant.

The vice president in council will perceive with satisfaction the testimony borne by Lieutenant Colonel Thompson to the troops under his command, composing the reserve of Colonel Ochterlony's division, in repulsing the determined attack made on their position by Ummer Sing, on the morning of the 29th of December.

Although the movement of the reserve on the preceding day did not completely effect the accomplishment of the principal object in Col. Ochterlony's contemplation, it has nevertheless, his lordship conceives, been attended with considerable advantage, which his lordship is assured, Colonel Ochterlony will turn to the best account.

The vice president in council will concur in the opinion entertained by the governor-general, of the credit due to Colonel Ochterlony for the skill, judgment, perseverance, and patience manifested by him under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, and will anticipate the happiest results from the continued exertion of those qualities, seconded by the skill and bravery of the officers and troops under his command.

Extract of a letter from the adjutant-general to John Adam, Esq. dated camp at Suffeedoon, February 8, 1815.

The result of the first movement against the enemy's position was briefly reported in Colonel Ochterlony's dispatch of the 29th ult., forwarded to you on the 2d inst.; I have now the honour to transmit the colonel's more detailed report, dated the 31st ultimo, and its enclosures, from which the governor-general will perceive, that although the movement has not realized the principal objects proposed in making it, in consequence of the enemy having been enabled, by evacuating nearly all his stockades, to concentrate his whole force on one of the intended points of attack, it terminated in the repulse, with considerable loss, of a determined attack which a large part of his force made on Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson's position, sword in hand, on the morning of the 29th December. The conduct of the officers and troops engaged on this occasion, have merited and obtained the commander-in-chief's entire approbation.

In the plan of the attack, and in all measures and arrangements which could conduce to its success, Colonel Ochterlony evinced his usual judgment and ability.

Colonel Ochterlony's operations will continue to be directed against the enemy's supplies, and such of his new

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positions as may be found to be assailable.

Copy of a letter from Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, K. C. B. to the adjutant-general.

Sir,—On the 27th I had the honour to report to you the arrival of the 2d battalion of the 7th native infantry and the eighteen pounders in this camp.

Our position in view of the fort had compelled the enemy to bring their supplies from the eastward by circuitous routes, but my information led me to hope, that the possession of three points in front of our right would entirely cut off their supplies from Billaspore, and generally from the interior. In consequence I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson to march as soon as it was dark on the night of the 27th, and dislodge the enemy from the stockades they had erected on two of those points, and to occupy and maintain a third which they had neglected.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson had with him fourteen companies, two six-pounders and two howitzers of the mountain train, and a force of irregulars amounting to at least a thousand, but calculated at 1200 matchlocks. From the badness of the road, or rather foot-paths, and the great difficulties encountered, it was not till a late hour in the morning of the 28th that Lieut.-Col. Thompson reached the first point he was instructed to attack, and that was found so inaccessible, and so very much stronger than my information had given me reason to expect, that he very judiciously determined not to risk the chance of an instantaneous assault, but to make use of his artillery. His letter, which I have the honour to enclose, together with a copy of my instructions, details his proceedings from that date, and renders it only necessary for me to express my approbation of Lieut.-Col. Thompson's conduct, and entire satisfaction with that of the detachment in general.

I would, however, be unjust not to mention, that the reports I received from Lieutenant Lawtie, engineer, of the very great labour and fatigue sustained with cheerfulness by the pioneers, induced me to express to Captain Baines, Lieutenant Armstrong, and their officers, who set them the meritorious example, my particular thanks, and to send a pecuniary donation to the men.

Lieutenant Lawtie, with his accustomed zeal, accompanied the detachment, and on this, as on every occasion, deserves my highest consideration; from him I have the honour to transmit a slight sketch of the ground and point of attack.

It remains only to add, that the enemy no sooner perceived the movement to the right, and contemplated its obvious object, than they evacuated all their stockades but the two small redoubts immediately under the fort, and risked the attempt which Lieut.-Col. Thompson has detailed, and on its unsuccessful issue, retired to Munghooka Dhar, where he is now assembled with his whole force, the right covered by the stockades which I had intended to attack, and their left resting on or towards the fort of Tarragurh.

Apprehending that the enemy might venture a second, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Lyons, and the second battalion of the 7th, with two six-pounders, to reinforce Lieutenant-Col. Thompson, in the hope of preventing it, or rendering it ineffectual. They have, however, remained stationary since their repulse.

I have, &c.

D. Ochterlony, Maj.-Gen.

Camp Nehn, Dec. 31, 1814.

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Report from Lieut.-Col. Thompson to Major-General Ochterlony, enclosed in the preceding.

Sir,—Agreeably to your instructions I have the honour to report, that after dusk on the evening of the 27th, I commenced my march towards these heights with the light battalion, and eight companies of the 2d battalion 3d regiment, native infantry, two six-pounders, and a mountain train of two light howitzers. Although the night was extremely favourable, the whole of the artillery did not reach the opposite side of the ridge of hills, about one coss below Deboo-ka-Tebha, until past eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th. I then advanced up the face of the hill with the light battalion and four companies of the 2d battalion 3d regiment, to gain possession of the ridge on my left, immediately opposite to the enemy's stone stockade; from this ridge the stockade is about seven hundred yards, with four different heights intervening.

The enemy having come out so far as the nearest hill to the ridge, began to open a fire of matchlocks upon our party as they proceeded up the heights. On our gaining possession of a high part of the ridge, the enemy evacuated their position upon the opposite hill, and being instantaneously pursued by our troops, they fled successively over the whole of the hills between the ridge and their stockade, which appearing to me too strong to attempt without the assistance of our guns, I resolved to wait until the artillery came up.

The six-pounders opened upon the place about four o'clock P. M., and I was in hopes that as the wall appeared to be composed only of loose stones, it might have been laid open before dusk; but after firing for about an hour, from a distance of about five hundred yards, only a small part of the wall came down.

Having resolved to move the battery to a nearer distance, the following morning the pioneers were employed during the day in making fascines and gabions for that purpose.

About a quarter of an hour, however, before sun-rise the following morning (the 29th) the enemy came down in great numbers from the Mungoo-ka-Dhar, with an apparent intention of forcing my position on the ridge, and also turning my left, so as to surround it. I am happy to add, that, in consequence of the warm reception they received from our troops, they were soon obliged to retire with loss. Having now, however, every reason to believe that Mungoo-ka-Dhar had been strongly reinforced, I thought it advisable to throw up a slight entrenchment on my position on the ridge and first hill, which was effected about dusk.

During the night the enemy evacuated the stockade on Deboo-ka-Tibba, which was immediately occupied by the picquets of the light battalion.

The stockade is situated on a steep rocky eminence, very difficult of access on all sides, but particularly so in front, where it is almost perpendicular. The wall is ten feet high on the outside, and four feet thick, composed of loose stones, extremely well built, and three sides of it are surrounded by a high bamboo fence, at the distance of two feet from the outside of the wall; within it is a Pucha Mhut.

The position of the enemy at Mungoo-ka-Dhar appears to be nearly two miles from my post, and the road to it very difficult, as well from unevenness as from ascent. I have also been informed, that the enemy have thrown up stone breast-works and other obstacles at different parts of the road.

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I have the honour to enclose a correct return of our casualties;* those of the enemy, from the best intelligence I have been able to procure, amounted to one hundred and fifty killed, and about two hundred and fifty wounded. I had the pleasure yesterday to send in two prisoners from Deboo-ka-Tibba, and this day another, who was wounded in the affair of the 29th.

The conduct of the officers and men composing my detachment has been such as to merit my warmest approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. THOMPSON, Lieut.-Col. Commanding the reserve.

Camp, Deboo-ka-Tibba, Dec. 31, 1814.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, SEPT. 19.

Copies of letters and their inclosures from Admiral Lord Exmouth, K.C.B. commander in chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

The first letters contain details of the operations before Gaeta, which terminated in a blockade; the last letter contains an account of the submission of that fortress, as follows:—

His Majesty's ship Malta, Gaeta Bay, Aug. 9.

My Lord,—In my letter of the 2d instant, I expressed my intention of sending the next day to the governor of Gaeta an account of Buonaparte's surrender, which having been done, I have now the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that it led to communications which terminated in the submision of that fortress yesterday.—At six P.M. the sea-gate was taken possession of by the marines of his Majesty's ship under my command, and the others by the Austrian and Sicilian troops, and this day the garrison marched out, and were disposed of according to the terms of submission (a copy of which is herewith transmitted), the four first articles having been dictated by his Sicilian majesty.

Inventories are taking, but as they will employ some time I do not think it necessary to wait till they are finished, as Colonel Robinson, who is appointed on our part, will remain, and send a copy, when completed. There are two hundred and twenty-seven pieces of ordnance; one hundred and fifty-two of which are mounted, and provisions remaining for near three months.

In acquainting your lordship with the conclusion of this service, I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of again expressing my sense of the zealous assistance afforded to me by Capt. Brace, while he continued under my orders, and Colonel Robinson, who did so to the last moment; and without meaning to attach more importance or merit to the operations in which we have been engaged, than they may be fairly considered to deserve, I yet venture to express my hope, that your lordship will feel yourself at liberty to place them in such a light before my lords commissioners of the admiralty, as may obtain their lordships' favour and consideration towards Col. Robinson and the first lieutenant of this ship, who is a most deserving officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM CHA. FAHIE.

To the right honourable Admiral Lord Exmouth, K.C.B.

Articles of submission of the fortress of Gaeta, which the undersigned

* Published in the London Gazette of the 19th August last.

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have established in consequence of the authorities given them.

Art. 1. The commandant, Mr Begani, commanding the fortress of Gaeta, will surrender the said fortress to his Majesty Ferdinand the fourth, King of the Two Sicilies, and all that it contains.

Art. 2. His Majesty grants his pardon to M. Begani, but he will not admit him in his service. He will submit himself to the generosity of his Majesty respecting the necessary means (should he be in want) to undertake immediately to travel out of the kingdom.

Art. 3. His majesty grants to all Neapolitan officers and soldiers the same conditions which have been granted to his subjects in the capitulation of Capa Lanza.

Art. 4. The subjects of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria and those of his Majesty Louis the Eighteenth will remain at the disposal of their respective sovereigns.

Art. 5. The fortress will be surrendered to-morrow the 9th instant, at 4 o'clock, P. M. The marine port gate, as well as that of the land, will be occupied to-day, at six o'clock, P. M. by the troops of the allies, and this evening the commissaries will begin to take charge of the magazines.

Art. 6. The garrison will march out to-morrow the 9th instant, at four o'clock, P. M. by the land-gate, and will lay down their arms on the glacis. The officers will keep their swords. The standards and drums, as well as the musical instruments, will be left in the fortress.

Art. 7. The Neapolitan officers and soldiers will embark the same day at Castellone for Castel Volturno, where they will find means of conveyance by transports to Capua, the place of their destination. The families and equipages of the said officers will be likewise embarked in the same day at the Mole for Castel Volturno.

Art. 8. The foreign officers and soldiers will embark the same day, the 9th inst. at Castellone, for Leghorn, where they are to wait for their destination from the allied powers. The said transports will be furnished at the expense of his majesty.

Art. 9. Three separate stalls will be made of the foreign troops, as well as of the Neapolitans composing the garrison.

Art. 10. The archives, plans, papers, projects, chests, magazines, provisions, ammunition, artillery, fortifications, marine-hospitals, and arsenals, will be delivered to-day to the commissaries appointed for the same; separate inventories in triplicate will be made of such deliveries, during which no person will be allowed either to enter the city, or to come out from the same.

Art. 11. The commandant, M. Begani, and the commissaries in charge of the fortress, will be strictly responsible that the whole of the effects of government property, as well as those of Murat, which may be there, should be delivered to the commissaries of his majesty.

Art. 12. The horses and carriages of government property will be delivered to the commissaries appointed for the same, as well as those belonging to the foreign officers. The Neapolitan superior officers will keep their horses.

Art. 13. The civil and military functionaries will continue to do duty until further orders from his Majesty.

Art. 14. The sick and wounded of the foreign troops will be treated with all hospitality, and they will receive their allowances up to their recovery.

Art. 15. Will be strongly recommended to the allied powers all those Roman, Tuscan, and Piedmontese officers and soldiers who have no other

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trade than that of the army.—In the mean time they will be embarked with their effects for Leghorn, where they will wait for their destination, as the other foreign officers.

Art. 16. It will be allowed to the foreign officers to send to Capua a commissioner to take their effects, and to call for their families left in that fortress.

Art. 17. All the baggage of the military men will be examined by a commission of officers of the allied troops; such examination will be made at the Marine-gate at the time of the embarkation of the baggage. Such measure is taken in consequence of a report which has been spread, and believed, that Murat had left considerable sums of money in the fortress. The object of all this, therefore, is to preserve the decorum of the besieged as well as of the besiegers entering into the fortress, and not to cause the least injury to the garrison.

Art. 18. His Majesty will be recommended to be pleased to grant a month's pay to all the foreign officers composing the garrison, to defray expenses of the passage, in the same manner as it was practised with the others.

Art. 19. To be recommended to the generosity of his majesty, the individuals of Gaeta and Burgo, who have lost in the bombardment their houses, as well as those individuals who have lost on that occasion their parents, or any limb, whose loss would render them incapable to procure themselves a living.

Art. 20. No civil or military individual will be molested for the last political opinion.

Art 21. The ceased royal family, on quitting Gaeta, presented the governor, M. Begani, with some carriages which could not be embarked for want of conveyance. The said governor offers them to his Majesty as a token of his perfect devotion.

Art. 22. The present capitulation is guaranteed from his Majesty and the allied powers.

Borgi di Gaeta, Aug. 8, 1815.

(Signed) Chiutti, Capo Bart. al 12mo di Linca.
Il Gente. Col. Comte del Genio Vinci.
Il Barone Col Etti, Colonello al 10mo de Linca.
Murgitsch, Commandant Batt. de Spleny.
Il Capo dello Stato Magre. Cavre, del Real Ordine del Merito, Carlode La Rocca.
W. Robinson, Colonel commanding combined flotilla before Gaeta.

Ratified.

Il Maresciallo di Compo Governatore di Gaeta, Ispettore Generale d'Artiglieria, Com. del Real Ordine delle Duc Sicilie, Barone Begani.

(Signed) Barone de Lauer, Gen. di Brigata.
Comte l'Assedio, blocco. di Gaeta.
William Charles Fahie, commanding British squadron before Gaeta.

India Board, Whitehall.

Nov. 14, 1815.

A dispatch, dated Futtyghur, 1st of June, 1815, has been received at the East India-house from General the Earl of Moira, K.G. governor-general and commander in chief of the

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British territories in India; together with the following inclosures.

These inclosures consist of letters from Colonel Nicolls and Major Patton, detailing a variety of operations against the enemy in Nepaul, of which the result is related in the following

General Orders by his Excellency the Governor-General.

Futtyghur, May 2, 1815.

The governor-general having received official advices of the capture, by assault, of the fortified heights and town of Almora, on the 25th ultimo, by the forces under the command of Colonel Nicolls, of the total repulse of the enemy in a night attack on our positions in the night of the same day, and of the conclusion, on the 27th ultimo, of a convention with the principal Goorkah Chiefs in Kemaoon, by which, in return for permission to retire across the Sirdah with their troops, they engage to evacuate all the fortified places in the province, in ten days, surrendering at the moment the fortresses immediately round the capital; his excellency is pleased to direct, that a royal salute be fired at all the principal stations of the army, in honour of the signal and distinguished success of the British troops at Almorah, and the reduction to the British power of the valuable and important province of Kemaoon.

By command of his Excellency the Governor-general.

Published by command of the Honourable the Vice-President in Council.

General Order by the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

Futtyghur, May 3, 1815.

The Governor-general has singular satisfaction in acknowledging the important service rendered by Colonel Nicolls in the reduction of the province of Kemaoon.

The judgment of Colonel Nicolls in his preparatory measures, the unremitting activity with which he pursued the object intrusted to his management, and the gallant promptitude with which he seized and improved every opening that could lead to the fulfilment of his instructions, not only reflect the highest credit on himself, but afford so salutary a lesson for the whole army, that his lordship cannot let slip the opportunity of recommending it to their attention.

The success of Colonel Nicolls (and the observation will be supported by the brilliant consequences which have attended similar exertions on the part of Major-general Ochterlony), under the complicated difficulties presented by the quality of the country, the fortifications by which its natural strength was assisted, and the obstinate resistance of a courageous enemy, should prove the superiority conferred by military service, and the certainty that a strenuous application of its principles must entail honourable distinction on a commander.

Warfare in a mountainous region offers embarrassments which, when viewed at a distance, appear insurmountable, but which dwindle into comparative insignificance under the grasp of vigour and genius. It is only in unusual situations, demanding readiness of resource and animated efforts, that the difference between officer and officer can be displayed; and it ought to be always present to the mind of every military man, that he who in circumstances of perplexity tries and fails, has to plead those chances from which no operation in war can be secured; his pretensions to the character of zeal and energy being in the mean time maintained;

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while he who contents himself with urging difficulties as an excuse for doing nothing, voluntarily registers his own inefficiency.

The governor-general, in expressing his warm approbation of the excellent conduct of Colonel Nicolls, desires also to record the merits of those whose services in this enterprise have been indicated as possessing peculiar claims to notice.

Colonel Nicolls has earnestly represented the admirable management of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, at the head of his irregular corps, in forcing the enemy to abandon so many strong positions; and in finally establishing himself before Almora; the skill and spirited decision of Major Paton, commanding the 2d battalion 5th regiment, in the attack of the detached corps, which he defeated on the 23d of April; the exemplary valour manifested by Captain Faithful, commanding 1st battalion 4th regiment, in the successive assaults of the different works of the enemy on the 25th, nobly emulated by Lieutenant Wight; and the behaviour of Captain Leys, marked equally by intrepidity and judgment at the head of the flank battalion.

Lieutenants Field and Purvis, of the 4th regiment, with Lieutenants Bell and Wilson, of the artillery, are also mentioned in terms of strong commendation.

To all those officers the governor-general offers his sincere applause, as likewise to all the other officers, (native as well as Europeans), non-commissioned officers and men, who have so becomingly supported the character of the British army in this laborious service; and his lordship trusts that this splendid proof of what a just confidence in their own powers can achieve, will satisfy our native troops of their own infinite superiority over the enemy with whom they have to cope.

By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-general,

(Signed)

J. Adam, Sec. to Gov.

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APPENDIX II.—STATE PAPERS.

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APPENDIX II.

STATE PAPERS.—BRITISH.

REGENT'S SPEECH.

Nov. 8, 1814.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with deep regret that I am again obliged to announce the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.—It would have given me great satisfaction to have been enabled to communicate to you the termination of the war between this country and the United States of America. Although this war originated in the most unprovoked aggression on the part of the government of the United States, and was calculated to promote the designs of the common enemy of Europe against the rights and independence of all other nations, I never have ceased to entertain a sincere desire to bring it to a conclusion on just and honourable terms.—I am still engaged in negociations for this purpose; the success of them must, however, depend on my disposition being met with corresponding sentiments on the part of the enemy.—The operations of his Majesty's forces by sea and land in the Chesapeake, in the course of the present year, have been attended with the most brilliant and successful results.—The flotilla of the enemy in the Patuxent has been destroyed. The signal defeat of their land forces enabled a detachment of his Majesty's army to take possession of the city of Washington; and the spirit of enterprise which has characterized all the movements in that quarter, has produced on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been so wantonly involved.—The expedition directed from Halifax to the northern coast of the United States has terminated in a manner not less satisfactory. The successful course of this operation has been followed by the immediate submission of the extensive and important district east of the Penobscot river, to his Majesty's arms. In adverting to these events, I am confident you will be disposed to render full justice to the valour and discipline which have distinguished his Majesty's land and sea forces; and you will regret with me the severe loss the country has sustained by the fall of the gallant commander of his Majesty's troops in the advance upon Baltimore. I availed myself of the earliest opportunity afforded by the state of affairs in Eu-

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rope, to detach a considerable military force to the river St Lawrence; but its arrival could not possibly take place till an advanced period of the campaign.—Notwithstanding the reverse which appears to have occurred on Lake Champlain, I entertain the most confident expectation, as well from the amount as from the description of the British force now serving in Canada, that the ascendency of his Majesty's arms throughout that part of North America will be effectually established.—The opening of the congress at Vienna has been retarded from unavoidable causes, to a later period than had been expected. It will be my earnest endeavour, in the negociations which are now in progress, to promote such arrangements as may tend to consolidate that peace which, in conjunction with his Majesty's allies, I have had the happiness of concluding; and to re-establish that just equilibrium amongst the different powers, which will afford the best prospect of permanent tranquillity to Europe."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I am happy to be able to inform you that the revenue and commerce of the united kingdom are in the most flourishing condition. I regret the necessity of the large expenditure which we must be prepared to meet in the course of the ensuing year; but the circumstances under which the long and arduous contest in Europe has been carried on and concluded, have unavoidably led to large arrears, for which you will see the necessity of providing; and the war still subsisting with America renders the continuance of great exertions indispensable."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the internal situation of all the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly subsisted between them. Under these circumstances I am confident you will see the expediency of proceeding with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as may be necessary for the purpose of extending our trade, and securing our present advantages; and you may rely on my cordial co-operation and assistance in every measure which is calculated to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's dominions."

THE REGENT'S MESSAGE.

May 22, 1815.

"G. P. R.

"His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, thinks it right to inform his faithful Commons, that in consequence of events which have recently taken place in France, in direct contravention of the treaty entered into at Paris last year for preserving the peace of Europe, he has judged it necessary to enter into engagements with his allies, to adopt such steps as circumstances may require against the common enemy, and for preventing the revival of measures which could only have for their object to destroy the peace and liberties of Europe; and his royal highness confidently relies upon the House of Commons to support him in such steps as he may find it necessary to take, in conjunction with his allies, at this momentous crisis.

"His royal highness has given orders that copies of the treaties into which he has entered with the allies should immediately be laid before the House, for its information."

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REGENT'S MESSAGE.

June 22, 1815.

"G. P. R.

"The Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, having taken into his serious consideration the signal and splendid victory gained by the army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, on the 18th of June instant, over the French army, under the command of Buonaparte in person, which has added fresh renown to the British arms, and contributed largely to the independence of Europe, recommends to the House of Lords to concur in such measures as may be necessary to afford a further proof of the sense entertained by parliament of the Duke of Wellington's transcendant services, and of the gratitude and munificence of the British nation."

MESSAGE FROM THE REGENT.

June 27, 1815.

"G. P. R.

"The Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that a marriage, to which his royal highness duly gave his consent, has been solemnized between his royal brother the Duke of Cumberland, and the daughter of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburgh, niece to her Majesty, and relict of the Prince of Salm; and from the proofs of attachment which the House of Commons have always manifested towards the family of his royal highness, the Prince Regent confides in their making such provision on this occasion as the rank and station of their royal highnesses may appear to require."

Speech of the Prince Regent on proroguing Parliament, July 12, 1815.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I cannot close this session of parliament without again expressing my deep regret at the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.

"At the commencement of the present session I entertained a confident hope, that the peace which I had concluded, in conjunction with his Majesty's allies, would meet with no interruption; that, after so many years of continued warfare, and of unexampled calamity, the nations of Europe would be allowed to enjoy that repose for which they had been so long contending; and that your efforts might be directed to alleviate the burthens of his Majesty's people, and to adopt such measures as might best promote the internal prosperity of his dominions.

"These expectations were disappointed by an act of violence and perfidy of which no parallel can be found in history.

"The usurpation of the supreme authority in France by Buonaparte, in consequence of the defection of the French armies from their legitimate sovereign, appeared to me to be so incompatible with the general security of other countries, as well as with the engagements to which the French nation had recently been a party, that I felt I had no alternative but to employ the military resources of his Majesty's dominions, in conjunction with his Majesty's allies, to prevent the re-establishment of a system which experience had proved to be the source of such incalculable woes to Europe.

"Under such circumstances you will have seen with just pride and satisfaction the splendid success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless his Majesty's arms, and those of his allies.

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"Whilst the glorious and ever-memorable victory obtained at Waterloo, by Field-Marshals the Duke of Wellington and Prince Blucher, has added fresh lustre to the characters of those great commanders, and has exalted the military reputation of this country beyond all former example, it has at the same time produced the most decisive effects on the operations of the war, by delivering from invasion the dominions of the King of the Netherlands, and by placing, in the short space of fifteen days, the city of Paris, and a large part of the kingdom of France, in the military occupation of the allied armies.

"Amidst events so important, I am confident you will see how necessary it is that there should be no relaxations in our exertions, until I shall be enabled, in conjunction with his Majesty's allies, to complete those arrangements which may afford the prospect of permanent peace and security to Europe.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I thank you for the very liberal provision you have made for the services of the present year.

"I deeply lament the continuance and increase of those burthens which the great military exertions of the present campaign, combined with the heavy arrears remaining due for the expenses of the former war, have rendered indispensable, and which his Majesty's loyal subjects, from a conviction of their necessity, have sustained with such exemplary fortitude and cheerfulness.

"You have already seen, however, the fruit of the exertions which have been made; and there can be no doubt that the best economy will be found to result from that policy which may enable us to bring the contest to a speedy termination.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The brilliant and rapid success of the Austrian arms at the opening of the campaign has led to the restoration of the kingdom of Naples to its ancient sovereignty, and to the deliverance of that important portion of Italy from foreign influence and dominion.

"I have further the satisfaction of acquainting you, that the authority of his most Christian Majesty has been again acknowledged in his capital, to which his Majesty has himself repaired

"The restoration of peace between this country and the United States of America has been followed by a negociation for a commercial treaty, which, I have every reason to hope, will be terminated upon conditions calculated to cement the good understanding subsisting between the two countries, and equally beneficial to the interests of both.

"I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the labours of the Congress at Vienna have been brought to a conclusion by the signature of a treaty, which, as the ratifications have not yet been exchanged, could not be communicated to you, but which I expect to be enabled to lay before you when I next meet you in Parliament.

"I cannot release you from your attendance without assuring you, that it is in a great degree to the support which you have afforded me, that I ascribe the success of my earnest endeavours for the public welfare; and on no occasion has that support been more important than in the course of the present session.

"In the further prosecution of such measures as may be necessary to bring the great contest in which we are engaged to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion, I shall rely with confidence on the experienced zeal and

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steady loyalty of all classes of his Majesty's subjects: and they may depend on my efforts to improve our present advantages in such manner as may best provide for the general tranquillity of Europe, and maintain the high character which this country enjoys amongst the nations of the world."

PROCLAMATION.

Whitehall, Oct. 19, 1815.

Whereas it has been humbly represented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that a considerable number of persons at Shields, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sunderland, and in the neighbourhood of those places, have unlawfully assembled themselves together in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, for the purpose of compelling the ship-owners and others concerned in the trade of the above-mentioned ports, to comply with certain regulations prescribed by them with respect to the navigating ships and vessels proceeding to and from those ports; and have actually detained and prevented divers ships and vessels from sailing from the said ports, and have proceeded to other acts of violence: and whereas it has been further represented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that these misguided persons have formed themselves into committees, and have administered illegal oaths, with a view to the purposes before mentioned; and have also upon various occasions used force or intimidation to compel persons to join such unlawful assemblies, and to prevent their engaging with the said ship-owners; his royal highness being duly sensible of the mischievous consequences which must inevitably arise from such illegal and dangerous proceedings if not speedily suppressed, and deeming it indispensably necessary to have recourse to the most effectual measures, with a view of bringing to justice the persons concerned therein, has already caused an adequate military and naval force to be assembled and stationed in those parts where the disturbances have prevailed, for the purpose of assisting the civil power (if necessary) in supporting the same, and is hereby pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to promise his most gracious pardon to any person or persons who have been concerned in the illegal proceedings before mentioned (except the president, or person acting as president, in any such committee, or any person having actually administered any such unlawful oath, or having used any actual force or intimidation for any of the above-mentioned purposes), who shall come forward and give information against any of the persons who have administered the said oaths, or assisted in the administering the same, or who have acted in a committee of any such unlawful assembly as aforesaid, or who shall have used force or intimidation to compel persons to join those unlawful assemblies, or who shall have prevented any persons from engaging themselves in the service of any of the ship-owners before mentioned: and, as a further encouragement, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent is hereby pleased to promise to any person or persons (except as aforesaid) who shall discover and apprehend, or cause to be discovered and apprehended, the authors, abettors, or perpetrators of any of the illegal proceedings beforementioned, so that they or any of them may be duly convicted thereof, the sum of One Hundred Pounds for each and every Person so convicted; the said sum to be paid by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's treasury.

SIDMOUTH.

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STATE PAPERS.—FOREIGN.

Convention between Great Britain and the United Netherlands, signed at London on the 13th of August, 1814.

Article 1. Great Britain agrees to restore the Dutch colonies, with the exception of the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, to be disposed of in a supplementary convention.

2 and 3. Great Britain cedes to the Netherlands the Island of Banca, in the Eastern Seas, in exchange for Cochin and its dependencies, on the coast of Malabar. The places and forts in the respective settlements to be exchanged in the state in which they were at the signing of the present convention.

4. Grants the same privileges to the subjects of the Netherlands in British India as are granted to the most favoured nations. No forts to be erected in the Dutch settlements which are within the limits of the British sovereignty in India, and only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of police to be maintained.

5. The places to be restored on the American continent to be given up within three months; those beyond the Cape of Good Hope within six, from the date of the convention.

6. No persons in the places to be restored to be questioned for their former political opinions.

7. The natives and aliens in the countries in which a change of sovereignty takes place are allowed six years for the disposal of their property, and retiring if they think fit.

8. The sovereign of the Netherlands engages to prohibit all his subjects, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share whatsoever in that inhuman traffic, the slave trade.

9. Stipulates for the ratification within three weeks, or sooner if possible.

The first additional article stipulates, that to provide for the defence and incorporation of the Belgic provinces with Holland, and also a compensation in virtue of the 9th article of the treaty of Paris, for the cessions made by Sweden, which Holland should furnish, Great Britain engages to defray the following charges:—

1st. The payment of one million sterling to Sweden, in satisfaction of the claims aforesaid, and in pursuance of a convention executed with his Swedish majesty's plenipotentiary to that effect.

2dly. The advance of two millions

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sterling, to be applied in concert with the Prince Sovereign of the Netherlands, and in aid of an equal sum to be furnished by him towards augmenting and improving the defences of the Low Countries.

3dly. To bear, equally with Holland, such further charges as may be agreed upon between the said high contracting parties and their allies, towards the final and satisfactory settlement of the Low Countries in union with Holland, and under the dominion of the house of Orange, not exceeding in the whole, the sum of three millions, to be defrayed by Great Britain.

In consideration of the above engagements, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, are ceded to Great Britain, but with condition that the Dutch proprietors have liberty under certain regulations to trade with Holland. It is also agreed that Dutch ships may resort freely to the Cape of Good Hope for the purposes of refreshment and repairs, without being liable to other charges than such as British subjects are required to pay.

Second additional article.—The small district of Bernagore, situated close to Calcutta, is ceded to his Britannic Majesty, upon a payment of such sum annually to his royal highness, as may be considered by commissioners to be appointed by the respective governments, to be just and reasonable.

A Treaty of Peace and Amity between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America; signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship, and good understanding between them, have for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty, on his part, has appointed the Right Honourable James Lord Gambier, late Admiral of the White, now Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet; Henry Goulburn, Esq. a member of the Imperial Parliament, and under Secretary of State; and William Adams, Esq. Doctor of Civil Laws—and the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof, has appointed John Quincey Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin, citizens of the United States: who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. 1. There shall be a firm and universal peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree without exception of places or persons. All hostilities both by sea and land shall cease as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties as herein-after mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereafter-mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery, or other public property, originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons, which in the course of the

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war may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored, and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong.

Such of the islands in the Bay o Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made in conformity with the fourth article of this treaty.

No disposition made by this treaty as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall in any manner whatever be construed to affect the right of either.

Art. II. Immediately after the ratifications of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter-mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects, and citizens of the two powers, to cease from all hostilities. And to prevent all causes of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of 23 degrees north to the latitude of 50 degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic Ocean as the 36th degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: that the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the Atlantic Ocean north of the equanoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish Channels, for the Gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West Indies: forty days for the North Seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean; sixty days for the Atlantic Ocean south of the equator, as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope; ninety days for every other part of the world south of the equator, and one hundred and twenty days for all parts of the world without exception.

Art. III. All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification of this treaty as herein after mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge in specie the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

Art. IV. Whereas it was stipulated by the 2d article in the treaty of peace of 1783, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should comprehend "all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia;" and whereas the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the island of Grand Menan, in the bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States, as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of, and previous to the aforesaid treaty of 1783, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia: in order, therefore, finally, to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed in the following manner, viz.—One com-

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missioner shall be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate thereof; and the said two commissioners, so appointed, shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims, according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said commissioners shall meet at St Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration or report under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783: and if the said commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive.

It is further agreed, that in the event of the two commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said commissioners refusing or declining, or wilfully omitting to act as such, they shall make, jointly or separately, report or reports, as well to the government of his Britannic Majesty, as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds upon which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And his Britannic Majesty and the government of the United States hereby agree to refer the report or reports of the said commissioners to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or upon the report of one commissioner, together with the grounds upon which the other commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly sovereign or state, together with the report of such other commissioner, that such sovereign or state shall decide, *ex parte*, upon the said report alone; and his Britannic Majesty and the government of the United States engage to consider the decision of such friendly sovereign or state to be final and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

Art. 5. Whereas neither that point of the highlands lying due north from the source of the river St Croix, designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, nor the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, have yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the source of the river St Croix, directly north to the above mentioned north-west angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude, thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cateraguy, has not yet been surveyed, it is agreed that for these several purposes two commissioners shall be appointed,

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sworn, and authorised, to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said commissioners shall meet at St Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points above mentioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said treaty of peace of 1783; and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St Croix to the river Iroquois or Cateraguy to be surveyed and marked according to the said provisions; the said commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be a true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, of the north-western head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper: and both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said boundary. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. 6. Whereas, by the former treaty of peace, that portion of the boundary of the United States from the point where the 45th degree of north latitude strikes the river Iroquois or Cateraguy, to the Lake Superior, was declared to be "along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication into the Lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior;" and whereas doubts have arisen what was the middle of the said river, lakes, and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of his Britannic Majesty or of the United states. In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorised to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the state of New York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands lying within the said rivers, lakes, and water communications, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the treaty of 1783. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both or either of them refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such

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reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made, in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art 7. It is further agreed, that the said two last mentioned commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorised upon their oaths, impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods; to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of 1783, and to cause such parts of the said boundary as require it, to be surveyed and marked. The said commissioners shall by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularise the latitude and longitude of the most north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

Art. 8. The several boards of two commissioners, mentioned in the four preceding articles, shall respectively have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements, and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of his Britannic Majesty, and to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said commissions shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties.

It is further agreed between the two contracting parties, that in case of any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decision of any of the boards of commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or

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islands had by such decision or decisions been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

Art. 9. The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities. Provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

And his Britannic Majesty engages, on his part, to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811, previous to such hostilities. Provided always, that such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic Majesty and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

Art. 10. Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcileable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

Art. 11. This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides without alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty, and have thereunto affixed our seals.

Done in triplicate at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(L. S.) GAMBIER.
(L. S.) H. GOULBURN.
(L. S.) WM. ADAMS.
(L. S.) JOHN QUINCEY ADAMS.
(L. S.) J. A. BAYARD.
(L. S.) H. CLAY.
(L. S.) JOHN RUSSELL.
(L. S.) ALBERT GALLATIN.

Declaration relative to the Slave Trade.

The plenipotentiaries of the powers who signed the treaty of Paris, the 30th of May 1814, assembled in Congress:—

Having taken into consideration that the traffic known under the name of the *African Slave Trade* has been regarded by just and enlightened men of all ages, as repugnant to the principles of humanity and of universal morality; that the particular circumstances to which this traffic owes its origin, and the difficulty of abruptly interrupting its progress, have, to a certain degree, lessened the odium of continuing it; but that at last the public voice in all civilized countries has demanded that it should be suppressed as soon as possible; that since the cha-

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racter and the details of this traffic have been better known, and the evils of every sort which accompanied it completely unveiled, several European governments have resolved to suppress it; and that successively all powers possessing colonies in different parts of the world have acknowledged, either by legislative acts or by treaties and other formal engagements, the obligation and necessity of abolishing it; that by a separate article of the last treaty of Paris, Great Britain and France engaged to unite their efforts at the Congress at Vienna, to engage all the powers of Christendom to pronounce the universal and definitive abolition of the slave trade; that the plenipotentiaries assembled at this Congress cannot better honour their mission, fulfil their duty, and manifest the principles which guide their august sovereigns, than by labouring to realize this engagement, and by proclaiming in the name of their sovereigns the desire to put an end to a scourge which has so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity:

The said plenipotentiaries have agreed to open their deliberations as to the means of accomplishing so salutary an object, by a solemn declaration of the principles which have guided them in this work.

Fully authorized to such an act, by the unanimous adherence of their respective courts to the principles announced in the said separate article of the treaty of Paris, they in consequence declare, in the face of Europe, that, looking upon the universal abolition of the slave trade as a measure particularly worthy of their attention, conformable to the spirit of the age, and to the general principles of their august sovereigns, they are animated with a sincere desire to concur, by every means in their power, in the most prompt and effectual execution of this measure, and to act in the employment of those means with all the zeal and all the perseverance which so great and good a cause merits.

Too well informed of the sentiments of their sovereigns not to foresee, that, however honourable may be their object, they would not pursue it without a just regard to the interests, the habits, and even the prejudices of their subjects; the said plenipotentiaries at the same time acknowledge, that this general declaration should not prejudge the period which each particular power should look upon as expedient for the definitive abolition of the traffic in slaves. Consequently the determination of the period when this traffic ought universally to cease, will be an object of negociation between the different powers; it being, however, well understood, that no means proper to ensure and accelerate its progress should be neglected; and that the reciprocal engagement contracted by the present declaration between the sovereigns who have taken part in it, should not be considered as fulfilled until the moment when complete success shall have crowned their united efforts.

In making this declaration known to Europe, and to all the civilized nations of the earth, the said plenipotentiaries flatter themselves they shall engage all other governments, and particularly those, who, in abolishing the traffic in slaves, have already manifested the same sentiments, to support them with their suffrage in a cause, of which the final triumph will be one of the greatest monuments of the age which undertook it, and which shall have gloriously carried it into complete effect.

Vienna, Feb. 8, 1815.

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Note from the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Naples, to Lord Castlereagh.

Vienna, Feb, 11, 1815.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Naples have had the honour of addressing to his excellency my Lord Viscount Castlereagh, principal secretary of state of his Britannic Majesty for foreign affairs, an official Note, dated the 29th of December last, soliciting the conclusion of the definitive peace between the crowns of Naples and Great Britain.

His excellency my Lord Castlereagh was so good as to assure the undersigned first plenipotentiary of his Neapolitan Majesty, that he would occupy himself with the object of that note. It has nevertheless remained to this day without any result.

Although the king cannot but be keenly affected by this silence, from the eagerness with which he is desirous of entering into more intimate relations with England, he has too much dependence on the sincerity and justice of the English government, to allow him to doubt for a moment of its fidelity in fulfilling the engagements which it has contracted towards him.

If all those reasons which the undersigned urged in their note of the 29th of December last required to be corroborated by others still more powerful, they might recall to his excellency my Lord Castlereagh the convention which he proposed at Troyes, with the three other principal coalesced powers, by which the Britannic government, recognising the political existence of the King of Naples, solicited an indemnity in favour of the King of Sicily, as an indemnification for the kingdom of Naples.

Austria, Russia, and Prussia adhered by separate acts of accession, stipulated at Troyes, the 15th of February, 1814, to that convention, which has irrevocably consecrated the principle of the political existence of the King of Naples.

It belonged next to the powers in whose hands were all the disposable countries conquered from the enemy, to find and to proportion the indemnity to be given to the King of Sicily.

His Neapolitan Majesty could concur no otherwise in this than by his good offices; and he has fulfilled on this point the engagements which he contracted by his treaty of alliance of the 11th of January, 1814, the undersigned having declared by the note which they have had the honour of addressing to his excellency my Lord Castlereagh, under date of the 29th of December last, that they were ready to concur in the arrangement which might be proposed for that effect.

Thus, under whatever point of view the Britannic government wishes to view its position with regard to the King of Naples, it can only consider as just and reasonable the demand which the undersigned are charged with reiterating to his excellency my Lord Castlereagh, of proceeding to the prompt conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace between the two crowns.

No person can better be qualified than my Lord Castlereagh to enlighten the English government with respect to the affairs of Naples. Having concurred in the negociation which preceded and which followed the accession of his Neapolitan Majesty to the coalition, he was the organ of the engagements entered into by the English government towards the court of Naples, and his character for justice and probity is too well known to allow the undersigned to suppose that his political conduct will vary in any manner, and they are certain that he will support in London the engagements which he contracted in the name of his government towards the King of Naples, as well as the pro-

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nalsc and verbal declarations made by him during the last campaign of the coalesced armies, and principally at Chaumont and Dijon.

The undersigned beseech his excellency my Lord Castlereagh to accept the assurances of their very high consideration.

(Signed)
The Duke de CAMPOCHIARO.
The Prince de CARIATI.

Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c.

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Frenchmen!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies, when the army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comté, and of Bourgoin, and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource: it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganised the army. The unexpected conduct of those two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without me is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law: he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes: you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you

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reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind: I arrive amongst you to resume my rights which are your's. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of: it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V., he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a Prince Regent of England.

It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

By the Emperor.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The Grand Marshal performing the functions of Major-General of the Grand Army.

(Signed) Count BERTRAND.

Note from the King of Saxony to the Allied Powers.

"The King of Saxony has seen with the deepest affliction, in the documents which Princes Metternich and Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington were charged to communicate to him, the determination which the five powers have come to with regard to the fate of Saxony.

"Without any other principle but that of convenience, and without any regard to the internal relations of the nation, a line has been traced across the country, which would at once tear from it two-fifths of its population, and more than one half of its territorial extent, as well as the means indispensable for the subsistence of what shall remain to the King.

"It is to such sacrifices that the King has been invited to give his assent, while it is added, that no negociation will be entered into as to accessary points, until his Majesty shall have categorically declared himself on the territorial cession.

"His Majesty can by no means acknowledge the validity of these arrangements, made without the presence and assent of his plenipotentiary. The King having recovered his liberty, there is no longer any obstacle to treating with him; his rights cannot be pronounced upon without his consent, and he cannot admit that his states should be considered and retained as conquered countries. Drawn on by the force of circumstances, and by the obligations which he was under the necessity of contracting in a war which he had neither provoked nor declared, the king took no part in it but as an auxiliary; it did not depend on his Majesty, either at the commencement, or during the progress of the grand contest, to join the cause of the allies, however sincere his wish to that effect, manifested in an unequivocal manner, and latterly, by a formal application addressed to the allied sovereigns. The Saxon nation, full of confidence in the coalesced powers, has made every effort, and endured with resignation all the sacrifices which have been exacted of it. The right of conquest would not, therefore, apply either against the King or his people, even though the allies had not proclaimed, as they have done, that

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their efforts were exclusively directed against usurpation, and that they were far removed from every idea of conquest.

"His Majesty having only in view the good of his people, and sincerely desirous of seeing his old relations of peace and good understanding re-established with all the courts of Europe, flatters himself that the five powers will be pleased to pay regard to his representations, and that they will lay to heart his interest and those of his states. He again claims the admission of his plenipotentiary to the Congress, in order to treat with the ministers of the allied powers.

"His Majesty likewise requests, that the provisional government of Saxony may be enjoined to suspend all measures which bear relation to the projected partition.

"The King, in fine, accepts, with profound sensibility, the offer of the mediation of the august sovereigns who have hitherto interested themselves in his favour; and the conviction which his Majesty feels of his rights, and of the equity of his claims, convinces him that these monarchs will in future grant him, without restriction, their powerful support.

"The undersigned cabinet minister and secretary of state, fulfils the pleasure of the King in transmitting to their excellencies this note, begging that they will be pleased to submit it to their august sovereigns, as well as to the committee, and to accompany it with their good offices.

Presburgh, March 11, 1815."

DECLARATION.

The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled in Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn Declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

By thus breaking the convention which established him in the Island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended: by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

They declare, at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris, of 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled, and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give the King of

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France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

The present Declaration inserted in the register of the Congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris.

Vienna, March 13, 1815.

Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the courts.

Austria.	Prince METTERNICH, Baron WESSENBERG.
France.	Prince TALLEYRAND, Duke of DALBERG, LATOUR DU PIN, Count ALEXIS DU NOAILLES.
Great Brit.	WELLINGTON, CLANCARTY. CATHCART, STEWART.
Portugal.	Count PALMELA SALDANHA LOBO.
Prussia.	Prince HARDENBERG, Baron HUMBOLDT.
Russia.	Count RASUMOWSKY, Count STACKELBERG, Count NESSELRODE.
Spain.	P. GOMEZ LABRADOR.
Sweden.	LOEWENHELM.

PROCLAMATION TO THE ARMIES.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre :—

To our brave armies, greeting!

Brave soldiers, the glory and force of our kingdom! It is in the name of honour that your king orders you to be faithful to your colours: you have sworn fidelity to him: you will not perjure yourselves. A general whom you would have defended till the latest moment, if he had not released you by a formal abdication, restored you your legitimate sovereign. Confounded in the great family of which he is the father, and among which you will distinguish yourselves only by more illustrious services, you are become my children. You are deeply rooted in my affections. I associated myself in the glory of your triumphs, even when they were not obtained in my cause. Called to the throne of my ancestors, I congratulated myself on seeing it supported by that brave army so worthy to defend it. Soldiers, I invoke your love; I claim your fidelity. Your forefathers once rallied round the plume of the great Henry: it is his lineal descendant that I have placed at your head. Follow him faithfully in the path of honour and duty. Defend with him the public liberty which is attacked; the constitutional charter which it is attempted to destroy. Defend your wives, your fathers, your children, your property, against the tyranny by which they are menaced. Is not the enemy of the country also yours? Has he not speculated on your blood; and made a traffic of your fatigues and wounds? Was it not to satisfy his insatiable ambition, that he led you through a thousand dangers to useless and bloody victories?—Our fine France not being sufficient for him, he would again exhaust its entire population to proceed to the extremities of the world to acquire new conquests at the expence of your blood. Distrust his perfidious promises: your king calls you; the country claims you. Let honour fix you invariable under your banners. It is I who undertake to recompence you; it is in your ranks, it is among the chosen of the faithful soldiers, that I will select officers. Public gratitude will repay

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all your services; make one effort more, and you will speedily acquire glory, and the splendid repose you will have merited.—March then, without hesitation, brave soldiers, at the call of honour; yourselves apprehend the first traitor who may try to seduce you. If any among you have already lent an ear to the perfidious suggestions of rebels, such have still time to return to the path of duty. The door is still open to repentance; it is in this way that several squadrons of cavalry, whom a guilty chief wished to lead astray near La Fere, voluntarily forced him to withdraw himself.—Let the whole of the army profit by this example—let the great number of corps which have not been seduced, who have refused to join the rebels, close their battalions to attack and repel the traitor. Soldiers, you are Frenchmen: I am your king: it is not in vain that I confide to your courage and to your fidelity the safety of our dear country.—Dated at the Tuilleries, the 12th of March, 1815, and the 20th year of our reign.

LOUIS.

Substance of Treaties between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, respectively; signed at Vienna, on the 25th of March, 1815.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the having taken into consideration the consequences which the invasion of France by Napoleon Buonaparte, and the actual situation of that kingdom, may produce with respect to the safety of Europe, have resolved, in conjunction with his majesty the, &c. &c. &c. to apply to that important circumstance, the principles consecrated by the treaty of Chaumont.

They have consequently resolved to renew, by a solemn treaty, signed separately by each of the four powers with each of the three others, the engagement to preserve, against every attack, the order of things so happily established in Europe, and to determine upon the most effectual means of fulfilling that engagement, as well as of giving it all the extension which the present circumstances so imperiously call for.

Article I. The high contracting parties above-mentioned solemnly engage to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 30th of May 1814; as also the stipulations determined upon and signed at the Congress of Vienna, with the view to complete the disposition of that treaty, to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Buonaparte. For this purpose they engage, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th March last, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all those who should already have joined his faction, or shall hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb in future the tranquillity of Europe, and the general peace, under the protection of which the rights, the liberty, and independence of nations had been recently placed and secured.

Art. 2. Although the means destined for the attainment of so great and salutary an object ought not to be subjected to limitation, and although the high contracting parties are resolved to devote therein all those means which, in their respective situations, they are enabled to dispose of, they have nevertheless agreed to keep constantly in the field, each, a force of 150,000 men complete, including cavalry, in the

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proportion of at least one-tenth, and a just proportion of artillery, not reckoning garrisons; and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy.

Art. 3. The high contracting parties reciprocally engage not to lay down their arms but by common consent, nor before the object of the war, designated in the first article of the present treaty, shall have been attained; nor until Buonaparte shall have been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance, and to renew his attempts for possessing himself of the supreme power in France.

Art. 4. The present treaty being principally applicable to the present circumstances, the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and particularly those contained in the sixteenth article of the same, shall be again in force, as soon as the object actually in view shall have been attained.

Art. 5. Whatever relates to the command of the combined armies, to supplies, &c. shall be regulated by a particular convention.

Art. 6. The high contracting parties shall be allowed respectively to accredit to the generals commanding their armies, officers, who shall have the liberty of corresponding with their governments, for the purpose of giving information of military events, and of every thing relating to the operations of the army.

Art. 7. The engagements entered into by the present treaty, having for their object the maintenance of the general peace, the high contracting parties agree to invite all the powers of Europe to accede to the same.

Art. 8. The present treaty having no other end in view but to support France or any other country which may be invaded, against the enterprises of Buonaparte and his adherents, his most Christian Majesty shall be specially invited to accede hereunto; and, in the event of his Majesty's requiring the forces stipulated in the second article, to make known what assistance circumstances will allow him to bring forward in furtherance of the object of the present treaty.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

As circumstances might prevent his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from keeping constantly in the field the number of troops specified in the second article, it is agreed that his Britannic Majesty shall have the option, either of furnishing his contingent in men, or of paying at the rate of thirty pounds sterling per annum for each cavalry soldier, and twenty pounds per annum for each infantry soldier, that may be wanting to complete the number stipulated in the second article.

MEMORANDUM.

Foreign Office, April 25, 1815.

The treaty of which the substance is above given, has been ordered to be ratified, and it has been notified on the part of the Prince Regent to the high contracting parties, that it is his royal highness's determination, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to direct the said ratifications to be exchanged in due course, against similar acts on the part of the respective powers, under an explanatory declaration of the following tenour as to article 8, of the said treaty,—

DECLARATION.

The undersigned, on the exchange of the ratification of the treaty of the 25th of March last, on the part of his court, is hereby commanded to declare, that the 8th article of the said treaty, wherein his most Christian Majesty is invited to accede, under certain stipulations, is to be understood as binding

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the contracting parties, upon the principles of mutual security, to a common effort against the power of Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of the 3d article of the said treaty; but is not to be understood as binding his Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war, with a view of imposing upon France any particular government.

However solicitous the Prince Regent must be to see his most Christian Majesty restored to the throne, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration on the exchange of the ratifications, as well in consideration of what is due to his most Christian Majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct.

STATE PAPER,

Referring to the preceding Declaration.

The undersigned minister of state and of foreign affairs of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, having informed his august master of the communication made to him by Lord Castlereagh, respecting the 8th article of the treaty of the 25th of March last, has received orders to declare, that the interpretation given to that article by the British government is entirely conformable to the principles by which his imperial majesty proposes to regulate his policy during the present war. The emperor, although irrevocably resolved to direct all his efforts against the usurpation of Napoleon Buonaparte, as that object is expressed in the 3d article, and to act in that respect in the most perfect concert with his allies, is nevertheless convinced, that the duty imposed upon him by the interest of his subjects, as well as the principles by which he is guided, would not permit him to engage to prosecute the war for the purpose of imposing a form of government on France.

Whatever wishes his Majesty the Emperor may form, to see his most Christian Majesty replaced upon the throne, and whatever may be his constant solicitude, to contribute, conjointly with his allies, to the attainment of so desirable an object; his Majesty has nevertheless thought it right to answer by this explanation, the declaration which his excellency Lord Castlereagh has transmitted on the exchange of the ratification, and which the undersigned on his part is fully authorised to accept.

METTERNICH.

Vienna, May 9, 1815.

PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF NAPLES.

Rimini, March 31, 1815.

Italians!—The moment is come when great destinies may be accomplished. Providence calls you at last to be an independent people. One cry echoes from the Alps to the Strait of Scylla—*the independence of Italy.* What right have strangers to rob you of independence, the first right and blessing of all people? What right have they to reign in your fertile plains, and to appropriate to themselves your wealth, for the purpose of transporting it to countries where it did not originate? What right have they to carry off your sons, to make them serve, languish, and die, far from the tombs of your fathers? Is it that nature has in vain given you the Alps for a bulwark, and the invincible discrepancy of your character, a barrier still more insurmountable? No! no! let every foreign domination disappear from the soil of Italy.

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Formerly masters of the world, you have expiated that fatal glory by a servitude of twenty centuries—let it now be your glory to have masters no longer. Every people must keep within the limits fixed to it by nature: the sea and inaccessible mountains,—these are your frontiers. Never think of passing them; but expel the foreigner who passes them, and force him to confine himself within his own. Eighty thousand Italians at Naples hasten to you under the command of their king; they swear never to rest until Italy be free; and they have proved more than once, that they know how to keep their oaths.

Italians of all countries!—Second their magnanimous efforts. Let those who have borne arms resume them; let the raw youth accustom themselves to handle them; let all citizens, friends of their country, raise a generous voice for liberty; let the whole force of the nation be drawn forth in all its energy, and in every form. The question to be decided is, whether Italy shall be free, or shall remain for ages bent under the yoke of slavery. Let the struggle be decisive, and we shall have established to a distant period the happiness of our fine country,—that country, which, though still torn and bleeding, is full of ardour and strength to conquer its independence. The enlightened men of all countries, the nations which are worthy of a liberal government, the princes who are distinguished by the greatness of their character, will rejoice in your enterprise, will applaud your triumphs. England—can she refuse you her suffrage?—that nation which holds out to all others the model of a national and constitutional government; that free people, whose finest title to glory is to have shed its blood and treasures for the independence and liberty of nations!

Italians!—Having long invited and urged us by your wishes, you were surprised at our inaction; but the propitious moment was not come; I had not yet received proofs of the perfidy of your enemies. It was necessary that you should be convinced by recent experience, how false was the liberality of your present masters, how deceitful and lying their promises. Fatal and deplorable experience! I call you to witness, brave and unfortunate Italians of Milan, Bologna, Turin, Venice, Brescia, Modena, Reggio, and so many other famous cities, how many of your brave warriors and virtuous patriots have been torn from their native soil! how many groan in dungeons! how many are victims of unheard of exactions and humiliations.

Italians!—You must put a period to so many calamities; arise, and march in the closest union. At the same time that your courage shall assert your external independence, let a government of your choice, a true national representation, a constitution worthy of you and the age, guarantee your internal liberty and protect your property. I invite all brave men to come and combat with me; I invite all brave men who have reflected on the wants of their country, that, in the silence of the passions, they prepare the constitution and laws which must in future govern happy and independent Italy.

JOACHIM NAPOLEON.

By the King.

MILLET DE VILLENEUVE,
Chief of the Staff.

Letter from M. de Caulaincourt to Viscount Castlereagh, dated

Paris, April 4, 1815.

My Lord—The expectations which induced his Majesty the Emperor, my august sovereign, to submit to the greatest sacrifices, have not been ful-

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filled; France has not received the price of the devotion of its monarch; her hopes have been lamentably deceived. After some months of painful restraint, her sentiments, concealed with regret, have at length manifested themselves in an extraordinary manner; by an universal and spontaneous impulse, she has declared as her deliverer, the man from whom alone she can expect the guarantee of her liberties and independence. The emperor has appeared, the royal throne has fallen, and the Bourbon family have quitted our territory, without one drop of blood having been shed for their defence. Borne upon the arms of his people, his majesty has traversed France from the point of the coast at which he at first touched the ground, as far as the centre of his capital, even to that residence which is now again, as are all French hearts, filled with our dearest remembrances. No obstacles have delayed his majesty's triumphal progress; from the instant of his re-landing upon French ground, he resumed the government of his empire. Scarcely does his first reign appear to have been for an instant interrupted. Every generous passion, every liberal thought, has rallied around him; never did any nation present a spectacle of more awful unanimity.

The report of this great event will have reached your lordship. I am commanded to announce it to you, in the name of the emperor, and to request you will convey this declaration to the knowledge of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, your august master.

This restoration of the emperor to the throne of France, is for him the most brilliant of his triumphs. His majesty prides himself above all, on the reflection that he owes it entirely to the love of the French people; and he has no other wish than to repay such affections, no longer by the trophies of vain ambition, but by all the advantages of an honourable repose, and by all the blessings of a happy tranquillity. It is to the duration of peace that the emperor looks forward for the accomplishment of his noblest intentions. With a disposition to respect the rights of other nations, his majesty has the pleasing hope, that those of the French nation will remain inviolate.

The maintenance of this precious deposit is the first, as it is the dearest of his duties. The quiet of the world is for a long time assured, if all the other sovereigns are disposed, as his majesty is, to make their honour consist in the preservation of peace, by placing peace under the safe-guard of honour.

Such are, my lord, the sentiments with which his majesty is sincerely animated, and which he has commanded me to make known to your government.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

CAULAINCOURT,

Duc de Vicense.

His Excellency Lord Castlereagh,

&c. &c. &c.

(No. 2.)—TRANSLATION.

Letter from M. Caulaincourt to Viscount Castlereagh, dated

Paris, April 4, 1815.

My Lord,—The Emperor was anxious to express directly to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the sentiments which inspire him, and to make known to him the high value which he places on the maintenance of the peace happily existing between the two countries. I am commanded in consequence, my lord, to address to you the annexed letter, and to beg your excellency to present it to his Royal Highness.

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The first wish of the emperor being, that the repose of Europe should remain inviolate, his majesty has been anxious to manifest this disposition to the sovereigns who are still assembled at Vienna, and to all other sovereigns.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

CAULAINCOURT,

Duc de Vicense.

His Excellency Lord Castlereagh,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 3.)

Letter from Viscount Castlereagh to M. Caulaincourt.

Downing-street, April 8, 1815.

Sir,—I have been honoured with two letters from your excellency, bearing date the 4th instant, from Paris, one of them covering a letter addressed to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

I am to acquaint your excellency, that the Prince Regent has declined receiving the letter addressed to him, and has, at the same time, given me his orders to transmit the letters addressed by your excellency to me, to Vienna, for the information and consideration of the allied sovereigns and plenipotentiaries there assembled.

I am, &c.

CASTLEREAGH.

The Earl of Clancarty to Viscount Castlereagh.

Vienna, May 6, 1815.

My Lord,—Adverting to your lordship's dispatch of the 8th ultimo, and to its inclosures, conveying a proposal made by the existing government in France, and your lordship's answer thereto, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Majesty's government, that at a conference held on the 3d instant, his Highness Prince Metternich acquainted us, that a M. de Strassant, who had been stopped on his way hither, at Lintz, from not having been furnished with proper passports, had addressed a letter to his imperial majesty, and therewith forwarded some unopened letters which the emperor had directed him to unseal in the presence of the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers.

These proved to be a letter from Buonaparte, addressed to his Majesty, professing a desire to continue at peace, to observe the stipulations of the treaty of Paris, &c.; and a letter from M. de Caulaincourt to Prince Metternich, containing similar professions.

After reading these papers it was considered whether any, and what answer should be made thereto, when the general opinion appeared to be, that none should be returned, and no notice whatever taken of the proposal.

Upon this, as indeed upon all other occasions subsequent to the resumption of authority by Buonaparte, wherein the present state of the continental powers with regard to France has come under discussion, but one opinion has appeared to direct the councils of the several sovereigns. They adhere, and from the commencement have never ceased to adhere, to their declaration of the 13th of March, with respect to the actual ruler of France. They are in a state of hostility with him and his adherents, not from choice, but from necessity, because past experience has shewn, that no faith has been kept by him, and that no reliance can be placed on the professions of one who has hitherto no longer regarded the most solemn compacts, than as it may have suited his own convenience to observe them;

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whose word, the only assurance he can afford for his peaceable disposition, is not less in direct opposition to the tenour of his former life, than it is to the military position in which he is actually placed. They feel that they should neither perform their duty to themselves or to the people committed by Providence to their charge, if they were now to listen to those professions of a desire for peace which have been made, and suffer themselves thus to be lulled into the supposition that they might now relieve their people from the burthen of supporting immense military masses, by diminishing their forces to a peace establishment, convinced as the several sovereigns are from past experience, that no sooner should they have been disarmed, than advantages would be taken of their want of preparation to renew those scenes of aggression and bloodshed, from which they had hoped that the peace so gloriously won at Paris would long have secured them.

They are at war, then, for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the reconquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less proportion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity, but because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever.

In this war, they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people; they have no design to oppose the claim of that nation to choose their own form of government, or intention to trench, in any respect, upon their independence as a great and free people; but they do think they have a right, and that of the highest nature, to contend against the re-establishment of an individual as the head of the French government, whose past conduct has invariably demonstrated, that in such a situation he will not suffer other nations to be at peace—whose restless ambition, whose thirst for foreign conquest, and whose disregard for the rights and independence of other states, must expose the whole of Europe to renewed scenes of plunder and devastation.

However general the feelings of the sovereigns may be in favour of the restoration of the king, they no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French, in the choice of this or any other dynasty, or form of government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe; such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect, as other states have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence, their object will be satisfied; and they shall joyfully return to that state of peace, which will then, and then only, be open to them, and lay down those arms which they have only taken up for the purpose of acquiring that tranquillity so eagerly desired by them on the part of their respective empires.

Such, my lord, are the general sentiments of the sovereigns and of their ministers here assembled; and it should seem, that the glorious forbearance observed by them, when masters of the French capital in the early part of the last year, ought to prove to the French, that this is not a war against their freedom and independence, or excited by any spirit of ambition, or desire of conquest, but one arising out of necessity, urged on the principles of self-preservation, and founded on that legitimate and incontrovertible right of obtaining reasonable security for their own tranquillity and independence—to which, if France has on her part a claim, other nations have an equal title to claim at the hands of France.

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I this day laid before the plenipotentiaries of the three allied powers in conference, the note proposed to be delivered upon the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of the 25th of March. After the opinions which I have detailed as those with which the allied sovereigns are impressed, with respect to the object of the war, it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that the explanation afforded in this note, as the construction put by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the eighth article of that treaty, was favourably received. Immediate instructions will consequently be issued to the ambassadors of the imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and to the minister of his Prussian majesty, to accept of this note on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty in question.

In order to be assured that I have advanced nothing in this dispatch which does not accord with the views of the cabinets of the allied sovereigns, I have acquainted the plenipotentiaries of the high allied powers with the contents thereof, and have the honour to inform you, that the sentiments contained in it entirely coincide with those of their respective courts.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

CLANCARTY.

Proclamation by the King of Prussia.

"When, in the time of danger, I called my people to arms to combat for the freedom and independence of the country, the whole mass of the youth, glowing with emulation, thronged round the standards to bear with joyful self-denial unusual hardships, and resolved to brave death itself. Then the best strength of the people intrepidly joined the ranks of my brave soldiers, and my generals led with me into battle a host of heroes, who have shewn themselves worthy of the name of their fathers, and heirs of their glory. Thus we and our allies, attended by victory, conquered the capital of our enemy. Our banners waved in Paris—Napoleon abdicated his authority—liberty was restored to Germany, security to thrones, and to the world the hope of a durable peace.

"This hope is vanished: we must again march to the combat. A perfidious conspiracy has brought back to France the man who for ten years together brought down upon the world unutterable miseries. The people, confounded, have not been able to oppose his armed adherents; though he himself, while still at the head of a considerable armed force, declared his abdication to be a voluntary sacrifice to the happiness and repose of France, he now regards this, like every other convention, as nothing; he is at the head of perjured soldiers, who desire to render war eternal. Europe is again threatened; it cannot suffer the man to remain on the throne of France, who loudly proclaimed universal empire to be the object of his continually renewed wars; who confounded all moral principle by his continued breach of faith; and who can, therefore, give the world no security for his peaceable intentions.

"Again, therefore, arise to the combat! France itself wants our aid, and all Europe is allied with us. United with your ancient companions in victory, reinforced by the accession of new brethren in arms, you, brave Prussians, go to a just war, with me, with the princes of my family, with the generals who have led you to victory. The justice of the cause we defend will ensure us the victory.

I have ordered a general arming, according to my decree of September 3, 1814, which will be executed in all my dominions. The army will be com-

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pleted; the volunteer companies of yagers be formed; and the landwehr called together. The youth of the chief classes of the citizens, from the age of 20 upwards, are at liberty to join either the landwehr first called out, or the yager corps of the regular army. Every young man who has completed his 17th year, may, if possessing the requisite bodily strength, join the army of his own choice. I publish a particular regulation on this subject. Concerning the formation of the single corps, and of the landwehr, a notice will appear in every province from the constituted authorities.

"Thus united, with all Europe in arms, we again enter the lists against Napoleon Buonaparte and his adherents. Arise, then, with God for your support, for the repose of the world, for order, for morality, for your king and country.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM."

Vienna, April 7, 1815.

Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria.

VIENNA, *April* 14.

We, Francis the First, by the grace of God, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy, and Venice, Galicia and Lodomiria, &c. &c. Archduke of Austria.

In consequence of the treaties concluded with the allied powers, and further conventions concluded with them, the provinces of Lombardy and Venice, in their whole extent, as far as Lago Magiore, the river Ticino, and the Po, together with part of the territory of Mantua on the right bank of the latter river, also the province of the Valtelin, the counties of Chiavenna and Bormio, are incorporated with the Austrian imperial dominions, and united for ever to them as an integral part.

Animated with the most ardent desire to confer on the inhabitants of these provinces and districts an unequivocal proof of our imperial affection, and the high value we set upon this union, and also to give them an additional guarantee for the close ties which henceforth bind them to us, we have thought fit to create the above mentioned provinces and districts into a kingdom, by the title of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venice, and have, therefore, published these presents, for the purpose of making known to every one this our imperial determination.

[Here follow the articles, 15 in number.—Among other provisions it appears, that the iron crown and the order with that title are to be retained, that the kingdom is to be governed by a viceroy, and divided into two governments, of which Milan and Venice shall be the capitals.]

Substance of a Proclamation, by William, Prince of Orange, Duke of Luxemburg, &c. &c.

Art. 1. All those who manifest themselves partisans or instruments of a certain foreign power, whether by their discourse or by any action or document, and finally, all those who attempt to create distrust or jealousies amongst the inhabitants, to promote disunion or disturbance, to excite disorder and sedition, by persuading the people to rebellion in the streets and public places, or by any other act inconsistent with good order, according to the enormity and circumstances of the offence, shall be punished, separately or collectively, by being exposed from one hour to six, by privation of their rank, by marks of ignominy, by imprisonment from one hour to ten, and by a fine of from 100 to 10,000 francs.

2. In case of crimes not mentioned in the preceding article, those who

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may have rendered themselves culpable by disturbing the public repose, as well as their accomplices, shall be condemned, besides being fined, to hard labour for a certain time, to be marked.

3. A special court, composed of eight counsellors, selected from our superior court of justice at Brussels, of the Attorney-General, or one of the Advocates-General, who fill the functions of the public officers, and of the registrar of the court, is especially charged to take cognizance of, and pass judgment on, all crimes and misdemeanours on the process issued by our Attorney-General.

4. The process takes place without delay, or any previous information by the Judge of Instruction; these decrees shall not be open to appeal, nor can they be repealed.

5. These decrees shall be put into execution 24 hours after their being pronounced.

Our Attorney-General is charged with their execution; and with transmitting an accurate copy of any decree executed to our Commissary-General of Justice.

(The same proclamation orders that its several decrees be published in the papers of the day; and commands the Commissaries-General, and other authorities, to see to their prompt and strict execution.)

Dated Brussels, April 20, 1815, and the second year of our reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

Additional Convention (concluded at Vienna, April 30, 1815,) to the Treaty between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the King of Prussia, &c. signed March 25, 1815:—

ARTICLE.

His Britannic Majesty engages to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling, for the service of the year, ending on the 1st of April, 1816, to be divided in equal proportions amongst the three powers, namely, between his Majesty the King of Prussia, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. The subsidy above stipulated of five millions sterling shall be paid in London by monthly instalments and in equal proportions, to the ministers of the respective powers, duly authorised to receive the same. The first payment thereof, to become due on the first day of May next, and to be made immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this present additional convention. In case peace should take place, or be signed between the allied powers and France, before the expiration of the said year, the subsidy calculated upon the scale of five millions sterling, shall be paid up to the end of the month in which the definitive treaty shall have been signed; and his Britannic Majesty promises in addition, to pay to Russia four months, and to Austria and to Prussia two months, over and above the stipulated subsidy, to cover the expenses of the return of their troops within their own frontiers.

The present additional convention shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of the 25th of March.

It shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Vienna this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(L.S.) CLANCARTY.
(L.S.) LE PRINCE DE HARDENBERG.
(L.S.) LE BARON DE HUMBOLDT.

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Proclamation of Ferdinand IV. King of the Two Sicilies, &c. to the Neapolitans.

At length I reascend the throne of Naples. Every thing concurs to make my return happy. Your unanimous wishes recall me. The general wish of the great powers renders justice to my rights. The firm and vigorous assistance of my august allies animates and supports me.

I put myself in march at the head of an army, not like usurpers, to deceive and disturb nations, or like adventurers, to carry off, in the disorder of the tempest and the shipwreck, that which the calm could not procure for them. I return to the bosom of my dear family: I bring to it consolation and peace: I come to restore its ancient serenity, and to efface the recollection of all past evils.

No, you are not made to carry the flame of revolt among those who are not your enemies. You are not made to debase yourselves by that sort of greatness which is born of destruction and of terror. The history of your ancestors is far more glorious. You, descendants of the Bruttians, the Campanians and the Samnites, you should cause to tremble those foreign disturbers of your prosperity, and your internal tranquillity: but never could you be the instruments of their ambition, or the victims of their artifices. Your children should not perish in frozen climates. It is for you alone to enjoy your substances, the fruits of your labours, and the produce of your happy climate.

Neapolitans, come and throw yourselves into my arms. I was born among you; I know, I appreciate your habits, your character, and your manners. I desire only to give you the most striking proofs of my paternal love, and to make the new period of my government the most fortunate epoch of the well-being and happiness of our common country. One single day should dissipate all the misfortunes of many years. The most sacred, the most invariable pledges of moderation, of gentleness, of reciprocal confidence, and of entire union, will be the guarantees of your tranquillity.

Neapolitans, second with all your efforts an enterprize whose object is so great, so just, so benevolent, and which enters into the common cause of Europe, of which all enlightened nations have undertaken the defence with immense forces.

I promise you that I will not preserve the least recollection of all the faults committed by whatever person, without any exception, against the duties of fidelity towards me, during my absence from this kingdom, at whatever time committed, whether after my first or second departure. An impenetrable and eternal veil shall cover all past actions and opinions.

With this view I promise, in the most solemn manner, and on my sacred word, the most complete, most extensive, and general amnesty, and an eternal oblivion.

I promise to preserve to all individuals, Neapolitan and Sicilian, who serve in the armies by land or sea, all the pay, the rank, and military honours which they now enjoy.

May God, the witness of the rectitude and sincerity of my intentions, deign to bless them with success.

FERDINAND.

Palermo, May 1, 1815.

DECLARATION.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre.—To all our subjects, greeting,—

France, free and respected, was en-

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joying, by our care, the peace and prosperity which had been restored to it, when the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte from the Island of Elba, and his appearance on the French territory, seduced to revolt the greatest part of the army. Supported by this illegal force, he has made usurpation and tyranny succeed to the equitable empire of the laws.

The efforts and the indignation of our subjects, the majesty of the throne, and that of the national representation, have yielded to the violence of a mutinous soldiery, whom treacherous and perjured leaders have seduced by deceitful hopes.

This criminal success having excited in Europe just alarms, formidable armies have been put in march towards France, and all the powers have decreed the destruction of the tyrant.

Our first care, as our first duty, has been to cause a just and necessary distinction to be recognised between the disturber of the peace and the oppressed French nation.

Faithful to the principles which have always guided them, the sovereigns, our allies, have declared their intention to respect the independence of France, and to guarantee the integrity of its territory. They have given us the most solemn assurances, that they will not interfere in the internal government, and it is on these conditions we have resolved to accept their generous assistance.

The usurper has in vain attempted to sow dissentions among them, and, by a feigned moderation, to disarm their just resentment. His whole life has for ever deprived him of the power of imposing upon good faith. Despairing of the success of his artifices, he seeks, for the second time, to precipitate with himself into the abyss, the nation over which he causes terror to reign; he renews all the departments of administration in order to fill them wholly with men sold to his tyrannical projects; he disorganizes the national guard, whose blood he intends to lavish in a sacrilegious war; he begins to abolish rights which have been long since abolished; he convokes a pretended *Field of May* to multiply the accomplices of his usurpation; he promises to proclaim there, in the midst of bayonets, a derisory imitation of that constitution, which, after 25 years of disorders and calamities, had, for the first time, founded on a solid basis the liberty and the happiness of France. Finally, he has consummated the greatest of all crimes towards our subjects, by attempting to separate them from their sovereigns, to tear them away from our family, whose existence, which for so many ages has been identified with that of the nation itself, is still at this moment the only thing that can guarantee the stability of the legitimacy of the government, the rights and the liberty of the people, the mutual interests of France and of Europe.

In these circumstances we rely with entire confidence on the sentiments of our subjects, who cannot fail to perceive the dangers and the miseries to which they are exposed by a man whom assembled Europe has devoted to public vengeance. All the powers know the dispositions of France. We are assured of their amicable views and of their support.

Frenchmen! seize the means of deliverance which are offered to your courage. Rally round your king, your father, the defender of all your rights—hasten to him to assist him in saving you, to put an end to a revolt, the prolongation of which might become fatal to our country, and by the punishment of the author of so many evils, to accelerate the era of a general reconciliation.

Given at Ghent, the second day of the month of May, in the year of our

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Lord 1815, and the 20th year of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.

SWITZERLAND.

Note delivered to the Diet by the Ministers of the Four great Powers, which was read in the Sitting of the 12th of May.

"From the moment that Buonaparte returned to France, all Switzerland resolved by an unanimous and energetic determination to take up arms to defend its frontiers, and to keep off those disorders of all kinds with which Europe is menaced by the return of this usurper.

"This measure, which fully displayed the energy of the Diet, and the wisdom of its deliberations, was perfectly in harmony with the sentiments of all Europe, which openly applauded the conduct of a people, who, though the nearest to the danger, was seen to pronounce, without hesitation, on the events of which France is the theatre; and boldly profess sentiments so honourable, by repelling the proposals made by the pretended government of that country to all the states, and which were every where rejected with indignation.

"In this unexpected and unparalleled crisis, the Helvetic Confederation, guided by its ancient integrity, has joined of itself the system of Europe, and embraced the cause of social order, and of the safety of nations. It has felt the conviction that so long as the volcano rekindled in France should threaten to influence and convulse the world, the inestimable advantages which the high allied powers take a pleasure in seeing enjoyed by Switzerland, its welfare, its independence, its neutrality, would be always exposed to the encroachments of that illegal and destroying power which no moral restraint is able to check.

"United by the same wish, of annihilating this power, the Sovereigns assembled at the Congress of Vienna have proclaimed their principles in the treaty of the 25th of March, as well as the engagements they contracted to maintain them.

"All the other states of Europe have been invited to accede to it, and they have readily answered this invitation. Thus, the moment is arrived, when the august sovereigns, whose orders the undersigned are commissioned to execute here, expect that the Diet, on receipt of the present official communications, will, by a formal and authentic declaration, adopt the same principles, and, in concert with the undersigned, resolve on the measures which may become necessary to oppose the common danger.

"But at the same time that the powers expect without any doubt, that Switzerland, agreed with them on the principal object, will make no difficulty in declaring that it is armed to attain it, and that it has placed itself in the same line of policy, they are very far from proposing to it to display any other force than such as is proportioned to the resources and the usages of its people. They respect the military system of a nation, which, remote from all ambition, puts forces on foot only to defend its liberty and its independence; they know the value which Switzerland attaches to the principle of neutrality; it is not to infringe upon it, but solely to accelerate the period when this principle may be applied in an advantageous and permanent manner, that they propose to the confederation to assume an energetic attitude, and adopt vigorous measures commensurate to the extraordinary circumstances of the times, but without forming a precedent for the future.

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"It is conformably with these principles that the undersigned have received from their respective courts, the necessary instructions to regulate by a convention, which cannot but be agreeable to Switzerland, the footing upon which its adhesion is to subsist to the sacred cause which it has already embraced. They have, therefore, the honour to invite the Diet without delay to name plenipotentiaries to enter into a negociation with them upon this subject.

"The allied monarchs impose upon themselves the greatest sacrifices; nevertheless, they require from Switzerland, only those from which it cannot possibly withdraw itself in a crisis in which its dearest interests are at stake; and to alleviate the burden of putting on foot the forces necessary for the vigorous defence of their frontiers, as well as to insure its success, they propose to keep at the disposal of Switzerland all the assistance which the general operations of the war shall permit them to dedicate to this object.

"The monarchs desire in this manner among this nation (the object of their particular regard and esteem) those sentiments of attachment, confidence, and gratitude, to which they believe themselves so justly entitled, sentiments which they would have at heart still to increase and strengthen at the time of a general peace, by paying particular attention to the interests and the safety of Switzerland.

"The undersigned renew to his excellency the President, and to Messrs. the Deputies to the Diet, the assurance of their distinguished consideration.

"STRATFORD CANNING,
"KRUDENER,
"SCHRAUT,
"CHAMBRIER."

"*Zurich, May* 6, 1815."

ANSWER OF THE DIET.

"At the moment when a new political convulsion shewed itself in France, Switzerland, struck with the dangers of its situation, took with vigour and celerity the measures of safety which the importance of the circumstances required. The Diet has made known by a proclamation, the object of these armaments; it has avoided all connection with the man who has taken the reins of the French government, and has refused to recognise him.

"The ministers of the allied powers justly infer from this conduct, that Switzerland, united in interest and intentions with the other states, must oppose with all its might a power which threatens the peace, the tranquillity, the independence, and the rights of all nations. Such are, in fact, the resolutions of the Diet.

"The relations which it maintains with the high allied powers, and even with them alone, leave no doubt respecting its disposition or its designs; it will abide by them with that constancy and fidelity which have been at all times honourable features in the Swiss character.

"Twenty-two little republics, united among themselves for their security and the assertion of their independence, must seek their national strength in the principle of their confederation. This is what is prescribed by the nature of things, by the geographical situation, the constitution and the character of the Swiss people.

"A consequence of this principle is its neutrality recognised in its favour, as the basis of its future relations with all states. It equally results from this principle, that in the great contest which is on the eve of

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commencing, the part of Switzerland must naturally consist in the vigorous defence of its frontiers. By remaining on this line, it does not estrange itself from the cause of the other powers; on the contrary, it embraces it the more sincerely, and serves it with the more advantage, as this cause becomes immediately its own. Considered in itself, the defence of a frontier 50 leagues in extent, which serves as a *point d'appui* to the movement of two armies, is a co-operation not only very effectual, but even of the highest importance. Thirty thousand men and more have been put on foot for this purpose. Resolved to maintain this developement of force, Switzerland thinks on its side that it may expect from the kindness of the powers that their armies will respect its territory, till it shall itself call for their aid. Assurances on this head are absolutely necessary to tranquillize the people, and to induce them to bear with courage so great a burthen.

"The diet believes that it has answered, by these explanations, the expectations of their excellencies the ministers, at the same time that it shews its confidence in the justice and magnanimity of the monarchs who have but lately taken such an interest in the fate of this country, and thus acquired fresh claims to its gratitude.

"If there is now any thing to be done according to the principles above explained, in order to fix in a more precise manner the political relations of the confederation with the allied powers, during the continuance of the present war, and at the same time to agree on the conditions of its system of defence, the Diet is ready to hear these overtures; it has commissioned Messrs the Burgomaster Wyss, the Avoyer Merlineu, and the Burgomaster Weiland to enter into a negociation with Messrs the Ministers upon these two points, which are essentially inseparable. But in every case the right is reserved to the Cantons, to take a definitive resolution on this head, and to give these arrangements legal validity by constitutionally confirming them."—(*Zurich, May* 12.)

Treaty of Peace between Saxony and Prussia, concluded at Vienna on the 18th of May.

Article 2. The cessions of Saxony prescribed by the Congress are confirmed and settled anew, so that from the Elbe to the Bishopric of Merseburg, the Bailiwicks of Torgau, Eilenburg, and Prussian Delitsch, are cut off, with the exception of some reciprocally enclosed districts. The *enclavés* in the principality of Reuss, which with the circle of Neustadt become Prussian, are, Gefall, Blintendorf, Sparenberg, and Blankenberg.

4. The King of Prussia assumes, on account of his new provinces, the title of Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of both Lusatias, and Count of Heneberg.

5. Within a fortnight after the ratification, Prussia evacuates those parts of Saxony which she does not continue to hold.

6. Both divisions reciprocally renounce all feudal connections or dependence.

7. The deeds, &c. in the archives with regard to the ceded provinces generally, shall be delivered up within three months: in regard to the divided provinces, the originals shall belong to the larger portions, and authentic copies shall be given to the others.

8. As to the Saxon army, the officers and foreign soldiers of every rank shall have their choice whether they will enter the Prussian, or remain in

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the Saxon service: subalterns and privates whose birth-place falls to Prussia enter the Prussian service.

9. The debts of the undivided provinces become a charge on that government to which they are assigned; those of the divided provinces are taken by each proportionally.

10. The engagements entered into by the Central Tax Committee, on account of the kingdom of Saxony, shall be performed by both governments.

11. The treasury bills shall also be provided for as a common debt.

13. The King of Prussia promises to settle on the most liberal footing, all that relates to the property and interests of the subjects on both sides, especially to the commerce of Leipsic.

14 and 15. A committee, common to both parties, and sitting at Dresden, shall equalize all claims under Austrian mediation.

17. The principles adopted by the Congress of Vienna, with regard to free navigation, shall especially apply to the Elbe, the Elster, and to canals.

19. Prussia furnishes yearly to Saxony, free of export duty, 150,000, or, if required, 250,000 quintals of salt, at a price, which, without raising the present retail price to Saxon subjects, may secure to the King of Saxony the enjoyment of a salt tax, approaching as near as possible to that which he had before the last war.

20. Grain, timber, lime, and stone, shall be reciprocally free from export duty.

21. No one shall be called to account for any share he may have had in military or political events.

22. The King of Saxony renounces all claims on the Duchy of Warsaw, and has therefore nothing to do with its debts.

23. With regard to the 2,550,000 Polish guilders which the Saxon treasury furnished to that of Warsaw, means shall be taken for their liquidation at Warsaw.

Proclamation of the King of Prussia to the Inhabitants of Prussian Saxony.

By the patent which I have this day signed, I have united you, inhabitants of Saxony, with my subjects, your neighbours and German countrymen. The general agreement of the powers here assembled at the Congress has assigned to me your country, subjected by the fate of war, by way of indemnity, for the loss which has on one side diminished the circuit of the states guaranteed to me. Now separated, by the course of events, from a house of Princes with whom you have been faithfully connected for centuries, you pass over to another, which is allied to you by the friendly ties of neighbourhood, language, manners, and religion. When you beheld with pain your old connections dissolved, I respected that grief as furnishing an earnest of the German character, and a pledge that you and your children will obey me and my house with equal fidelity. You must be convinced of the necessity of your separation. My old subjects have made great and severe sacrifices. They have gained before the world and posterity a claim that the dangers of the days of Gros Beeren and Dennewitz should ever be far from them in future. They have given proof, that by their valour and fidelity to their king, Germany also has been delivered from the disgrace of servitude. But that they may maintain their own independence and the freedom of Germany, that the fruits of severe toils and bloody victories may not be lost, the duty of looking to their own independent existence, and that of care for the common weal of Germany, equally require that your

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provinces should be united to my states, and yourselves to my people. Germany has only won what Prussia has earned. This you must be convinced of; and I place confidence in your German and honest minds, that the oath of your fidelity will proceed equally from the feelings of the heart, as when I take you for my people. Through your union with my states rich resources are opened to your industry. The wounds of war will be healed, when the present danger and the necessity for new efforts in defence of our independence are over. My cares for your welfare shall anxiously meet your own exertions. A beneficent constitution equally dividing the burthens of the state, a moderate government, well weighed laws, a correct and punctual distribution of justice, shall promote your domestic prosperity. Your military youth will faithfully join their brethren in arms. The ministers of religion will in future be the venerable instructors in the religion of your ancestors. Upon your literary establishments, for many years the nurseries of German science and learning, I will bestow especial attention; and when the Prussian throne, after the lapse of a century, has been firmly founded on the virtues of peace and war, and the freedom of our native Germany guarded, then you will participate in the distinguished rank which the Prussian name will hold, and history will also write your names, brave Saxons, in the annals of Prussian glory.

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Vienna, May 22, 1815.

Prussian Decree respecting the Representation of the People.

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.

By our decree of the 30th of last month, we have ordained a regular administration for our monarchy, taking into consideration at the same time the former relations of our provinces.

The history of the Prussian state shews, indeed, that the happy state of civil liberty, and the duration of a just administration founded upon order, has hitherto found in the character of the sovereigns, and in their union with their people, all that security which the imperfection and uncertainty of all human institutions would allow.

In order, however, that these advantages may be built on a still firmer basis, and that we may give to the Prussian nation a pledge of our confidence, and to posterity an authentic document of the principles upon which our ancestors and ourself have conducted the government of our kingdom with constant regard to the happiness of our subjects; and that these principles may be durably recorded by a written document, as the constitution of the Prussian monarchy, we have resolved as follows:

1st. A representation of the people shall be formed.

2d. For this end,

(*a*) The provincial assemblies, where they still exist with more or less influence, are to be re-established and modelled according to the exigencies of the times.

(*b*) Where there are at present no provincial assemblies, they are to be introduced.

3d. From the provincial assemblies, the assembly of the representatives of the kingdom is to be chosen, which will sit at Berlin.

4. The functions of the national representatives extend to the deliberation upon all the objects of legislation which concern the personal rights of the citizens and their property, including taxation.

5. A committee is to be formed at

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Berlin without delay, which is to consist of experienced officers of state, and inhabitants of the provinces.

6. This committee shall employ itself,

(*a*) On the organization of the provincial assemblies.

(*b*) The organization of the national representation.

(*c*) On the framing of a constitution according to the principles laid down.

7. It shall meet on the 1st of September this year.

8. Our chancellor is charged with the execution of this decree, and is to lay before us the labours of the committee.

He names the members of it, and presides at its meetings, but is authorised, in case of need, to name a deputy in his room.

Given under our hand and royal seal. Done at Vienna, May 25, 1815.

(Signed)

L. S. FREDERICK WILLIAM.

(Countersigned)

C. F. V. HARDENBERG.

Protest of the Spanish Ambassador against the Decisions of the Congress of Vienna.

The undersigned, ambassador of his Majesty the King of Spain, has remarked, that no mention appears in the protocol, of that conference which took place yesterday evening. He presumes, that, instead of a conference, it was rather an act of courtesy which Messrs the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, France, Russia, and Prussia shewed towards him, in order to communicate to him the act with which they have resolved to terminate their labours, and in which they, as he is told, have irrevocably agreed among themselves alone respecting the rights of his Majesty the King of Spain, and his Majesty the King of Etruria, in Italy, as well as respecting the singular recommendation made to his Catholic Majesty, in an article of the treaty, respecting the cession of Olivenza to Portugal, an affair with which the plenipotentiaries of the above powers must surely have interfered by mistake, since it has at no time become the Congress, and much less of any of its parts, to interfere in that business. And as it is of the greatest importance, that either in the protocols, or in the diplomatic archives, some record should remain of what the undersigned yesterday declared verbally, therefore, he has the honour now to repeat it in writing. He then declared, that all that he could do, out of respect to the powers whose plenipotentiaries were assembled yesterday evening, was, that he must leave to his own court the decision in relation to the communicated treaty, and till then, cannot subscribe it.

1. Because his instructions forbid him to subscribe any agreement contrary to the immediate and complete restoration of the three Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, as he had the honour to make known to Prince Metternich in a note of the 3d of April, which has remained unanswered, and which has not been imparted to Congress, contrary to the express wishes therein set forth.

2. Because, while Spain has desired of Austria, in its own name, the restoration of Tuscany, and subsidiarily of Parma, and while besides his Catholic Majesty takes an immediate interest in the fate of his Majesty the King of France, even had the undersigned not been summoned, like the plenipotentiaries of other powers who signed the treaty of Paris, and admitted to the Congress of Vienna, in no way could the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Britain, &c. legitimately decide respecting the fate of Tuscany and Parma,

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without this concert. And certainly it will be impossible to persuade any man, that can be called entering into negociation between two powers, when the plenipotentiary of the one is merely invited to adopt that which the mediating powers have irrevocably fixed with the other, and which is then made the formal article of a treaty.

3. Because, among the great number of articles of which the treaty consists, there is only a small number, respecting which information was given in the conferences to the plenipotentiaries of the eight powers who signed the peace of Paris, and as all these plenipotentiaries are reciprocally equal, and the powers whom they represent equally independent, it cannot be admitted that a part of them have the right of deciding and concluding, and the rest of them only that of subscribing, or refusing subscription, without an open contempt of the most essential forms, without the most manifest subversion of all principles, and without the introduction of a new law of nations, to which the powers of Europe cannot submit without *ipso facto* renouncing their independence, and which, however general it may become, shall never be so on the other side of the Pyrennees.

The undersigned requests his Highness Prince Metternich, in his capacity of President of the Congress, to lay this note before the other plenipotentiaries, and to permit its insertion in the protocol of conferences.

He embraces this opportunity of renewing to his highness the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

P. M. Gomez Labrador.

Vienna, June 5, 1815.

German Act of Confederation.

Article 1. The sovereign princes and free cities of Germany, including their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, and the Netherlands, namely, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, for those of their possessions which formerly belonged to the German empire, the King of Denmark for Holstein, the King of the Netherlands for the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, unite themselves into a perpetual league, which shall be called the German Confederation.

2. The object thereof is the maintenance of the internal and external security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the different German states.

3. The members of the confederation have, as such, equal rights; they bind themselves, all equally, to maintain the act of confederation.

4. The affairs of the confederation shall be managed by a general assembly, in which all the members of the confederation shall be represented by their plenipotentiaries, who shall each have one vote, either severally, or as representing more than one member, as follows:—

Austria 1 vote, Prussia 1, Bavaria 1, Saxony 1, Hanover 1, Wurtemberg 1, Baden 1, Electorate of Hesse 1, Grand Duchy of Hesse 1, Denmark for Holstein 1, the Netherlands for Luxemburg 1, the Grand-Ducal and Ducal Saxon houses 1, Brunswick and Nassau 1, Mecklenburg Schwerin, and Mecklenburg Strelitz 1, Holstein Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwartzburg 1, Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Reuss, Schaumberg Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck 1, the free cities of Lubeck, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburgh 1; total 17 votes.

5. Austria has the presidency in the diet of the confederation; every member of the league is empowered to make propositions and bring them under discussion; and the presiding

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member is bound to submit such propositions for deliberation within a fixed period.

6. When these propositions relate to the abolition or alteration of the fundamental laws of the confederation, or to regulations relating to the act of confederation itself, then the diet forms itself into a full committee, when the different component members shall have the following votes proportioned to the extent of their territories:—

Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wurtemburg, four votes each; Baden, Electorate of Hesse, Grand Duchy of Hesse, Holstein, and Luxemburg, three votes each; Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Nassau, two votes each; Saxe Weimar, and a great number of minor German princes, with the free towns, one vote each; total 69 votes.

7. Questions in the diet shall be decided by a simple majority of votes, on ordinary occasions, the president to have the casting vote; but when in full committee, the question must be decided by a majority of at least three fourths.

8. The diet of the confederation has its sitting at Frankfort on the Main; its opening is fixed for the 1st of September 1815.

9. The first business of the diet, after its opening, will be the formation of the organic regulations of the confederation, in regard to its external, military, and internal relations.

10. Every member of the confederation engages to assist in protecting not only all Germany, but every separate state of the league against any attack, and reciprocally to guarantee to each other the whole of their possessions included within the confederation.

After war has been once declared by the confederation, no member can enter into separate negociations with the enemy, nor conclude a separate armistice or peace.

Although the members possess the right of alliance of every kind, yet they bind themselves to enter into no treaties hostile to the security of the confederation, or to that of any confederate state.

The members of the league also bind themselves not to make war on each other under any pretext, nor to decide their differences by force, but to bring them under the consideration and decision of the diet.

Besides the preceding articles, there are a variety of others relating to the internal regulations of Germany, of which the following are the most interesting:—

13. In all the states of the confederation a constitutional assembly of the states-general shall be established.

16. Diversity of Christian religious faith in the states of the German confederation, can occasion no difference in respect to the enjoyment of civil and political rights.

The diet will take into consideration in what way the civil amelioration of the professors of the Jewish religion may best be effected, and in particular, how the enjoyment of all civil rights in return for the performance of all civil duties may be most effectually secured to them in the states of the confederation; in the mean time the professors of this faith shall continue to enjoy the rights already extended to them.

18. The confederate princes and free cities agree to secure to the subjects of their confederate states the following rights:—

(*a*) The possession of landed property out of the state in which they reside, without being subjected to greater taxes or charges than those of the native subjects of such state.

(*b*) The right of free emigration

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from one German confederate state to another, which shall consent to receive them for subjects; and also the right of entering into the civil or military service of any such confederate state; both rights, however, to be enjoyed only in so far as no previous obligation to military service in their native country shall stand in the way.

(*c*) The diet on its first meeting shall occupy itself with the formation of some uniform regulations relative to the freedom of the press, and the securing of the rights of authors and publishers against oppression.

19. The members of the confederation also engage, on the first meeting of the diet, to take into consideration the state of commerce and intercourse between the different states of the confederation, as well as that of navigation, on the principles adopted by the congress of Vienna.

The above act was concluded, and signed at Vienna, on the 8th of June, 1815.

Duke of Wellington's Proclamation.

I announce to the French that I enter their territory at the head of an army already victorious, not as an enemy (except of the usurper, the enemy of the human race, with whom there can be neither peace nor truce,) but to aid them to shake off the iron yoke by which they are oppressed. I therefore give to my army the subjoined orders, and I desire that every one who violates them may be made known to me.

The French know, however, that I have a right to require, that they conduct themselves in such a manner that I may be able to protect them against those who would seek to do them evil.

They must, then, furnish the requisitions that will be made of them by persons authorised to make them, taking receipts in due form and order; that they remain quietly at their homes, and have no correspondence or communication with the usurper or with his adherents.

All those who shall absent themselves from their homes, after the entrance of the army into France, and all those who shall be absent in the service of the usurper, shall be considered as enemies and his adherents, and their property shall be appropriated to the subsistence of the army.

Given at head-quarters, at Malplaquet, this 21st day of June, 1815.

WELLINGTON.

Buonaparte's Declaration to the French People.

Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napolion II., emperor of the French.

The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to form without delay the regency by a law.

Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Paris, June 23, 1815.

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PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

The King to the French People.

The gates of my kingdom at last open before me; I hasten to bring back my misled subjects, to mitigate the calamities which I had wished to prevent, to place myself a second time between the allied and the French armies, in the hope that the feelings of consideration of which I may be the object may tend to their preservation. This is the only way in which I have wished to take part in the war. I have not permitted any prince of my family to appear in foreign ranks, and have chained in the courage of those of my servants who had been able to range themselves around me.

Returned to the soil of my country, I take pleasure in speaking confidence to my people. When I first re-appeared among you, I found men's minds agitated, and heated by conflicting passions. My views encountered on every side nothing but difficulties and obstacles. My government was liable to commit errors: perhaps it did commit them. There are times when the purest intentions are insufficient to direct, or sometimes they even mislead.

Experience alone could teach; it shall not be lost. All that can save France is my wish.

My subjects have learned by cruel trials, that the principle of the legitimacy of sovereigns is one of the fundamental bases of social order,—the only one upon which, amidst a great nation, a wise and well-ordered liberty can be established. This doctrine has just been proclaimed as that of all Europe. I had previously consecrated it by my charter, and I claim to add to that charter all the guarantee which can secure the benefits of it.

The unity of ministry is the strongest that I can offer. I mean that it should exist, and that the frank and firm march of my council should guarantee all interests and calm all inquietudes.

Some have talked latterly of the restoration of tithes and feudal rights. This fable, invented by the common enemy, does not require confutation. It will not be expected that the king should stoop to refute calumnies and lies: the success of the treason has too clearly indicated their source. If the purchasers of national property have felt alarm, the charter should suffice to re-assure them. Did I not myself propose to the chambers, and cause to be executed, sales of such property? This proof of my sincerity is unanswerable.

In these latter times, my subjects of all classes have given me equal proofs of love and fidelity. I wish them to know how sensibly I feel them, and that it is from among all Frenchmen I shall delight to choose those who are to approach my person and my family.

I wish to exclude from my presence none but those whose celebrity is matter of grief to France, and of horror to Europe. In the plot which they hatched, I perceive many of my subjects misled, and some guilty.

I promise—I who never promised in vain (all Europe knows it)—to pardon to misled Frenchmen, all that has passed since the day when I quitted Lille, amidst so many tears, up to the day when I re-entered Cambrai, amidst so many acclamations.

But the blood of my people has flowed, in consequence of a treason of which the annals of the world present no example. That treason has summoned foreigners into the heart of France. Every day reveals to me a new disaster. I owe it, then, to the dignity of my crown, to the interest of my people, to the repose of Europe, to except from pardon the instigators and authors of this horrible plot. They shall be designated to the

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vengeance of the laws by the two chambers, which I propose forthwith to assemble.

Frenchmen, such are the sentiments which he brings among you, whom time has not been able to change, nor calamities fatigue, nor injustice made to stoop. The king, whose fathers reigned for eight centuries over yours, returns to consecrate the remainder of his days in defending and consoling you.

Given at Cambrai, the 28th of June, in the year of our Lord 1815, and of our reign the 21st.

(Signed) LOUIS.

By the king.

(Signed) Prince TALLEYRAND,
Min. Sec. of S. for F. affairs.

A Supplementary Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias. Signed at London the 17th (29th) of June, 1814.

CONVENTION.

(*Translation.*)

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in concert with their high allies, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, considering that the grand object of their alliance, to ensure the future tranquillity of Europe, and to establish a just equlibrium of power, cannot be deemed to be completely accomplished, until the arrangements concerning the state of possession of the different countries composing it, shall have been definitively settled at the congress to be held agreeably to the 32d article of the treaty of peace signed at Paris the 30th of May, 1814, have judged it necessary, conformably to the treaty of Chaumont of the 1st of March of the same year, to keep still on foot a portion of their armies, in order to give effect to the above arrangements, and to maintain order and tranquillity until the state of Europe shall be entirely re-established.

The high contracting powers have in consequence appointed their plenipotentiaries, namely, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britai. and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, one of his said Majesty's most honourable privy council, &c. and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, Charles Robert Count de Nesselrode, his privy counsellor, &c. who, after exchanging their full powers, and finding them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. His Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engage to keep on a war establishment until the definitive arrangement to be made at the above congress, an army of seventy-five thousand troops, that is to say, sixty thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry, together with a train of artillery, and with equipments proportioned to the number of troops, which number is equal to that which his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty the Emperor of Austria and his Majesty the King of Prussia bind themselves to keep on foot for the same purpose.

Art. II. His Britannic Majesty reserves to himself to furnish his contingent conformably to the 9th article of the treaty of Chaumont of the 1st of March, 1814.

Art. III. The high contracting parties, as well as their Majesties the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, engage to employ these armies only pursuant to a common plan,

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and conformably to the spirit, and for the object, of their alliance above-mentioned.

Art. IV. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within two months, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention, and have affixed to it the seals of their arms.

Done at London the 29th of June, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH. (L. S.)

(Signed) NESSELRODE. (L. S.)

The plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain and Austria were the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, and the Sieur Clement Wenceslas Lothaire, Prince of Metternich, &c. &c. &c.

The plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain and Prussia were the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, and Prince Charles Augustus de Hardenberg, Chancellor of State, Knight of the Grand Order of the Black Eagle, &c. &c. &c.

PROCLAMATION.

We, William, by the grace of God, King of the Netherlands, Prince of Orange-Nassau, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, &c.

When the government of Belgium was given into our hands by the high allied powers, we had previously given our formal adhesion to the conditions of the union of Belgium with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, which had been agreed upon at London by the plenipotentiaries of the said powers, in the month of June, 1814, and of which the following is the tenor:—

Art. I. This union is to be intimate and complete, so that the two countries shall form one and the same state, governed by the constitution already established in Holland, which shall be modified by common consent, according to the new state of things.

2. No innovation shall be made in the articles of this constitution, which ensure equal favour and protection to all forms of worship, and guarantee the admission of all citizens to public offices and employments, whatever be their religious creed.

3. The Belgian provinces shall be duly represented in the assembly of the States-General, whose ordinary sittings in time of peace shall be held alternately in a town in Holland and in a town in Belgium.

4. All the inhabitants of the Netherlands being thus constitutionally assimilated among each other, the several provinces shall equally enjoy all the commercial and other advantages of which their respective situations are susceptible; nor can any obstacle or restriction be laid upon one to the advantage of another.

5. Immediately after the union, the provinces and towns of Belgium shall be admitted to the commerce and navigation of the colonies upon the same footing as the provinces and towns of Holland.

6. As the burdens must be in common as well as the advantages, the debts contracted till the time of the union, by the Dutch provinces on the one hand, and by the Belgic provinces on the other, shall be chargeable to the public treasury of the Netherlands.

7. Conformably to the same principles, the expenses required for the establishment and preservation of the fortresses on the frontier of the new state, shall be borne by the public

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treasury; as resulting from an object that interests the safety and independence of all the provinces of the whole nation.

8. The expense of forming and keeping up the dykes shall be for the account of the districts more especially interested in this branch of the public service, reserving the obligation of the state in general to furnish aid in case of extraordinary disasters, all exactly as has been hitherto practised in Holland.

The treaty of Vienna having since confirmed, upon the same principles, the formal cession of the Belgic provinces, to form in conjunction with the United Provinces of the Netherlands, one kingdom, we have hastened to appoint a special committee to examine what modifications it would be useful or necessary to make in the constitution already established in Holland.

Citizens distinguished by their knowledge, their patriotism, and their probity, have employed themselves on this important work with a zeal worthy of the greatest praises.

The project which they have just laid before us, contains honourable distinctions for the nobility, insures to all forms of worship equal favour and protection, and guarantees the admission of all citizens to public offices and employments; it fixes the division of power upon the basis of protecting institutions, which have been at all times dear to the people of Belgium. It recognises above all things the independence of the judicial power; it reconciles the integrity and the strength of the body politic with the individual right of each of its members; and lastly, it contains the elements of every gradual improvement, which experience and further study may shew to be necessary.

However, before we proceed to introduce the new fundamental law, we desire to convince ourselves of the assent of our subjects to its principal regulations. For this purpose, deputies (notables) shall be assembled from every arrondissement, in the proportion of one for 2000 inhabitants. We have ordered that the choice shall be made with impartiality among the persons most estimable, and most worthy of the confidence of their fellow citizens. But in order to be certain that our intentions in this respect have been fulfilled, and that those who are going to be named deputies, are really deserving of the honour of being the organs of the general opinion; we farther order that the lists shall be published and deposited for eight days in the chief towns of the respective districts.

At the same time registers shall be opened, in which every inhabitant who is the head of a family, may come and insert a simple vote of rejection of one or more of the deputies named.

It is according to the result which these registers shall afford, that the lists will be finally determined on, and the notables convoked in each arrondissement to vote upon the plan of the fundamental law which will be laid before them. Each of these assemblages shall send its process verbal to Brussels, and shall depute three of its members to attend in a general meeting at the opening of those process verbaux (journals of proceedings), and at the collecting of the votes of the notables.

Such, Belgians, are the measures which we have judged most proper for the establishment of a compact which is to fix your destinies, and to hasten the moment when your sovereign will be surrounded by a representation faithfully constituted.

Happy to reign over a free, brave, and industrious people, we are sure of finding in it that character for openness and sincerity which has always so eminently distinguished it. All our efforts will be directed to cement the founda-

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tions of its prosperity and glory, and the citizens of all classes, and all the provinces shall have in us a benevolent and impartial protector of their rights and their welfare. In particular we guarantee to the Catholic Church its establishment and its liberties, and we shall not lose sight of the examples of wisdom and moderation in this respect, which have been left us by our predecessors, your ancient sovereigns, whose memory is so justly revered among you.

Given at the Hague, July 18, 1815, and the second year of our reign.

(Signed)

By the King. WILLIAM.

For the secretary of state in his absence, the cabinet secretary.

(Signed) P. DE CROMBRUGGE.

(*A true copy.*)

The clerk to the secretary of state,

L. VAN GOBBELSCHROY.

PROCLAMATION OF THE PRINCE REGENT.

Brunswick, August 2.

We, George, by the grace of God, Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg, &c. in guardianship of Duke Charles Frederick Augustus William of Brunswick Luneburg, to all who see these presents, greeting:

As it has pleased Divine Providence to call away to a better state in the kingdom of peace from the midst of his deeply afflicted family and faithful subjects our dearly beloved cousin the reigning Duke of Brunswick Luneburg, Frederick William, by a glorious death on the 16th of June, in the conflict for the tranquillity of Europe and the independence of Germany; and as through this never enough to be lamented event, the succession to the said duchy devolves on his eldest son, our much loved cousin Charles Frederick Augustus, therefore have we, as well on account of the ties of consanguinity as of the expressed wish of the deceased, been moved to take upon us the guardianship of our said cousin Duke Charles Frederick Augustus William, during his minority; and we now declare, in the name and as guardian of our said cousin, that we take possession of the ducal territories of Brunswick Luneburg, with all the rights, regalia, and superiorities, as possessed by our deceased cousin Frederick William: we now, therefore, enjoin all subjects and inhabitants of the ducal Brunswick Luneburg territories, in virtue of their oath of allegiance, to be true and obedient to our said cousin and us, on account of the guardianship devolved on us, and also the general colleges, magistrates, and administrators, to proceed uninterrupted in the business of their several departments, and to continue to watch over the interests of the country and the government, to the best of their ability. In particular, we hereby authorise and request the Home College of Counsellors at Brunswick, as chief administrators of the country, in future as heretofore, to continue in the regular administration of the country, and to report to us the instructions communicated, or still to be communicated to them.

Given at Carlton-house, this 18th July, 1815.

GEORGE P. R.

Count MUNSTER.

Speech of the King of the Netherlands on opening the Assembly of the States General of the United Netherlands.

Hague, August 8, 1815.

High and Mighty Lords,—A few months ago I announced to the States General the union of all the Nether-

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lands under the royal sceptre; but that this union may be permanent and beneficial, it is not enough that all the inhabitants be united under one sovereign; they must, besides, be most intimately bound together by the same laws and the same institutions; the party-walls raised under other circumstances must be removed, and they must mutually regard each other as inhabitants of one house, and children of one family.

Your high mightinesses know that such are also the views of the united powers of Europe in establishing the new monarchy. Faithful to the principle of every where maintaining and preserving the already established relations, they have especially required that our constitution shall be maintained, and only altered in so far as the change of circumstances should, upon common deliberation, appear to demand. My own wishes coincide with this determination. I have chosen for the revision of the constitution those measures which appeared to me most adapted to the end proposed. Men assembled from all the provinces of the kingdom, without any other end in view than the welfare and glory of their countrymen, have fulfilled the important task, and, in their dispassionate, concordant, and confidential deliberations, I have seen, with joy, a new and flattering presage of the fraternal union of all my subjects.

These deliberations still continued, when the tumult of war, unexpected, and with unusual rage (but, God be thanked, for a short time only) surprised our territory. The danger, though short, was urgent; but the courage of our warriors was superior to the danger. No consideration, no examples of a neighbouring country even, could make one doubt a moment of the security of engagements voluntarily taken by the Netherlanders; and now, that in a period of danger, united under the banners of independence, and by the side of our generous allies, they have confirmed their vows by deed; I flatter myself that the nation and all Europe partake my conviction and my confidence. History shall one day shew in the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo two illustrious pillars of the new state of the Netherlands, and happy the fathers are on whose sons the lot has fallen to raise these pillars, with their arms, and to dye them with their blood.

The plan which is to be considered, in this Assembly should not be offered you by me, since, in the review of the fundamental law, scarcely one article was laid aside by which the dearest rights of our nation was secured. But every care has been taken to extend these rights as much as possible, and to define them more clearly, that the new political union may have the stamp of an enlightened eye, and of the national character. The inviolability of the judicial authority remains irrevocable, and liberty of conscience is guaranteed to the fullest extent. No property can be declared confiscated, no opinion or thought checked in its course. The meanest citizen is at liberty to make his voice heard even at the throne.

The people retain their representation; the provincial assemblies a suitable degree of power. The burdens of the state are freely voted, and equally borne. The revenues to be accounted for, according to fixed rules, can be employed in the hands of the king to no other ends than to the payment of services useful to the state, to the public institutions, to the defence of the country; and, in general, the royal power is great enough to secure the welfare of the community, but insufficient to oppress or injure a single subject.

If these observations are just, we may, under the direction of the new

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constitution, with increased ability, and with confidence in the future, continue and complete what, under the divine blessing, is already begun, designed, or prepared for the honour and the welfare of the Netherlands. To your high mightinesses is confided the solution of this question. Each of you knows the high importance of his mission, and each of you will strive to acquit himself of it with that zeal which we at all times, but especially in times like these, owe to our dear country.

Convention between the British and Dutch Governments.

In the name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being both highly desirous of promoting and confirming the harmony and good understanding which so happily subsist between their states, by bringing into actual operation that part of the stipulations of the first of the additional articles of the convention of Aug. 13, 1814, which imports, "that the subjects of his Ma- "jesty the King of the Netherlands, "being landed proprietors in the co- "lonies of Demerary, Essequibo, and "Berbice, shall have freedom to trade "between the forenamed establish- "ments, and the territory of his said "Majesty in Europe, under certain "conditions:"

Have named as their Plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, H. Baron Fagel, Ambassador Extraordinary at the British Court, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Henry Earl Bathurst, one of his Principal Secretaries of State, who having communicated their respective full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed to the following Articles:—

Article I. The foresaid trade shall, for the period of five years, beginning with the 1st January, 1816, be carried on with ships being the property of subjects of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, wherever built, and without any stipulation or restriction as to the seamen that navigate them; but on the expiration of the said five years, or sooner, if his Majesty the King of the Netherlands think fit, the said trade shall be confined exclusively to ships of Dutch built, and three-fourths of the crew of which are subjects of the King of the Netherlands.

II. The King of the Netherlands retains to himself the right of imposing such duties on the import of the produce of the said colonies into his European states, and *vice versa* on the export, as his Majesty shall think fit to appoint; but the duties which are levied in the colonies, shall apply equally to Dutch as to English trade.

III. Subjects of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, being proprietors of land in the said colonies, shall enjoy full liberty to proceed to and return from the said colonies, without being subjected to any delay or difficulty in this respect; they may also appoint persons in their name to carry on their business in this trade, or to hold the oversight of their property there; the said persons, however, during their residence in the foresaid colonies, being always subject to the laws and ordinances there in force. They shall also enjoy full liberty to dispose of their property in such way as they shall judge proper; with this understanding, that in regard to the negroes, they are subject to the same regulations as British subjects.

IV. In order to protect the owners of plantations in the aforesaid colonies from the destructive consequences

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which might follow an immediate execution of the mortgages, for which they may be indebted to subjects of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, the high contracting parties further agree, that in every case where the owner of a plantation shall present to a holder of a mortgage on that plantation, earlier than the 1st of January, 1814, (such mortgage-holder being a subject of the King of the Netherlands,) the hereafter mentioned security, that mortgage-holder shall not be at liberty to proceed to the immediate execution of the said mortgage; it being, however, well understood, that in all cases where such security shall not be offered by the owner, the mortgage-holder shall enjoy all the rights to proceed to execution, to which he is entitled.

The required security must stipulate that the mortgage holder shall receive, at the expense of the owner of the plantation, a new mortgage for the whole amount of the debt then due to the former, therein including both that part of the original debt, which is not discharged, and the interest due on the same, to the 31st December, 1814. That this security shall reserve to the mortgage holder the right of preference before other mortgage-holders and creditors, to which he was entitled under his original mortgage; that it shall be subject to a yearly interest, beginning with the 1st of January, 1815, of the same amount, and payable in the same way, as prescribed in the original mortgage; and that the whole amount of the new debt shall be payable at eight yearly periods, the first of which shall take place on the 1st of January, 1820. This new security shall guarantee to the mortgage-holder all such means of legal redress, in case of non-payment of interest, or being behind-hand in the discharge of the principal whenever it shall be due; and all such other preferable rights and advantages as he is entitled to under his already existing mortgage; and shall place him, in relation to the debt, for which the new security has been given, in the very same situation in which he was with respect to his original claim on the plantation, with the exception alone of what relates to the time when the payment may be enforced,—in such way, however, that no later creditor shall derive from this arrangement any the smallest competency, to the injury of the rights of the original creditor; and that no farther postponement of the payment beyond what is here fixed, shall take place without the special consent of the creditor.

It is further appointed that, in order that the mortgage holder may be entitled to the security described in this article, he shall be bound, as soon as the said deed shall have been registered in the colony, and placed in the hands of the mortgage holder, or his agent in the colony, (the expences of which registration must be borne by the owner of the plantation,) to give up, in order to be cancelled, the deed of mortgage first placed in his hands, or to give legal proof that this deed of mortgage or security for debt, has been duly cancelled, and is of no farther validity or effect.

It being farther expressly determined, that, with the exception of the provisions specified in this article, the rights of mortgage holders or creditors shall remain in their full force.

V. All Dutch proprietors who are recognised as such by this convention, shall be competent to supply, from the Netherlands, their plantations with the usual necessaries, and, in return, may export to the Netherlands the produce of the aforesaid plantations; but all other import of goods from the Netherlands into the colonies, or export of produce from the colonies to the Netherlands, are strictly prohibited; and it is further determined, that no export of any article that

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is prohibited to be exported thither from the British States, shall be sent thither from the Netherlands.

VI. By Dutch proprietors must be understood, 1st, all subjects of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, residing in his European States, and now being landed proprietors in the aforesaid colonies.

2d. All subjects of his said Majesty, who, in course of time, may come into possession of plantations in them, now belonging to Dutch proprietors.

3d. All such landed proprietors as, now residing in the said colonies, were born in the Netherlands, and who, in conformity to Article VIII. of this convention, may declare, that they wish to be considered as Dutch proprietors in future; and,

4th. All subjects of his said Majesty who may be holders of mortgages on plantations in the said colonies before the date of the ratification of this convention; and who, in consequence of their deed of mortgage, possess the right of exporting the produce of the said plantations to the Netherlands, under the restriction stated in Article IX.

VII. In all cases where the right of supplying the wants of mortgaged plantations, and the right of exporting the produce of the same to the Netherlands is not actually secured to the mortgage-holder, the latter shall be permitted to export from the colonies only such quantity of produce as, estimated by the price-current of the colony, shall be sufficient to pay the amount of interest or capital yearly due to him, and on the other hand to introduce into the colony articles of necessity in the same proportion.

VIII. All proprietors, being subjects of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, now resident in these colonies, shall be bound, in order to be entitled to the benefits of this convention, within three months after its publication in the said colonies, to declare whether they are satisfied to be considered as such in future.

IX. In all cases where both Dutch and British subjects shall have a mortgage on the same plantation, in the said colonies, the amount of the produce to be consigned to the different mortgage-holders, shall be in proportion to the amount of the debt due to each respectively.

X. In order that the dispositions of the present convention may be the more readily brought into and kept in operation, it is determined that, every year, by order of the King of the Netherlands, correct and specific lists shall be made out, containing the names and places of residence of proprietors resident in the Netherlands, together with the names and descriptions of the plantations to them respectively belonging, with the addition of whether the last mentioned be sugar or other kind of plantations, and whether the first mentioned are owners in whole or only in part of the plantations. Similar lists shall also be made out of the mortgages vested on the plantation, in so far as these mortgages are in the possession of Dutch subjects, specifying the amount of the debt or mortgage, as they at present exist, or as they are to be paid in virtue of Art. IV.

These lists shall be given to the British government, and sent to the aforesaid colonies, in order that, with the addition of the list of Dutch proprietors resident in the said colonies, they may serve to ascertain the whole amount of the Dutch population and property or interest in the aforesaid colonies.

XI. His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and his Britannic Majesty, having considered, that the Dutch merchants and share-holders, known under the name of the *Societeit van de Berbice*, have a just claim to certain plantations formerly cleared by them,

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in the colony of Berbice, and of which they were dispossessed by the revolutionary government of Holland, and which on the last occupation of the said colony by the British arms, were considered as government property,—his Britannic Majesty therefore binds himself to restore to the said company of Berbice, within the period of six months after the exchanging of the ratifications of the present convention, the plantations *Dageraad*, *Dankbarrheid*, *Johanna*, and *Sandvoort*, with their negroes and other appurtenances at present actually employed upon them; and this in full satisfaction of all claims which the said company may have, or claim to have, chargeable on his Britannic Majesty or his subjects, on the account of any property which formerly belonged to the said company in the colony of Berbice.

XII. All questions that may arise between private persons in relation to rights of property as determined by the present convention, shall be decided by the competent tribunal, according to the laws in force in the said colonies.

XIII. His Britannic Majesty engages, in all cases where the rights and interests of Dutch proprietors are concerned, to proceed with the greatest equity and impartiality.

XIV. The two contracting parties reserve to themselves the power to make, in future, such modifications of the present convention as experience may suggest to be required by the interests of both powers.

XV. Finally, it is agreed, that the stipulations of this convention shall be of force from the day of the exchanging of the ratifications of it.

XVI. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at London, within three weeks after the signing of the same, or earlier if possible.

In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and thereto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at London the 12th of August, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

Treaty between Great Britain and Russia, respecting the Ionian Islands, signed at Paris the 5th of November, 1815.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, animated by the desire of prosecuting the negociations adjourned at the Congress of Vienna, in order to fix the destiny of the seven Ionian Islands, and to insure the independence, liberty, and happiness of the inhabitants of those islands, by placing them and their constitution under the immediate protection of one of the great powers of Europe, have agreed to settle definitively, by a special act, whatever relates to this object, which, grounded upon the rights resulting from the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, and likewise upon the British declarations, at the period when the British arms liberated Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, Santo-Maura, Ithaca, and Paxo, shall be considered as forming part of the general treaty concluded at Vienna on the 9th of June, 1815, on the termination of the Congress; and in order to settle and sign the said act, the high contracting powers have nominated plenipotentiaries: that is to say, his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and

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Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, &c.; and the Most Illustrious and Most Noble Lord, Arthur, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Wellington, Marquis of Douro, &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Andre Prince of Rasoumoffsky, &c., and the Sieur John Count Capo d'Istria, &c.; who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following terms:—

Art. 1. The islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, with their dependencies, such as they are described in the treaty between his Majesty the Emperor of the Russias and the Ottoman Porte, of the 21st of March, 1800, shall form a single, free, and independent state, under the denomination of the United States of the Ionian Islands.

Art. 2. This state shall be placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors. The other contracting powers do consequently renounce every right or particular pretension which they might have formed in respect to them, and formally guarantee all the dispositions of the present treaty.

Art. 3. The United States of the Ionian Islands shall, with the approbation of the protecting power, regulate their internal organization; and in order to give to all the parts of this organization the necessary consistency and action, his Britannic Majesty will employ a particular solicitude with regard to the legislation and the general administration of those states; his Majesty will therefore appoint a lord high commissioner to reside there, invested with all the necessary power and authorities for this purpose.

Art. 4. In order to carry into execution without delay the stipulations mentioned in the articles preceding, and to ground the political re-organization which is actually in force, the lord high commissioner of the protecting power shall regulate the forms of convocation of a legislative assembly, of which he shall direct the proceedings, in order to draw up a new constitutional charter for the states, which his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great and Ireland shall be requested to ratify.

Until such constitutional charter shall have been so drawn up, and duly ratified, the existing constitutions shall remain in force in the different islands, and no alteration shall be made in them, except by his Britannic Majesty in council.

Art. 5. In order to ensure without restriction to the inhabitants of the United States of the Ionian Islands, the advantages resulting from the high protection under which these states are placed, as well as for the exercise of the rights inherent in the said protection, his Britannic Majesty shall have the right to occupy the fortresses and places of those states, and to maintain garrisons in the same. The military force of the said United States shall also be under the orders of the commander-in-chief of the troops of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. 6. His Britannic Majesty consents, that a particular convention with the government of the said United States shall regulate, according to the revenues of those states, every thing which may relate to the maintenance of the fortresses already existing, as well as to the subsistence and payment of the British garrisons, and to the number of men of which they shall be composed in time of peace.

The same convention shall likewise fix the relations which are to exist be-

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tween the said armed force and the Ionian government.

Art. 7. The trading flag of the United States of the Ionian Islands shall be acknowledged by all the contracting parties as the flag of a free and independent state. It shall carry with the colours, and above the armorial bearings thereon displayed before the year 1807, such other as his Britannic Majesty may think proper to grant, as a mark of the protection under which the said Ionian States are placed; and for the more effectual furtherance of this protection, all the ports and harbours of the said states are hereby declared to be, with respect to the honorary and military rights, within British jurisdiction. The commerce between the United Ionian States and the dominions of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall enjoy the same advantages and facilities as that of Great Britain with the said United States. None but commercial agents or consuls charged solely with the carrying on commercial arrangements, and subject to the regulations to which commercial agents or consuls are subject in other independent states, shall be accredited to the United States of the Ionian Islands.

Art. 8. All the powers which signed the treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, and the act of the Congress of Vienna, of the 9th of June, 1815; and also his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and the Ottoman Porte, shall be invited to accede to the present convention.

Art. 9. The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in two months, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris the 5th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(Signed) (L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L. S.) WELLINGTON.
(Signed) (L. S.) Le Prince de RASOUMOFFSKY.
(L. S.) Le Compte CAPO D'ISTRIA.

DEFINITIVE TREATY.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

The allied powers having by their united efforts, and by the success of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were menaced by the late enterprize of Napoleon Buonaparte, and by the revolutionary system re-produced in France to promote its success; participating at present with his most Christian Majesty in the desire to consolidate, by maintaining inviolate the royal authority, and by restoring the operation of the constitutional charter, the order of things which had been happily re-established in France, as also in the object of restoring between France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and goodwill, which the fatal effects of the revolution and of the system of conquest had for so long a time disturbed; persuaded, at the same time, that this last object can only be obtained by an arrangement framed to secure to the allies proper indemnities for the past, and solid guarantees for the future, they have, in concert with his Majesty the King of France, taken into consideration the means of giving effect to this arrangement; and being satisfied that the indemnity due to the allied powers cannot be either entirely territoral or entirely pecuniary, without prejudice to France in the one or other of her essential inte-

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rests, and that it would be more fit to combine both the modes, in order to avoid the inconveniences which would result, were either resorted to separately: their Imperial and Royal Majesties have adopted this basis for their present transactions; and agreeing alike as to the necessity of retaining for a fixed time in the frontier provinces of France, a certain number of allied troops, they have determined to combine their different arrangements, founded upon these bases, in a definitive treaty. For this purpose, and to this effect, his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for himself and his allies on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other part, have named their plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign the said definitive treaty; namely, his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, &c.; and the most illustrious and most noble Lord, Arthur, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Wellington, &c. and his Majesty the King of France, and of Navarre, the Sieur Armand Emanuel du Plessis Richelieu, Duke of Richelieu, &c., who, having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have signed the following articles:—

Art. 1. The frontiers of France shall be the same as they were in the year 1790, save and except the modifications on one side and on the other, which are detailed in the present article. First, on the northern frontiers, the line of demarkation shall remain as it was fixed by the treaty of Paris, as far as opposite to Quiverain, from thence it shall follow the ancient limits of the Belgian Provinces, of the late Bishopric of Liege, and of the Duchy of Bouillon, as they existed in the year 1790, leaving the territories included within that line, of Phillipeville and Marienbourg, with the fortresses so called, together with the whole of the Duchy of Bouillon, without the frontiers of France. From Villers near Orval upon the confines of the department Des Ardennes, and of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg as far as Perle, upon the great road leading from Thionville to Treves, the line shall remain as it was laid down by the treaty of Paris. From Perle it shall pass by Laumadorff, Walwich, Schardorff, Niederveiling, Pelweiler (all these places with their *Banlieues* or dependencies remaining to France,) to Houvre; and shall follow from thence the old limits of the district of Sarrebruck, leaving Sarrelouis, and the course of the Sarre; together with the places situated to the right of the line above described, and their *Banlieues* or dependencies, without the limits of France. From the limits of the district of Sarrebruck the line of demarkation shall be the same which at present separates from Germany the departments of the Moselle and of the Lower Rhine, as far as to the Lauter, which river shall from thence serve as the frontier until it shall fall into the Rhine. All the territory on the left bank of the Lauter, including the fortress of Landau, shall form part of Germany.

The town of Weissenbourg, however, through which that river runs, shall remain entirely to France, with a *rayon* on the left bank, not exceeding a thousand toises, and which shall be more particularly determined by the commissioners who shall be charged with the approaching designation of the boundaries. Secondly, leaving the mouth of the Lauter, and continuing along the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, the Doubs, and the Jura, to the Cantos de Vaud, the frontiers shall remain as fixed by the treaty of Paris. The

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Thalweg of the Rhine shall form the boundary between France and the states of Germany, but the property of the islands shall remain in perpetuity, as it shall be fixed by a new survey of the course of that river, and continue unchanged, whatever variation that course may undergo in the lapse of time. Commissioners shall be named on both sides, by the high contracting parties, within the space of three months to proceed upon the said survey. One half of the bridge between Strasbourg and Kehl shall belong to France, and the other half to the Grand Duchy of Baden. Thirdly, in order to establish a direct communication between the Canton of Geneva and Switzerland, that part of the Pays de Gex, bounded on the east by the lake Leman; on the south, by the territory of the Canton of Geneva; on the north, by that of the Canton de Vaud; on the west, by the course of the Versoix, and by a line which comprehends the communes of Collex Bossy, and Meyrin, leaving the commune of Ferney to France, shall be ceded to the Helvetic Confederacy, in order to be united to the Canton of Geneva. The line of the French custom-houses shall be placed to the west of the Jura, so that the whole of the Pays de Gex shall be without that line. Fourthly, from the frontiers of the Canton of Geneva, as far as the Mediterranean, the line of demarkation shall be that which, in the year 1790, separated France from Savoy, and from the county of Nice. The relations which the treaty of Paris of 1814 had re-established between France and the principality of Monaco, shall cease for ever, and the same relations shall exist between that principality and his Majesty the King of Sardinia. Fifthly, all the territories and districts included within the boundary of the French territory, as determined by the present articles, shall remain united to France. Sixthly, the high contracting parties shall name, within three months after the signature of the present treaty, commissioners to regulate every thing relating to the designation of the boundaries of the respective countries; and as soon as the labours of the commissioners shall have terminated, maps shall be drawn, and land-marks shall be erected, which shall point out the respective limits.

2. The fortresses, places, and districts, which, according to the preceding article, are no longer to form part of the French territory, shall be placed at the disposal of the allied powers, at the periods fixed by the 9th article of the military convention annexed to the present treaty; and his Majesty the King of France renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors for ever, the rights of sovereignty and property, which he has hitherto exercised over the said fortresses, places, and districts.

3. The fortifications of Huningen having been constantly an object of uneasiness to the town of Basle, the high contracting parties, in order to give to the Helvetic Confederacy a new proof of their good will, and of their solicitude for its welfare, have agreed among themselves to demolish the fortifications of Huningen, and the French government engages from the same motive not to re-establish them at any time, and not to replace them by other fortifications, at a distance of less than that of three leagues from the town of Basle. The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to the territory situated to the north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, that town being included to the south of the lake of Annecy, by Faverge, as far as Lecheraine, and from thence, by the lake of Bourget, as far as the Rhone, in like manner as it was extended to the provinces of Chablais and of Faucigny, by the 92d

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article of the final act of the Congress of Vienna.

4. The pecuniary part of the indemnity to be furnished by France, to the allied powers, is fixed at the sum of seven hundred millions of francs. The mode, the periods, and the guarantees for the payment of this sum, shall be regulated by a special convention, which shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the present treaty.

5. The state of uneasiness and of fermentation, which, after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the last catastrophe, France must still experience, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of her King, and the advantages secured to every class of his subjects by the constitutional charter, requiring for the security of the neighbouring states, certain measures of precaution, and of temporary guarantee, it has been judged indispensable to occupy, during a fixed time, by a corps of allied troops, certain military positions along the frontiers of France, under the express reserve, that such occupation shall in no way prejudice the sovereignty of his most Christian Majesty, nor the state of possession, such as it is recognised and confirmed by the present treaty. The number of these troops shall not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand men.—The commander in-chief of this army shall be nominated by the allied powers. This army shall occupy the fortresses of Conde, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Le Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Sedan, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the Tete-de-Pont of Fort Louis. As the maintenance of the army destined for this service is to be provided by France, a special convention shall regulate every thing which may relate to that object. This convention, which shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted word for word in the present treaty, shall also regulate the relations of the army of occupation with the civil and military authorities of the country. The utmost extent of the duration of this military operation, is fixed at five years. It may terminate before that period, if, at the end of three years, the allied sovereigns, after having, in concert with his Majesty the King of France, maturely examined their reciprocal situations and interests, and the progress which shall have been made in France, in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity, shall agree to acknowledge that the motives which led them to that measure have ceased to exist. But whatever may be the result of this deliberation, all the fortresses and positions occupied by the allied troops shall, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most Christian Majesty, or to his heirs and successors.

6. The foreign troops, not forming part of the army of occupation, shall evacuate the French territory within the term fixed by the 9th Article of the Military Convention annexed to the present treaty.

7. In all countries which shall change sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of the arrangements which are to be made in consequence thereof, a period of six years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications shall be allowed to the inhabitants, natives or foreigners, of whatever condition and nation they may be, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit so to do, and to retire to whatever country they may choose.

8. All the dispositions of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, relative to the countries ceded by that treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present treaty.

9. The high contracting parties having caused representation to be made

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of the different claims arising out of the non-execution of the treaty of the 19th and following Articles of the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, as well as of the additional articles of that treaty signed between Great Britain and France, desiring to render more efficacious the stipulations made thereby, and having determined, by two separate conventions, the line to be pursued on each side for that purpose, the said two conventions, as annexed to the present treaty, shall, in order to secure the complete execution of the above mentioned articles, have the same force and effect as if the same were inserted, word for word.

10. All prisoners taken during the hostilities, as well as all hostages which may have been carried off or given, shall be restored in the shortest time possible. The same shall be the case with respect to the prisoners taken previously to the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, and who shall not already have been restored.

11. The treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the final act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments as shall not have been modified by the articles of the present treaty.

12. The present treaty, with the conventions annexed thereto, shall be ratified in one act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(Signed)

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L. S.) WELLINGTON.
(L. S.) RICHELIEU.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The high contracting powers sincerely desiring to give effect to the measures on which they deliberated at the Congress of Vienna, relative to the complete and universal abolition of the slave-trade, and having, each in their respective dominions, prohibited, without restriction, their colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in this traffic, engage to renew conjointly their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which they proclaimed in the declaration of the 4th of February, 1815, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their ministers at the Courts of London and of Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature.

The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty signed this day. It shall be included in the ratification of the said treaty.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L. S.) WELLINGTON.
(L. S.) RICHELIEU.

CONVENTION,

Concluded in conformity to the Fourth Article of the Principal Treaty, relative to the Payment of the Pecuniary Indemnity to be furnished by France to the Allied Powers.

The payment to which France has bound herself to the allied powers as an indemnity by the fourth article of the treaty of this day, shall take place

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in this form and at the periods prescribed by the following articles.

Art. 1. The sum of seven hundred millions of francs, being the amount of the indemnity, shall be discharged day by day, in equal portions, in the space of five years, by means of *Bons au Porteur* on the royal treasury of France, in the manner that shall be now set forth.

2. The treasury shall give over immediately to the allied powers fifteen engagements for forty-six millions and two-thirds each, forming together the sum of seven hundred millions; the first engagement payable on the 31st of March, 1816; the second on the 31st of July of the same year; and so on, in every fourth month, during the five successive years.

3. These engagements shall not be negotiable, but they shall be periodically exchanged against *Bons au Porteur*, negotiable, drawn in the form used in the ordinary service of the royal treasury.

4. In the month which shall precede the four, in the course of which an engagement is to be paid, that engagement shall be divided by the treasury of France, into *Bons au Porteur* payable in Paris, in equal portions from the first to the last day of the four months.

Thus the engagement of forty-six millions and two-thirds, falling due the 31st of March, 1816, shall be exchanged in the month of November, 1815, against *Bons au Porteur* payable in equal portions from the 1st of December, 1815, to the 3d of March, 1816, the engagement of forty-six millions and two-thirds, which will fall due the 31st of July, 1816, shall be exchanged in the month of March, in the same year, against *Bons au Porteur* payable in equal portions from the 1st of April, 1816, to the 31st of July, of the same year; and so on, every four months.

5. No single *Bon au Porteur* shall be delivered for the sum due each day, but the sum so due shall be divided into several *Coupures* or bills of one thousand, two thousand, five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand francs, the which sums, added together, will amount to the sum total of payment due each day.

6. The allied powers, convinced that it is as much their interest as that of France, that too considerable a sum of *Bons au Porteur* should not be issued at once, agree, that there never shall be in circulation *Bons* for more than fifty millions of francs at a time.

7. No interest shall be paid by France for the delay of five years, which the allied powers allow to her for the payment of the seven hundred millions of francs.

8. On the 1st of January, 1816, there shall be made over by France to the allied powers, as a guarantee for the regularity of the payment, a fund of interest inscribed in the *Grand Livre* of the public debt of France, of seven millions of francs, on a capital of one hundred and forty millions.

This fund of interest shall be used to make good, if there should be need of it, the deficiences in the *Acceptances* of the French government, and to render the payments equal, at the end of every six months, to the *Bons au Porteur*, which shall have fallen due, as shall be hereafter detailed.

9. This fund of interest shall be inscribed in the name of such persons as the allied powers shall point out; but these persons cannot be the holders of the inscriptions, except in the case provided for in the eleventh article ensuing. The allied powers further reserve to themselves, the right to transfer the inscriptions to other names, as often as they shall judge necessary.

10. The deposit of these inscriptions shall be confided to one treasurer named by the allied powers, and to

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another named by the French government.

11. There shall be a mixed commission, composed of an equal number on both sides, of Allied and French Commissioners, who shall examine, every six months, the state of the payments, and shall regulate the balance. The *Bons* of the treasury paid, shall constitute the payments; those which shall not yet have been presented to the treasury of France, shall enter into the account of the subsequent balance; those also which shall have fallen due, been presented, and not paid, shall constitute the arrear, and the sum of inscriptions to be applied at the market price of the day, to cover the deficit. As soon as that operation shall have taken place, the *Bons* unpaid shall be given up to the French commissioners, and the mixed commission shall order the treasurers to pay over the sum so determined upon, and the treasurers shall be authorised and obliged to pay it over to the commissioners of the allied powers, who shall dispose of it as they shall think proper.

12. France engages to replace immediately in the hands of the treasurers, an amount of inscriptions equal to that which may have been made use of, according to the foregoing article, in order that the fund stipulated in the eighth article may be always kept at its full amount.

13. France shall pay an interest of five per cent. per annum from the date of the *Bons au Porteur* falling due, upon all such *Bons*, the payment of which may have been delayed by the act of France.

14. When the first six hundred millions of francs shall have been paid, the allies, in order to accelerate the entire liberation of France, will accept, should it be agreeable to the French government, the fund mentioned in the 9th article at the market price of that day, to such an amount as will be equal to the remainder due of the seven hundred millions.

France will only have to furnish the difference, should any exist.

15. Should this plan not be convenient to France, the hundred millions of francs, which would remain due, may be discharged in the manner pointed out in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th articles; and after the complete payment of the seven hundred millions, the inscriptions stipulated for in the 8th article shall be returned to France.

16. The French government engages to execute, independently of the pecuniary indemnity stipulated by the present convention, all the engagements stipulated for in the special conventions concluded with the different powers and their co-allies, relative to the clothing and equipment of their armies, and engages for the exact deliverance and payment of the *Bons* and *Mandats* arising from the said conventions, in as far as they shall not have been already discharged at the time of the signature of the principal treaty, and of the present convention.

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(Signed) (L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(Signed) (L.S.) RICHELIEU.

Extract of a Protocol for regulating the Dispositions relative to the Territories and Places ceded by France, by Articles 1, 2, and 3, of Treaty.

The ministers of the imperial and royal courts of Austria, of Russia, of Great Britain, and of Prussia, having taken into consideration the measures become necessary by those arrangements with France which are to terminate the present war, have agreed to lay down in the present protocol

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the dispositions relative to the territorial cessions to be made by France, and to the contributions destined for strengthening the line of defence of the bordering states.

Article 1.—Kingdom of the Low Countries.—Considering that his Majesty the King of the Low Countries ought to participate in a just proportion in the advantages resulting from the present arrangement with France, and considering the state of his frontiers on the side of that country, it is agreed, that the districts which formed part of the Belgic Provinces, of the Bishopric of Liege, and of the Duchy of Bouillon, as well as the towns of Philipeville and Marienbourg, with their territories, which France is to cede to the allies, shall be assigned to his Majesty the King of the Low Countries, to be united to his dominions.

His Majesty the King of the Low Countries shall receive, moreover, out of that part of the French contribution which is destined towards strengthening the line of defence of the states bordering upon France, the sum of sixty millions of francs, which shall be laid out in fortifying the frontiers of the Low Countries, in conformity with the plans and regulations which the powers shall settle in this respect.

It is besides agreed, that in consideration of the advantages which his Majesty the King of the Low Countries will derive from these dispositions, both in the increase of, and in the means for defending his territory; that that proportion of the pecuniary indemnity payable by France to which his said Majesty might lay claim shall serve towards putting the indemnities of Austria and Prussia on the level of a just proportion.

2. Acquisitions of Prussia.—The districts which, by the new treaty of France, will be detached from the French territory in the department of the Sarre and the Moselle, including the fortress of Saare-Louis, shall be united to the dominions of the King of Prussia.

3. Acquisitions of Austria.—The territories which France is to cede in the department of the Lower Rhine, including the town and fortress of Landau, shall be united to those possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, which devolve to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty by the final act of the Congress of Vienna. His Majesty may dispose of his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine in the territorial arrangements with Bavaria, and other States of the Germanic Confederation.

4. Helvetic Confederation.—Versoix, with that part of the Pays de Gex which is to be ceded by France shall be united to Switzerland, and form part of the canton of Geneva.

The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to that territory which is placed north of a line to be drawn from Ugina, (including that town) to the mouth of the lake of Annecy, and from thence to the lake of Bourget, as far as the Rhone, in the same manner as it has been extended to the provinces of Chablis and Faucigny, by the 92d article of the final act of the Congress of Vienna.

5. Sardinia.—In order that his Majesty the King of Sardinia may participate, in a just proportion, in the advantages resulting from the present arrangement with France, it is agreed, that the portion of Savoy which remained to France, in virtue of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, shall be re-united to the dominions of his said Majesty, with the exception of the Commune of St Julian, which shall be given up to the Canton of Geneva.

The cabinets of the allied courts will use their good offices for inducing his Sardinian Majesty to cede to the Canton of Geneva the communes of Chesne, Thonex, and some others ne-

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cessary for disengaging the Swiss territory of Jassy from the effects of the retrocession, by the Canton of Geneva, of that territory situated between the road of Euron and the lake, which had been ceded to his Sardinian Majesty, by the act of the 29th of March, 1815.

The French government having consented to withdraw its lines of custom and excise from the frontiers of Switzerland, on the side of the Jura, the cabinets of the allied powers will employ their good offices for inducing his Sardinian Majesty to withdraw, in like manner, his lines of custom and excise, on the side of Savoy, at least upwards of a league from the Swiss frontiers, and on the outside of the great road of Saleve, and of the mountains of Sion and of Waache.

His Majesty the King of Sardinia shall receive, moreover, out of that part of the French contribution which is destined for the strengthening the line of defence of the states bordering upon France, the sum of ten millions of francs, which is to be laid out in fortifying his frontiers, in conformity with the plans and regulations which the powers shall settle in this respect.

It is likewise agreed, that, in consideration of the advantages which his Sardinian Majesty will derive from these dispositions, both in the extension and in the means for defending his territory, that part of the pecuniary indemnity payable by France, to which his said Majesty might lay claim, shall serve towards putting the indemnities of Austria and Prussia on the level of a just proportion.

STATE PAPER.

To his Excellency the Duc de Richelieu.

The allied sovereigns having confided to Marshal the Duke of Wellington the command in chief of those of their troops, which, according to the 5th of article of the treaty concluded this day with France, are to remain in this country during a certain number of years, the undersigned ministers, &c. &c. &c. think it their duty to give some explanation to his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu as to the nature and extent of the powers attached to this command.

Although chiefly guided with respect to this measure, by motives tending to the safety and welfare of their subjects, and being very far from having any intention of employing their troops in aid of the police, or of the internal administration of France, or in any manner that might compromise or interfere with the free exercise of the royal authority in this country, the allied sovereigns have, however, in consideration of the high interest which they take in supporting the power of legitimate sovereigns, promised to his most Christian Majesty to support him with their arms against every revolutionary convulsion which might tend to overthrow by force the order of things at present established, and to menace, also, again the general tranquillity of Europe. They do not, however, dissemble, that in the variety of forms under which the revolutionary spirit might again manifest itself in France, doubts might arise as to the nature of the case which might call for the intervention of a foreign force; and feeling the difficulty of framing any instructions precisely applicable to each particular case, the allied sovereigns have thought it better to leave it to the tried prudence and discretion of the Duke of Wellington, to decide when and how far it may be advisable to employ the troops under his orders, always supposing that he would not in any case so determine without having concerted his measures with the King of France,

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or without giving information as soon as possible to the allied sovereigns, of the motives which may have induced him to come to such a determination. And as, in order to guide the Duke of Wellington in the choice of his arrangements, it will be important that he should be correctly informed of the events which may occur in France, the ministers of the four allied courts, accredited to his most Christian Majesty, have received orders to maintain a regular correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, and to provide at the same time for an intermediate one between the French government and the commander in chief of the allied troops, for the purpose of transmitting to the French government the communications which the Duke of Wellington may have occasion to address to it, and of communicating to the Marshal the suggestions or requisitions which the court of France may wish in future to make to him. The undersigned flatter themselves, that the Duke de Richelieu will readily recognise in these arrangements the same character and the same principles, which have been manifested in concerting and adopting the measures of the military occupations of a part of France. They carry with them also, on quitting this country, the consoling persuasion, that notwithstanding the elements of disorder which France may still contain, the effect of revolutionary events, a wise and paternal government proceeding in a proper manner to tranquillize and conciliate the minds of the people, and abstaining from every act, contrary to such a system, may not only succeed in maintaining the public tranquillity, but also in the re-establishing universal union and confidence, relieving likewise, as much as the proceedings of the government can effect it, the allied powers from the painful necessity of having recourse to those measures, which, in case of any new convulsion, would be imperiously prescribed to them by the duty of providing for the safety of their own subjects, and the general tranquillity of Europe, &c.

The undersigned have the honour, &c.

(Signed)
METTERNICH.
CASTLEREAGH.
HARDENBERG.
CAPO D'ISTRIA.

Paris, Nov. 20. 1815.

Note addressed by the Ministers of the Four United Courts to the Duke of Richelieu, on the 20th of November.

The undersigned ministers of the united cabinets have the honour to communicate to his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu, the new treaty of alliance which they have signed in the name and by the order of their august sovereigns; a treaty, the object of which is to give to the principles consecrated by the treaties of Chaumont and Vienna, the application most analogous to present circumstances, and to connect the destiny of France with the common interests of Europe.

The allied cabinets regard the stability of the order of things happily re-established in that country, as one of the essential bases of a solid and durable tranquillity. To that object their united efforts have constantly been directed, and their sincere desire to maintain and consolidate the result of those efforts, has dictated all the stipulations of the new treaty. His most Christian Majesty will in that act recognise the solicitude with which they have concerted the measures most proper for removing whatever might hereafter compromise the internal repose of France, and prepare remedies against the dangers with

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which the royal authority, the foundation of public order, might yet be menaced. The principles and intentions of the allied sovereigns are in this respect invariable. Of this, the engagements which they have now contracted, furnish the most unequivocal proof; but the most lively interest they take in the satisfaction of his most Christian Majesty, as well as in the tranquillity and prosperity of his kingdom, induces them to hope that the occurrences provided against in these engagements will never be realised.

The allied cabinets perceive the first guarantee of this hope in the enlightened principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues of his most Christian Majesty. His Majesty has recognised with them that in a state which has, during the quarter of a century, been torn by revolutionary movements, it does not belong to force alone to re-produce calm in the minds, confidence in the hearts, and equilibrium in the different parts of the social body; and that wisdom must be joined with vigour, and moderation and firmness, in order to operate these happy changes. Far from fearing that his most Christian Majesty will ever lend an ear to imprudent or passionate counsels tending to nourish discontents, renew alarm, reanimate hatred and divisions, the allied cabinets are completely assured by the equally wise and generous dispositions which the King has announced in all the epochs of his reign, and particularly at that of his return after the late criminal usurpation. They know that his Majesty will oppose to all the enemies of the public welfare and tranquillity of his kingdom, under whatever form they may present themselves, his attachment to the constitutional laws promulgated under his own auspices; his will decidedly pronounced, to be the father of all his subjects, without any distinction of class or religion; to efface even the recollection of the evils which they have suffered, and to preserve of past times only the good which Providence has caused to arise, even amidst public calamities. It is only thus that the wishes formed by the allied cabinets, for the preservation of the constitutional authority of his most Christian Majesty, for the happiness of his country, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world, can be crowned with a complete success, and that France, re-established on her ancient bases, can resume the place to which she is called in the European system.

The undersigned have the honour to reiterate to his Excellency the Duke of Richelieu their high consideration.

(Signed) METTERNICH,
CASTLEREAGH,
HARDENBERG,
CAPO D'ISTRIA.

Paris, Nov. 20.

NOTE,

Delivered in by Viscount Castlereagh to the Allied Ministers, and placed upon their protocol.—Paris, September 11, 1815.

Representations having been laid before the ministers of the allied powers from the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of the Netherlands, and other Sovereigns, claiming, through the intervention of the high allied powers, the restoration of the statues, pictures, and other works of art, of which their respective states have been successively and systematically stripped by the late revolutionary government of France, contrary to every principle of justice, and to the usages of modern warfare, and

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the same having been referred for the consideration of his court, the undersigned has received the commands of the Prince Regent to submit, for the consideration of his allies, the following remarks upon this interesting subject.

It is now the second time that the powers of Europe have been compelled, in vindication of their own liberties, and for the settlement of the world, to invade France, and twice their armies have possessed themselves of the capital of the state, in which these, the spoil of the greater part of Europe, are accumulated.

The legitimate sovereign of France has, as often, under the protection of those armies, been enabled to resume his throne, and to mediate for his people a peace with the allies, to the marked indulgencies of which neither their conduct to their own monarch, nor towards other states, had given them just pretensions to aspire.

That the purest sentiments of regard for Louis XVIII. deference for his ancient and illustrious house, and respect for his misfortunes, have guided invariably the allied councils, has been proved beyond a question, by their having, last year, framed the treaty of Paris expressly on the basis of preserving to France its complete integrity, and still more, after their late disappointment, by the endeavours they are again making, ultimately to combine the substantial integrity of France, with such an adequate system of temporary precaution as may satisfy what they owe to the security of their own subjects.

But it would be the height of weakness, as well as of injustice, and in its effects much more likely to mislead than to bring back the people of France to moral and peaceful habits, if the allied sovereigns, to whom the world is anxiously looking up for protection and repose, were to deny that principle of integrity in its just and liberal application to other nations, their allies (more especially to the feeble and to the helpless,) which they are about, for the second time, to concede to a nation against whom they have had occasion so long to contend in war.

Upon what principle can France, at the close of such a war, expect to sit down with the same extent of possessions which she held before the revolution, and desire, at the same time, to retain the ornamented spoils of all other countries? Is it, that there can exist a doubt of the issue of the contest, or of the power of the allies to effectuate what justice and policy require? If not, upon what principle deprive France of her late territorial acquisitions, and preserve to her the spoliations appertaining to those territories, which all modern conquerors have invariably respected, as inseparable from the country to which they belonged?

The allied sovereigns have perhaps something to atone for to Europe, in consequence of the course pursued by them, when at Paris, during the last year. It is true, they never did so far make themselves parties in the criminality of this mass of plunder, as to sanction it by any stipulation in their treaties; such a recognition has been on their part uniformly refused; but they certainly did use their influence to repress at that moment any agitation of their claims, in the hope that France, not less subdued by their generosity than by their arms, might be disposed to preserve inviolate a peace which had been studiously framed to serve as a bond of reconciliation between the nation and the King. They had also reason to expect, that his majesty would be advised voluntarily to restore a considerable proportion at least of these spoils to their lawful owners.

But the question is a very different

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one now, and to pursue the same course under circumstances so essentially altered, would be, in the judgment of the Prince Regent, equally unwise towards France. and unjust towards our allies, who have a direct interest in this question.

His Royal Highness, in stating this opinion, feels it necessary to guard against the possibility of misrepresentation.

Whilst he deems it to be the duty of the allied sovereigns, not only not to obstruct, but to facilitate, upon the present occasion, the return of these objects to the places from whence they were torn, it seems not less consistent with their delicacy, not to suffer the position of their armies in France, or the removal of these works from the Louvre, to become the means, either directly or indirectly, of bringing within their own dominions a single article which did not of right, at the period of their conquest, belong either to their respective family collections, or to the countries over which they now actually reign.

Whatever value the Prince Regent might attach to such exquisite specimens of the fine arts, if otherwise acquired, he has no wish to become possessed of them at the expense of France, or rather of the countries to which they of right belong, more especially by following up a principle in war which he considers as a reproach to the nation by which it has been adopted; and so far from wishing to take advantage of the occasion to purchase from the rightful owners any articles they might, from pecuniary considerations, be disposed to part with, his Royal Highness would on the contrary be disposed rather to afford the means of replacing them in those very temples and galleries, of which they were so long the ornaments.

Were it possible that his Royal Highness's sentiments towards the person and the cause of Louis XVIII. could be brought into doubt, or that the position of his most Christian Majesty would be injured in the eyes of his own people, the Prince Regent would not come to this conclusion without the most painful reluctance; but, on the contrary, his Royal Highness really believes that his Majesty will rise in the love and respect of his own subjects, in proportion as he separates himself from these remembrances of revolutionary warfare. These spoils, which impede a moral reconciliation between France and the countries she has invaded, are not necessary to record the exploits of her armies, which, notwithstanding the cause in which they were achieved, must ever make the arms of the nation respected abroad. But whilst these objects remain at Paris, constituting, as it were, the title-deeds of the countries which have been given up, the sentiments of reuniting these countries again to France, will never be altogether extinct; nor will the genius of the French people ever completely associate itself with the more limited existence assigned to the nation under the Bourbons.

Neither is this opinion given with any disposition on the part of the Prince Regent to humiliate the French nation. His Royal Highness's general policy, the demeanour of his troops in France, his having seized the first moment of Buonaparte's surrender to restore to France the freedom of her commerce, and, above all, the desire he has recently evinced to preserve ultimately to France her territorial integrity, with certain modifications essential to the security of neighbouring states, are the best proofs that, consideration of justice to others, a desire to heal the wounds inflicted by the revolution, and not any illiberal sentiment towards France, have alone dictated this decision.

The whole question resolves itself

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into this:—Are the Powers of Europe now forming in sincerity a permanent settlement with the King? And if so, upon what principles shall it be concluded? Shall it be upon the conservation or the abandonment of revolutionary spoliations?

Can the King feel his own dignity exalted, or his title improved, in being surrounded by monuments of art which record not less the sufferings of his own illustrious house, than of the other nations of Europe? If the French people be desirous of treading back their steps, can they rationally desire to preserve this source of animosity between them and all other nations; and if they are not, is it politic to flatter their vanity, and to keep alive the hopes which the contemplation of these trophies is calculated to excite? Can even the army reasonably desire it? The recollection of their campaigns can never perish. They are recorded in the military annals of Europe. They are emblazoned on the public monuments of their own country; why is it necessary to associate their glory in the field with a system of plunder, by the adoption of which, in contravention of the laws of modern war, the chief that led them to battle, in fact, tarnished the lustre of their arms?

If we are really to return to peace and to ancient maxims, it cannot be wise to preserve just so much of the causes of the past; nor can the king desire, out of the wrecks of the revolution, of which his family has been one of the chief victims, to perpetuate in his house this odious monopoly of the arts. The splendid collection which France possessed previous to the revolution, augmented by the Borghese collection, which has since been purchased (one of the finest in the world,) will afford to the king ample means of ornamenting, in its fair proportion, the capital of his empire; and his Majesty may divest himself of this tainted source of distinction, without prejudice to the due cultivation of the arts in France.

In applying a remedy to this offensive evil, it does not appear that any middle line can be adopted, which does not go to recognize a variety of spoliations, under the cover of treaties, if possible more flagrant in their character than the acts of undisguised rapine, by which these remains were in general brought together.

The principle of property regulated by the claims of the territories from whence these works were taken, is the surest and only guide to justice; and perhaps there is nothing which would more tend to settle the public mind of Europe at this day, than such an homage, on the part of the King of France, to a principle of virtue, conciliation, and peace.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

Answer of the Plenipotentiaries of France, to the Propositions of the 20th September.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty forthwith laid before him the communications which were made to them in the conference of yesterday, by their excellencies the ministers plenipotentiary of the four united courts, respecting the definitive arrangement, as basis of which their excellencies have proposed:

1. The cession by his most Christian Majesty of a territory equal to two-thirds of what was added to Old France by the treaty of the 30th May, and in which should be comprehended the fortresses of Condé, Philippeville, Marienbourg, Givet and Charlemont, Sarre-Louis, Landau, and forts Joux and L'Ecluse.

2. The demolition of the fortress of Huninguen.

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2. The payment of two sums; the one of 600 millions, under the denomination of indemnity; the other of 200 millions, to serve for the construction of fortresses in the countries conterminous with France.

4. The military occupation, during seven years, of the fortresses of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Maubeuge, Landrecy, Lequesnoy, Avesne, Rocroy, Longwi, Thionville, Bitchie, and the Tete-du-pont of Fort Louis, as well as of a line along the northern and eastern frontiers, by an army of 150,000 men, under the orders of a general nominated by the allies, and to be subsisted by France.

His Majesty, ardently desirous of hastening, as far as lies in his power, the conclusion of an arrangement, the delay of which has caused to his people so many evils which he daily deplores, and has prolonged in France, and still prolongs, that internal agitation which has excited the solicitude of the powers, but still more animated by a desire to make known his good dispositions to the sovereigns his allies, has wished that the undersigned should communicate without delay to their excellencies the plenipotentiaries of the four courts, the principles on which he thinks the negociation ought to be prosecuted, relatively to each of the bases proposed, by ordering the undersigned to present the following considerations on the first of these bases,—that respecting territorial cessions,—in which that important object is examined, in the twofold relations of justice and utility, which it would be so dangerous to separate.

The want of a common judge, having authority and power to terminate the disputes of sovereigns, leaves no other course, when they cannot come to an amicable agreement, but that of referring the decision of such disputes to the fate of arms, which constitutes between them the state of war. If in this state, possessions of the one are occupied by the forces of the other, these possessions are under conquest, by right of which the occupier acquires the full enjoyment of them during all the time that he occupies them, or until the re-establishment of peace. He is entitled to demand as a condition of that re-establishment, that the territory which he occupies should be ceded to him in whole or in part; and the cession, when it has taken place, transforming the enjoyment into property, from a mere occupier of it he becomes the sovereign. This is a mode of acquisition which the law of nations authorises.

But the state of war, conquest, and the right of exacting cessions, are things which proceed from and depend upon each other, in such way that the first is an absolute condition of the second, and the latter of the third; for out of the state of war, there can be no conquest made; and where conquest has not been made, or no longer exists, the right of demanding territorial cessions cannot exist, since a claim cannot be made to retain that which one has not, or that which he no longer has.

There can be no conquest where there is no state of war, and as you cannot take from him who has nothing, you can only make conquest of what a man possesses; hence it follows, that in order to constitute the possibility of conquest, there must have been war by the occupier on the possessor, that is on the sovereign; right of possession of a country and sovereignty being things inseparable, or rather identical.

If then you make war in a country, and against a number more or less considerable of the inhabitants of that country, while the sovereign is excepted therefrom, you do not make war on the country, the latter word being merely a trope by which the domain

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is put for the possessor. A sovereign, however, must be considered as excepted from the war which foreigners carry on in his country, when they acknowledge him and maintain with him the accustomed relations of peace. The war is then made against men, to the rights of whom he who combats them cannot succeed, because they have no rights, and from whom it is impossible to conquer what does not belong to them. Neither the object nor the effect of such a war can be to make conquests, but to recover. He, however, who recovers that which does not belong to him, cannot recover it but for him whom he acknowledges as the legitimate possessor.

To entitle you to deem yourself at war with a country, without being so with him who has been previously acknowledged a sovereign, two things must necessarily happen; the one is, that of ceasing to hold him as such, and to regard the sovereignty as transferred to those whom you fight against, by the very act for which you fight against them;—that is to say, you then recognize, pursue, and sanction those doctrines which have overthrown so many thrones, shaken them all, and against which all Europe was under the necessity of arming itself: or, you must believe that the sovereignty can be double, while it is essentially one, and incapable of division; it may exist under different forms, be collective or individual, but not each of these at once in the same country, which cannot have two sovereigns at the same time.

The allied powers, however, have neither done nor believed either the one or the other of these two things.

They have considered the enterprise of Buonaparte as the greatest crime that could be committed by men, and the very attempt of which alone placed him without the law of nations. In his adherents they viewed only accomplices of that crime, whom it was necessary to combat, to put down, and punish, circumstances which irrefragably exclude every supposition that such men could naturally either acquire, or confer, or transmit any right.

The allied powers have not, for an instant, ceased to recognise his most Christian Majesty as King of France, and consequently to recognise the rights which belonged to him in that capacity; they have not for an instant ceased to be with him in relations of peace and amity, which alone conveyed with it the engagement to respect his rights; they took upon them this engagement in a formal though implied manner, in the declaration of the 13th of March, and in the treaty of the 25th. They rendered it more strict by making the king enter, by his accession to that treaty, into their alliance against the common enemy; for if you cannot make conquests from a friend, you can still less do it from an ally. And let it not be said, that the king could not be the ally of the powers, but by co-operating with them, and that he did not do so; if the total defection of the army, which, at the time of the treaty of the 25th of March, was already known and deemed inevitable, did not permit him to bring regular troops into action, the Frenchmen, who, by taking up arms for him to the number of 60 or 70,000, in the departments of the West and the South, those who shewing themselves disposed to take them up, placed the usurper under the necessity of dividing his forces, and those who after the defeat of Waterloo, instead of the resources in men and money which he demanded, left him no other but that of abandoning every thing, were, for the allied powers, a real co-operation, who, in proportion as their forces advanced into the French provinces, re-established there the king's

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authority, a measure which would have caused conquest to cease, had these provinces been really conquered. It is evident, then, that the demand which is made of territorial cessions cannot be founded upon conquest.

Neither can it have as adequate reason the expenditure made by the allied powers; for if it be just that the sacrifices to which they have been forced by a war, undertaken for the common good, but for the more particular benefit of France, should not remain chargeable on them, it is equally just that they should satisfy themselves with an indemnification of the same kind with the sacrifices. The allied powers, however, have made no sacrifice of territory.

We live at a period, when, more than at any other, it is important to strengthen confidence in the word of kings. The exaction of cessions from his most Christian Majesty would produce a quite contrary effect, after the declaration in which the powers announced, that they took up arms only against Buonaparte and his adherents; after the treaty in which they engaged to maintain against all infraction the integrity of the stipulations of the 30th May, 1814,—which cannot be maintained unless that of France is so; after the proclamations of their generals in chief, in which the same assurances are renewed.

The exaction of cessions from his most Christian Majesty would deprive him of the means of extinguishing totally and forever among the people that spirit of conquest, fanned by the usurper, and which would inevitably re-kindle with the desire of recovering that which France would never believe she had justly lost.

Cessions exacted from his most Christian Majesty would be imputed to him as a crime, as if he had thereby purchased the aid of the powers, and would be an obstacle to the confirmation of the royal government, so important for the legitimate dynasties, and so necessary to the repose of Europe, in as far as that repose is connected with the internal tranquillity of France.

In fine, the exaction of cessions from his most Christian Majesty, would destroy, or at least alter, that equilibrium, to the establishment of which the powers have devoted so many sacrifices, efforts, and cares. It was themselves who fixed the extent that France ought to have. How should that which they deemed necessary a year ago, have ceased to exist? There are upon the continent of Europe two states that surpass France in extent and in population. Their relative greatness would necessarily increase in the same proportion as the absolute greatness of France should be diminished. Would this be conformable to the interests of Europe? Would it even be suitable to the particular interests of these two states, in the order of relations in which they are placed towards each other?

If in a small democracy of antiquity, the people in a body, learning that one of their generals had to propose to them something advantageous but not just, exclaimed unanimously, that they would not even hear it mentioned, is it possible to doubt that the monarchs of Europe should not be unanimous in a case where that which is not just would even be pernicious?

It is therefore, with the most entire confidence, that the undersigned have the honour of submitting to the allied sovereigns the preceding observations.

Notwithstanding, however, the inconveniences attached in actual circumstances to every territorial cession, his Majesty will consent to the re-establishment of the ancient limits, in all the points in which additions were made to Old France by the treaty of

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the 30th May. His Majesty will also consent to the payment of such an indemnity as shall leave means of supplying the wants of the interior administration, without which it would be impossible to arrive at that settlement of order and tranquillity which has been the object of war.

His Majesty will likewise consent to a provisional occupation. Its duration, the number of fortresses, and the extent of country to be occupied will be the subject of negociation; but the King does not hesitate to declare at present, that an occupation of seven years, being absolutely incompatible with the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, is utterly inadmissible.

Thus the King admits in principle, territorial cessions as to what did not appertain to Old France; the payment of an indemnity; and a provisional occupation by a number of troops and for a period to be determined.

His most Christian Majesty flatters himself, that the sovereigns, his allies, will consent to establish the negociations on the footing of these three principles, as well as to carry into the calculation of conditions that spirit of justice and moderation which animates them, in order that the arrangement may be brought to a conclusion speedily, and with mutual satisfaction.

If these bases should not be adopted, the undersigned are not authorised to receive or propose any other.

REPLY OF THE MINISTERS OF THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS.

Paris, Sept. 22, 1815.

The undersigned, &c. &c. have received the note in which Messieurs the Plenipotentiaries of France have replied to the communications made to them in the conference of the 20th of this month, with reference to a definitive arrangement. They have been surprised to find in it a long series of observations on the right of conquest, on the nature of those wars to which it is applicable, and on the reasons which should induce the contracting powers not to recur to it in the present instance.

The undersigned consider themselves so much the more fully exempted from the necessity of following the plenipotentiaries of France in their reasoning, inasmuch as no one of the propositions which they have made, by command of their august sovereigns, with a view to the regulation of the present and future relations between Europe and France, was founded on the right of conquest, and because they have carefully avoided in their communications whatever might lead to a discussion of that right. The allied powers always considering the restoration of order, and the confirmation of the royal authority in France, as the principal object of their proceedings, but persuaded at the same time that France cannot enjoy a solid peace whilst neighbouring nations continue to cherish with regard to her either bitter animosities or perpetual alarms, have recognised the principle of a just satisfaction for losses and past sacrifices, as well as that of a sufficient guarantee for the future security of neighbouring countries, as the only means of putting an end to all discontents and apprehensions, and consequently as the only true bases of every solid and durable arrangement.

It is only upon these two principles that the allied powers have fixed their propositions, and in drawing up the *projet* which the undersigned have had the honour to transmit to the plenipotentiaries of France, they were distinctly expressed in every one of its articles.

The plenipotentiaries of France themselves admit the first of these principles, whilst they remain silent with

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respect to the second. It is, however, abundantly clear, that the necessity of guarantees for the future, has become more sensible and urgent than at the period of the signature of the treaty of Paris. The subsequent events have carried consternation and alarm to every part of Europe; at a moment when the sovereigns and their people flattered themselves, that, after so many afflictions, they were about to enjoy a long interval of peace, these events have every where produced agitation, as well as the burthens and sacrifices inseparable from a general arming. It is impossible so soon to efface from the minds of cotemporaries the recollection of such a convulsion. That which was sufficient to satisfy them in 1814, cannot content them in 1815. The line of demarcation which appeared to guarantee the security of the states bordering on France, at the epoch of the treaty of the 30th of May, can no longer satisfy the just pretensions which they now prefer.

It is indispensable that France should offer some new pledge of security. She ought to take this step, as well from sentiments of justice and expediency, as from her own interest well understood. For, in order that the French may be happy and tranquil, it is absolutely necessary that their neighbours should be happy and tranquil also.

Such are the powerful considerations that have induced the allied powers to demand of France some territorial cessions. The inconsiderable extent of these cessions, and the selection of the points upon which they bear, sufficiently prove, that they have nothing in common with views of aggrandizement and conquest, and that the security of bordering nations is their only object. These cessions are not of a nature to compromise the substantial integrity of France. They embrace only detached districts or points remote from her territory; they cannot really weaken her in any relation either administrative or military, nor can her defensive system be affected by them. France will remain not the less one of the best rounded and best fortified states of Europe, as well as one of the richest in means of every description for resisting the danger of invasion.

Without entering into these higher considerations, the plenipotentiaries of France admit, however, the principle of territorial cession, as far as respects the points added to Old France by the treaty of Paris.

The undersigned find it difficult to understand upon what this distinction can be founded, or under the point of view adopted by the allied powers, in what the essential difference between ancient and recent territory consists. It is impossible to suppose, that the plenipotentiaries of France wish to revive in the actual state of affairs the doctrine of the pretended inviolability of the French territory. They too well know that this doctrine, put forward by the chiefs and apostles of the revolutionary system, formed one of the most revolting chapters in that arbitrary code which they wished to impose on Europe. It would be to destroy entirely every idea of equality between the different powers, if it were once established as a principle, that France may without difficulty extend her limits, acquire new provinces, and unite them to her territory either by conquest or treaty, whilst she alone shall enjoy the privilege of never losing any of her ancient possessions, either by the misfortunes of war, or by the political arrangements that may result from it.

With regard to the latter part of the note of the plenipotentiaries of France, the undersigned reserve themselves for a serious explanation in the

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next conference which they will have the honour of proposing to the plenipotentiaries of France.

(Signed)
RASUMOFFSKY,
CAPO D'ISTRIA,
WEISSENBERG,
HUMBOLDT,
METTERNICH,
HARDENBERG,
CASTLEREAGH.

BARBARY STATES.

Memorial of the expediency and the means of putting an end to the piracies of the Barbary States, presented by Sir W. Sidney Smith to the Congress at Vienna.

At a time when the means of effecting the abolition of the slave-trade on the western coast of Africa are under discussion—when civilised Europe is straining every nerve to extend the benefits of commerce as well as those for the security of person and property in the interior of that vast continent, peopled by a race of men who are mild, industrious, and capable of enjoying the advantages of civilization in the highest degree, it is matter of astonishment that no attention is paid to the northern coast of the same quarter of the globe, inhabited by Turkish pirates, who not only oppress the natives in their vicinity, but trepan and buy them as slaves, to employ them in vessels fitted out as privateers, for the purpose of tearing honest cultivators from their fire-sides and peaceable inhabitants from the shore of Europe. This abominable system of robbery is not only revolting to humanity, but operates as a very formidable restraint upon commerce, as no mariner can navigate at the present day the Mediterranean, or even the Atlantic, in a merchant vessel, without the dread and the liability of being taken by the pirates and carried as a slave into Africa.

The government of Algiers is composed of the officers of an orta, or regiment of Janizaries; a rebellious soldiery, who do not, even in appearance, acknowledge the authority of the Ottoman Porte, which however does not recognise their independence.

The Dey is always the officer most distinguished among them for cruelty. He holds his situation at the head of the divan or regency, by enriching his associates: that is to say, by permitting them to indulge in every sort of violence in Africa, and to carry on a piratical warfare on the seas against the weaker states of Europe, or those whose immediate vengeance is not dreaded.

The Ottoman flag even is not sufficient to protect its Greek subjects, and to secure them from the attacks of the Algerine corsairs. The Dey of Algiers not long ago, either in a fit of cruelty or actuated by some barbarous scheme of policy, the object of which was to destroy the commerce of his rivals of Tunis and Tripoli, ordered the crews of several vessels from the Archipelago and Egypt, laden with grain, to be hanged. The Bashaw of Egypt, in revenge, caused all the Algerines in his states to be arrested, and in vain claims the restitution of the cargoes unjustly seized by the Dey of Algiers.

The Ottoman Porte beholds with jealousy and indignation a rebellious vassal daring to perpetrate the most outrageous and atrocious acts against her peaceable subjects, and to impose shackles on that trade of which this government stands in greater need than ever, for the purpose of paying the troops of the bashaws employed on the eastern frontier of the Ottoman empire, to carry on the war against the Wechabites and the other nume-

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rous Arabian tribes, who, under the influence of these sectaries, are incessantly threatening, by aggressions, the very existence of that tottering government.

On the other hand, Europe has an interest in upholding the Ottoman government, both as a recognised autocracy, and as a power that can restrain the revolted bashaws and beys, and prevent them from committing robberies on the seas. This interest of Europe becomes still more obvious and important, from the necessity under which she frequently is of importing corn from the Black Sea or from the Nile, whence a surplus produce may always be derived, provided an unfavourable season in the northern parts of the Ottoman territory be regularly counterbalanced in the same year by a favourable season in the south, and *vica versâ*.

Now, if a barbarian, calling himself an independent prince, though not recognised as such by the sultan his legitimate sovereign, can at pleasure menace, terrify, and make prisoners of the Greeks and the vessels of small European states, who alone carry on a trade which the ships of the great powers do not find sufficiently advantageous to pursue, because they cannot do it at so low an expense;—if that audacious chief of pirates may, when he shall think fit, intercept cargoes of grain destined for Europe, the civilized nations are by this capricious act under the control of a chief of robbers, who have it in their power to aggravate their sufferings, and eventually to starve them in a season of scarcity.

The barbarian likewise possesses formidable means of extorting money from Christian princes: he threatens them, as he recently did with respect to Sicily, to put to death such of their subjects as have fallen into his power; his well-known cruelty rendering these menaces very formidable, becomes in his hand an engine for extorting money from one Christian prince to carry on the war which he declares against another. In this manner he can lay all Europe under contribution, and compel each in its turn to pay tribute to his ferocity, by purchasing from him peace, and the lives of the unfortunate slaves.

It is superfluous to show that such a state of things is not only monstrous but absurd, and that it is not less outrageous to religion than it is to humanity and honour.

The progress of knowledge and of civilization ought necessarily to effect the suppression of such abominable practices.

It is evident that the military means hitherto employed by the Christian princes to hold the Barbary states in check, have been not only inadequate to the purpose, but have generally had the effect of consolidating more and more the dangerous power of these barbarians.

Europe seemed for a long time to place her dependence upon the gallantry of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, and did not consider that this order of knights has not had in these later times either sufficient power, or perhaps sufficient energy, to counterbalance and repel the ever-increasing aggressions of these hordes of pirates. Besides, the order of Malta, being by its institution prohibited from entering into negociations with infidels, could not avail itself of all the resources of policy by entering into treaties of alliance with those around them, who are themselves rather the passive victims of the piratical system than active co-operators; as, for example, Tunis, and Morocco, both governed by princes born in these states, and who have shown themselves

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to be well disposed and capable of maintaining with European powers the relations of commerce and friendship.

It is therefore obvious, that the resurrection of that order, after the political suicide of which it has been guilty, would not alone be sufficient to accomplish the object in view. This laudable object is to secure Europe for ever from the outrages of the African corsairs, and to cause governments favourable to commerce, and in peace and amity with all civilized nations, to succeed to states radically and necessarily piratical ever since the days of Barbarossa.

What are the means to be employed to accomplish this desirable object? The undersigned would wish that he could prevail upon all Europe to participate in his conviction, the result of thirty years close study and investigation. He did not cease, during his ministry at the Ottoman Porte, to employ himself upon the subject which he now treats; it engaged his attention in the camp and in the fleets of the same power, and during the whole course of his well-known intercourse with the nations and tribes of Africa and of Asia.

This firm conviction of the possibility of crushing the system of robbery and outrage acted upon by the Barbary States, cannot be better proved than by the offer which he makes of undertaking the direction of the expeditions, provided the necessary means be put at his disposal.

Animated by the recollection of his oaths of knighthood, and being anxious to excite the same ardour in other Christian knights, he proposes to the nations most interested in the success of this noble enterprize to engage themselves, by a treaty, to furnish their respective contingents of a maritime, or, as it may be called, an amphibious force, which, without compromising any flag, and without being influenced by wars, or any political crisis incident to nations, shall constantly guard the shores of the Mediterranean, and have the important duty of watching, stopping, and following all the pirates both on the seas and on land. This power, recognised and protected by all Europe, would not only render commerce perfectly secure, but would eventually civilise the coasts of Africa, by prohibiting the inhabitants from continuing their piratical depredations, to the prejudice of industry and lawful commerce.

This protecting and imposing force should begin by a rigorous blockade of the naval forces of the barbarians, wheresoever they can be found. At the same time, the ambassadors of all the sovereigns and states of Christendom ought mutually to support each other in representing to the Ottoman court, that it must be held responsible for the hostile acts of its subjects, if it shall continue to permit recruiting in its states for the garrisons of Africa, (which garrisons will be of no use, as these forces would be better employed against its enemies than against European friendly powers,) and by exacting from the Porte a formal disavowal and an authentic interdiction of the wars which those rebel chiefs declare against Europe.

The Ottoman court might be engaged to give promotion and rewards to those among the Janizaries captains of frigates, and other Algerine sailors, who would obey the injunction of the Sultan; and thus the Dey would soon find himself abandoned, and without the means of annoyance or defence.

The same influence might be used more effectually at Tunis, as that country is at war with Algiers, from which it has really everything to fear. Besides, the head of the Tunisian government is of a quite opposite nature to that of Algiers. It would voluntarily co-operate in any measure tend-

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ing to civilise the state and promote the prosperity of the empire. The peace between Tunis and Sardinia, which has suffered so much from the trepanning of her subjects, ought to form the first link of the chain, and from this moment nothing ought to be neglected to complete it.

The ulterior details will be easily developed, when the sovereigns shall have adopted the principle, and when they shall deign to grant to the undersigned their confidence and their authority, which are requisite for the success of the enterprise

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

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PUBLIC ACTS OF THE YEAR.

An act for the encouragement and reward of petty officers, seamen, and royal marines, for long and faithful service, and for the consolidation of the Chest at Greenwich with the Royal Hospital there.

An act for directing the application of the residuary personal estate of Anna Maria Reynolds, spinster, bequeathed by her to the use of the sinking Fund.

An act for continuing to his Majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England; for the service of the year 1815.

An act for raising the sum of 12,500,000*l.* by Exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1815.

An act to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to issue Exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by Parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1815.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1816, an act for suspending the operation of an act of the 17th year of his present Majesty, for restraining the negociation of promissory notes and bills of exchange under a limited sum in England.

An act to repeal an act of the last session of parliament, for granting duties of Excise on certain sorts of glass made in Ireland, and for granting and allowing certain countervailing duties and drawbacks in respect thereof.

An act to continue, during the continuance of the present hostilities, and until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, so much of an act of the 34th year of his present Majesty as permits the importation into Great Britain and Ireland, in neutral vessels, from states in amity with his Majesty, of certain goods, wares, and merchandize.

An act to continue, until the expiration of six months after the conclusion of the present hostilities, an act of the 46th year of his present Majesty, for authorising his Majesty in council to allow the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in neutral ships into and from his Majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of South America.

An act to make further provisions respecting the duties payable upon East India goods, and to allow bond to be given for payment of the duties upon such goods when imported by private traders.

An act to continue, until six months

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after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act of the 45th year of his present Majesty, for granting to foreign ships put under his Majesty's protection, the privileges of prize-ships; and for allowing aliens in foreign colonies surrendered to his Majesty, to exercise the occupations of merchants or factors during the present war.

An act to amend several acts relating to fines in respect of unlawful distillation in Ireland, to the warehousing of spirits, and to the securing the duties of excise on spirits distilled, and on hides and skins tanned in Ireland.

An act to amend an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, intituled, An act to provide for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, by appointing superintending magistrates and additional constables in counties, in certain cases.

An act to impose certain duties on the importation, and to allow drawbacks on the exportation of certain sorts of wood into and from Ireland, in lieu of former duties and drawbacks on the like sorts of wood; and to indemnify persons who have admitted certain sorts of wood to entry on payment of a proportion only of the duty imposed thereon.

An act to amend an act made in the 52d year of his present Majesty, for making provision for the better support of his Majesty's household, during the continuance of his Majesty's indisposition.

An act to continue and amend an act passed in the 48th year of the reign of his present Majesty, entituled, an Act for empowering the Governor and Company of the Bank of England to advance the sum of three millions towards the supply for the service of the year 1808.

An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March, 1816; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary Term, 1816.

An act to settle and secure an annuity on Lord Walsingham, in consideration of his services as chairman of the committees of the House of Lords.

An act to grant certain duties of Excise upon licences for the sale of spirituous and other liquors by retail, and upon licences to persons dealing in exciseable commodities, in Ireland, in lieu of the stamp-duties payable upon such licences; and to secure the payment of such excise-duties, and to regulate the issuing of such licences; and to discourage the immoderate use of spirituous liquors in Ireland.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for the regulating of his Majesty's Royal Marine forces while on shore.

An act to repeal the duties of customs payable on the importation of tobacco, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

An act to repeal the duties of customs upon the importation of citrat of lime, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

An act to grant duties of customs on the exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, from Ireland, in lieu of the duties of customs heretofore payable on such exportation.

An act for the better regulation of the manufacture of brown linens in Ireland.

An act to amend the laws now in force for regulating the importation of corn.

An act to continue, until the 5th

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day of July, 1816, certain additional duties of excise in Great Britain.

An act for further continuing, until the 5th day of July 1816, an act of the 44th year of his present Majesty, to continue the restrictions contained in the several acts of his present Majesty, on payments of cash by the Bank of England.

An act to regulate the trade between Malta and its dependencies, and his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America; and also between Malta and the United Kingdom.

An act for granting to his Majesty, until the 5th day of April, 1819, additional duties of excise in Great Britain on sweets, tobacco, snuff, and excise licences.

An act to amend certain acts respecting the exportation and importation of sugar, and further to regulate the importation of sugar, coffee, and other articles from certain islands in the West Indies.

An act to rectify a mistake in an act of the present sesion of Parliament, with respect to the duties on sugar imported from the East Indies; and for further continuing, until the end of six weeks from and after the expiration of any act or acts of Parliament, continuing the temporary or war duties upon sugar imported into Great Britain, certain countervailing duties, drawbacks, and bounties, on refined sugar.

An act to continue, until the 5th day of July, 1816, certain temporary or war duties of customs on the importation into Great Britain of goods, wares, and merchandize.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1817, an act made in the 49th year of his present Majesty, to permit the importation of tobacco into Great Britain from any place whatever.

An act to grant to his Majesty an additional duty of excise on tobacco in Ireland.

An act to grant to his Majesty a duty of customs on tobacco imported into Ireland.

An act to amend several acts respecting the exportation and importation of sugar into and from Ireland; and further to regulate the importation into Ireland of sugar, coffee, and other articles, from certain islands in the West Indies.

An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session of Parliament as directs that no bleaching powder, made in Ireland and brought into Scotland, should be received into England.

An act to revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1816, several laws relating to the better encouragement of the Greenland whale fisheries, and to the allowing vessels employed in the said fisheries to complete their full number of men at certain ports.

An act for raising the sum of 2,323,750*l.* Irish currency, by treasury bills, for the service of Ireland, for the year 1815.

An act to continue, until three months after the ceasing of any restriction imposed on the Bank of England from issuing cash in payment, the several acts for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the Bank of Ireland.

An act to facilitate the administration of justice in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, by the extending trial by jury to civil causes.

An act for the more effectual prevention of the use of false and deficient measures.

An act for the relief of the captors of prizes, with respect to the admitting and landing of certain prize vessels and goods in Ireland; to continue in force until the 25th day of March, 1816.

An act for continuing the premiums allowed to ships employed in the southern whale fishery.

An act to amend an act passed in

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the 48th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An act for the better care and maintenance of lunatics, being paupers or criminals in England.

An act for procuring returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the poor in England; and also relative to the highways.

An act for enlarging the powers and acts of his present Majesty, for providing clergymen to officiate in gaols and houses of correction within England and Wales.

An act to procure returns of persons committed, tried, and convicted for criminal offences and misdemeanors.

An act for the abolition of gaol and other fees connected with the gaols in England.

An act to amend an act of his late Majesty King George the Second, for the more easy assessing, collecting, and levying of county rates.

An act to revive and continue, until the 25th day of March, 1820, several acts for charging additional duties on copper imported into Great Britain.

An act to revive and continue, for one year, the duties and contributions on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices in Great Britain.

An act to repeal an act of the last session of Parliament, for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein; and to establish, for twelve months, other regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or residing therein, in certain cases.

An act to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's woods, forests, and land revenues, to contract for the purchase and surrender of crown leases, and to sell his Majesty's interest in the Thornhill estate, in the parish of Stallbridge, in the county of Dorset, and in certain small parcels of land belonging to his Majesty's subjects within the royal forests; and to remove doubts as to estates of the crown, sold by order of the said commissioners, being exempted from the auction duty.

An act to authorize the commissioners and governors of the Royal Hospital for seamen at Greenwich, to transfer a certain sum in the three pounds per cent. consolidated annuities, now standing in the name of the corporation of the chest at Greenwich, into the name of the said commissioners; and also to receive such dividends as are now due upon such annuities.

An act to repeal the provisions of former acts, granting exclusive privileges of trade to the South Sea Company, and to indemnify the said company for the loss of such privileges.

An act for granting annuities to discharge certain Exchequer bills.

An act for amending an act of his present Majesty, to insure the proper and careful manufacturing of fire-arms in England, and for making provision for proving the barrels of such fire-arms.

An act to repeal several acts relating to the execution of letters of attorney and wills of petty officers, seamen, and marines, in his Majesty's navy, and to make new provisions respecting the same.

An act to grant to his Majesty certain increased rates, duties, and taxes in Ireland, in respect of windows, male servants, carriages, horses, and dogs, in lieu of former rates, duties, and taxes, in respect of the like articles.

An act to grant to his Majesty certain increased duties of excise in Ireland on malt.

An act to repeal the additional duty on British-made wine or sweets granted by an act of this session of Parliament.

An act to explain and amend an

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act of the 53d year of his present Majesty, as far as relates to the granting gratuities to the East India Company.

An act to amend the laws relating to the militia of Great Britain.

An act for allowing makers of oxygenated muriatic acid to make salt, duty free, for making such acid or oxymuriate of lime for bleaching linen and cotton; for repealing the excise duties on Glauber salt, and on bleaching powder imported from Ireland; and to allow a further drawback on foreign brimstone used in making oil of vitriol.

An act to grant his Majesty certain duties and taxes in Ireland, in respect of certain male servants, carriages and horses, kept to be let to hire.

An act to amend an act of the 13th year of his present Majesty, for the amendment and preservation of the public highways, in so far as the same relates to notice of appeal against turning or diverting a public highway; and to extend the provisions of the same act to the stopping up of unnecessary roads.

An act to regulate madhouses in Scotland.

An act for better regulating the formation and arrangement of the judicial and other records of the Court of Session in Scotland.

An act to regulate hawkers and pedlars in Scotland.

An act to fix the election for Glamorganshire at a central part within the said county.

An act for granting to his Majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

An act to continue the encouragement of persons making discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, or other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto; and for discharging certain debts incurred by the commissioners of the longitude, in carrying the acts relating thereto into execution.

An act to enable his Majesty, until the 1st day of May 1816, to accept the services of the local militia, either in or out of their counties under certain restrictions.

An act to authorize, under present circumstances, the drawing out and embodying of the British and Irish militia, or any part thereof.

An act to repeal the several duties under the care of the commissioners for managing the stamp-duties in Ireland, and to grant new duties in lieu thereof.

An act to regulate the collection and management of the stamp-duties on law proceedings, attornies, solicitors, proctors, and corporate officers in Ireland.

An act to provide for the collection and management of stamp-duties on pamphlets, almanacks, and newspapers in Ireland.

An act to repeal the several acts for the collection and management of stamp-duties in Ireland, and to make more effectual regulations for collecting and managing the said duties in general.

An act to grant duties of customs, and to allow drawbacks and bounties on certain goods, wares, and merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland, in lieu of former duties, drawbacks, and bounties; and to make further regulations for securing the duties of customs in Ireland.

An act to regulate the payment of the duties of customs on foreign goods imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain; and of the drawbacks on the exportation of goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain

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or Ireland, having been imported into either country from the other.

An act to amend so much of an act of the 33d year of his present Majesty, as relates to fixing the limits of the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and also so much of an act of the 39th and 40th year of his present Majesty, as relates to granting letters of administration to the effects of persons dying intestate within the several presidencies in the East Indies, to the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and to enable the governor in council of the said presidencies to remove persons not being British subjects; and to make provision for the judges in the East Indies in certain cases.

An act to amend and continue for one year, and until twelve months after the termination of the present war by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, two acts of his present Majesty, for enabling subjects of foreign states to enlist and serve as soldiers in his Majesty's service; and to enable his Majesty to grant commissions to subjects of foreign states to serve as officers, under certain restrictions.

An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1820, an act made in the 46th year of his present Majesty, for permitting the importation of masts, yards, bowsprits, and timber for naval purposes, from the British colonies in North America,

An act to relieve certain foreign vessels resorting to the port of London in respect of pilotage; and to regulate the mode of payment of pilotage on foreign vessels in the said port.

An act to amend an act of the last session of Parliament, for rendering more easy and effectual redress for assaults in Ireland.

An act to amend an act of the 53d year of his Majesty's reign, for making regulations for the building and repairing of court-houses and session-houses in Ireland.

An act to explain an act made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 32d year of his Majesty's reign, relative to inland navigations there, so far as relates to the limitation of actions against canal companies and other.

An act for the payment of costs and charges to prosecutors and witnesses, in cases of felony in Ireland.

An act to amend an act of the 50th year of his Majesty's reign, relating to prisons in Ireland, so far as concerns contracts for building or repairing such prisons.

An act to repeal the duties payable on, and the permission to enter for home consumption, silk handkerchiefs imported by the East India Company.

An act to continue and amend several acts relating to the British white herring fishery.

An act to repeal the duties payable on the importation into Great Britain of solid vegetable extract from oak bark, and other vegetable substances used in the tanning of leather; and to grant a duty in lieu thereof.

An act to grant a further sum of money for purchasing an estate to accompany the title of Earl Nelson, and also to amend two acts of the 46th and 53d years of his present Majesty's reign for making such purchase.

An act to grant to the judges of the Commissary Court of Edinburgh a fixed salary in place of their present salary, and certain fees and payments.

An act to enable the select committee on the Downpatrick election to re-assemble, and to suspend the transmission of the warrants and other

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proceedings for the appointment of commissions to examine witnesses in Ireland.

An act to make further provisions for collecting and securing the duties of Excise on malt made in Ireland.

An act to provide for the collection and management of stamp-duties payable on bills of exchange, promissory notes, receipts, and game certificates in Ireland.

An act to regulate the collection of stamp-duties on matters in respect of which licences may be granted by the commissioners of stamps in Ireland.

An act to repeal certain duties on leather dressed in oil in Great Britain, or imported from Ireland.

An act to regulate the postage of ship letters to and from Ireland.

An act to make further provisions for the issuing of licences to persons to deal in, retail, make, or manufacture spirits and other exciseable commodities in Ireland, and for securing the duties of excise payable by the persons so licenced.

An act to make further provisions for collecting and securing the duties of excise on hides and skins tanned in Ireland.

An act to make further provisions for collecting and securing the duties of excise on paper printed, painted, or stained in Ireland, to serve for hangings and other uses.

An act to regulate the appointment of governors of the Richmond Lunatic Asylum in Dublin.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act to enable the sheriff-depute or substitute and justices of the peace of the county of Clackmannan, to incarcerate persons in the gaol of the royal burgh of Stirling, or the common gaol of the county of Stirling.

An act for charging certain duties on sweets or made wines in Ireland in lieu of former duties.

An act for the better collecting and securing the duties on spirits distilled in Ireland.

An act for the better regulating and securing the collection of the duties on paper made in Ireland, and to prevent frauds therein.

An act for altering certain drawbacks and countervailing duties on glass, for exempting Irish glass bottles from the duty imposed by an act of the last session of Parliament, and for exempting the leather and glass of carriages belonging to certain persons imported from Ireland for private use from duty.

An act to augment the salary of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and to enable his Majesty to grant an additional annuity to such Master of the Rolls on the resignation of his office; and to regulate the disposal of the offices of the six clerks in the Court of Chancery in Ireland.

An act to carry into effect a convention made between his Majesty and the King of the Netherlands and the Emperor of all the Russias.

An act to make further regulations for the registry of ships built in India.

An act to permit, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, the importation into Great Britain and Ireland, in neutral vessels, from states in amity with his Majesty, of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, and to prohibit the exportation of copper; and to permit the importation, in neutral vessels, from states not in amity with his Majesty, of certain goods, wares, and merchandize.

An act to regulate the clearance of vessels, and delivery of coast bonds, at creeks and harbours in Great Britain; for exempting certain ships and

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vessels from being licensed by the commissioners of customs; for authorising officers of the customs to seize spirits removing without excise permits; and for preventing frauds in overloading keels and other carriages used in conveying coals for exportation, or to be carried coastwise.

An act to enable the trustees of turnpike-roads to abate the tolls on carriages, and to allow of their carrying extra weights in certain cases.

An act to provide for the taking an account of the population of Ireland, and for the ascertaining the increase or diminution thereof.

An act to amend and explain an act passed in the 54th year of his present Majesty, for maintaining and keeping in repair certain roads and bridges made in Scotland for the purpose of military communication; and for making more effectual provision for maintaining and repairing roads made and bridges built in Scotland, under the authority of the parliamentary commissioners for highland roads and bridges.

An act to amend an act of the 53d year of his present Majesty, for vesting in his Majesty certain parts of Windsor forest, in the county of Berks; and for enclosing the open commonable lands within the said forest.

An act for making compensation for lands and hereditaments taken for erecting works at and near Portsmouth and Hilsea, in the county of Southampton, in pursuance of an act made in the last session of Parliament.

An act for raising the sum of 36 millions by way of annuities.

An act to amend an act of his late Majesty King George the 2d, for the relief of the out-pensioners of the royal hospital at Chelsea.

An act to authorise the allowing to foreign officers, allowances equivalent in amount to the half-pay given to British officers under the like circumstances.

An act to repeal an act of the 53d year of his present Majesty, for preventing the embezzlement of stores; and to extend the provisions of the several acts relating to his Majesty's naval, ordnance, and victualling stores, to all other public stores.

An act to enable his Majesty to acquire ground necessary for signal and telegraph stations.

An act to increase the draw-backs and countervailing duties on tobacco, and to limit the tonnage of ships in which wine may be exported when duties are drawn back.

An act for further regulating the issue and payment of money to his Majesty's forces serving abroad.

An act for discontinuing certain deductions from half-pay, and for further regulating the accounts of the paymaster-general.

An act to continue, until the end of the next session of Parliament, for regulating the trade in spirits between Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

An act to grant further powers to the commissioners of Chelsea and Greenwich Hospitals with respect to pensions on those establishments.

An act for altering the rate at which the crown may exercise its right of pre-emption of ore in which there is lead.

An act to alter the conditions and regulations under which blubber and train-oil of Newfoundland are admitted to entry.

An act for the relief of the out-pensioners of the royal hospital of Kilmainham.

An act to prevent poor persons in workhouses from embezzling certain property provided for their use; to alter and amend so much of an act of the 36th year of his present Majesty,

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as restrains justices of the peace from ordering relief to poor persons in certain cases for a longer period than one month at a time; and for other purposes therein mentioned, relating to the poor.

An act for vesting in his Majesty certain parts of the forests of Exmoor, otherwise Exmore, in the counties of Somerset and Devon; and for inclosing the said forest.

An act to grant an additional duty of excise in Ireland, upon spirits made or distilled from corn or grain.

An act to make further provisions for the collection of certain duties on male servants, carriages, and horses; and in respect of houses in Ireland.

An act to amend an act made in this session of Parliament to repeal former acts granting exclusive privilege of trade to the South Sea Company, and to indemnify the said Company for the loss of such privileges.

An act to reduce the duties on all sheep-wool, the growth of the united kingdom, which shall be sold by auction for the growers or first purchasers.

An act to amend the acts relating to the building and repairing of county bridges.

An act to enable the commissioners of customs and port-duties in Ireland, to purchase premises for the erecting additional docks, warehouses, and offices, in Dublin.

An act to increase the allowance to the Post-office in Ireland, in respect of packet-boats to Great Britain.

An act to authorize his Majesty to regulate, until the first day of July 1816, the trade with any French colony which may come into his Majesty's possession, or remain neutral.

An act for enabling spiritual persons to exchange the parsonage or glebe houses or glebe lands, belonging to their benefices, for others of greater value, or more conveniently situated for their residence and occupation: and for annexing such houses and lands, so taken in exchange, to such benefices as parsonage or glebe houses and glebe lands, and for purchasing and annexing lands to become glebe in certain cases, and for other purposes.

An act for raising the sum of 4,500,000*l.* by Exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1815.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by Exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1815.

An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of land-tax commissioners, and for appointing additional commissioners, and indemnifying such persons as have acted without due authority in execution of the acts therein recited.

An act to amend the laws for imposing and levying of fines, in respect of unlawful distillation of spirits in Ireland.

An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of 20,000*l.* to be issued and applied towards repairing roads between London and Holyhead, by Chester, and between London and Bangor, by Shrewsbury.

An act for granting certain rates on postage and letters to and from Great Britain, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and the East Indies; and for making certain regulations respecting the postage of ship letters, and of letters in Great Britain.

An act for fixing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act to continue, until the 5th day of July 1816, the temporary fourth part of the duties payable in Scotland upon distillers' wash, spirits, and licences imposed by an act of the 54th year of his present Majesty; and

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for enabling his Majesty, by order in council, to modify the operations of the said act, or reduce the duties thereby imposed.

An act to amend the laws relative to the transportation of offenders; to continue in force until the first day of May 1816.

An act for the better examination of witnesses in the Courts of Equity in Ireland, and for empowering the Courts of Law and Equity in Ireland to grant commissioners for taking affidavits in all parts of Great Britain.

An act to enable grand juries to present additional sums for constables in Ireland, and for the secure conveyance of prisoners.

An act to amend several acts relating to hackney coaches; for authorizing the licensing of an additional number of hackney chariots; and for licensing carriages drawn by one horse.

An act for the encouragement of seamen, and the more effectual manning of his Majesty's navy during the present war.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act of the 52d year of his present Majesty, to amend and regulate the assessment and collection of the assessed taxes, and of the rates and duties on profits arising on property, professions, trades, and offices, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

An act to repeal the Excise duties and drawbacks on Epsom salt.

An act to regulate the issuing of licences to allow open boats to proceed to foreign parts, and for revoking the same when necessary.

An act to exonerate, in certain cases, foreign spirits imported during the suspension of the spirit intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, from the additional duty imposed thereon.

An act to defray the charge of the pay, clothing, and contingent expenses of the disembodied militia in Great Britain, and of the miners of Cornwall and Devon; and for granting allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers, adjutants, surgeons, mates, and serjeant-majors of militia, until the 25th day of March 1816.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the local militia in Great Britain, to the 25th day of March 1816.

An act for defraying, until the 25th day of June 1816, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

An act to explain and amend the laws relating to the militias of Great Britain and Ireland.

An act to provide for the charge of the addition to the public funded debt of Great Britain, for the service of the year 1815.

An act to amend an act passed in the last session of Parliament, for better regulating the office of agent-general for volunteers and local militia, and for the more effectually regulating the same.

An act to continue for one year certain acts for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces by sea and land, from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience.

An act to provide for the support of captured slaves during the period of adjudication.

An act for the better protection of the trade of the united kingdom during the present hostilities with France.

An act to extend the exemption granted by law on coals and culm, for which the coast duties have been duly paid, on being again exported and carried to any place in this kingdom, to cinders or coked coals burnt from pit-coal, which has paid the coast duties.

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An act to continue, until the 1st day of August, 1816, two acts of the 50th and 45th years of his present Majesty, allowing the bringing of coals, culm, and cinders to London and Westminster, by inland navigation.

An act for allowing certain tiles to be made, duty free, to serve for draining.

An act for the further prevention of frauds in the manufacture of sweets.

An act to revive and continue, until the 25th day of March 1820, an act of the 28th year of his present Majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the manufacture of flax and cotton in Great Britain.

An act to revive, amend, and continue, until the 25th day of March 1821, so much of an act of the 41st year of his present Majesty as allows the use of salt, duty free, for curing fish in bulk or in barrels; and to repeal certain laws relating to the allowance of salt, duty free, for the North Seas and Iceland fisheries.

An act to revive and continue, until the 5th day of July 1816, an act of the 46th year of his present Majesty's reign, for granting an additional bounty on the exportation of the silk manufactures of Great Britain.

An act for charging an additional duty on certain seeds imported.

An act to authorize the directors general of inland navigation in Ireland to proceed in carrying on and completing the canal from Dublin to Tarmonbury on the river Shannon.

An act to repeal the bounties payable in Ireland on the exportation of certain calicoes and cottons.

An act for repealing the stamp-duties on deeds, law proceedings, and other written or printed instruments, and the duties on fire insurances, and on legacies and successions to personal estate, upon intestacies, now payable in Great Britain; and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act for repealing the stamp-office duties on advertisements, almanacks, newspapers, gold and silver plate, stage coaches, and licences for keeping stage coaches, now payable in Great Britain; and for granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act for granting an additional sum of money for providing a suitable residence and estate for the Duke of Wellington and his heirs, in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by the said duke to his Majesty and the public.

An act for granting to his Majesty certain sums out of the respective consolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1815; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of Parliament.

An act for enabling his Majesty to grant to John Francis Erskine of Mar, Esq. and his heirs and assigns, the feu duties and quit rents arising in the lordship of Stirling, in discharge of a debt of greater value created upon the said feu duties by a grant from his Majesty King George the 1st.

An act for allowing Henry Meux, Thomas Starling Benson, Florance Thomas Young, Richard Latham, and John Newberry, to brew, duty free, a quantity of strong beer, the duty on which shall be equivalent to the duty on the beer lost; and to the duties on the malt and hops expended in the production of the beer so lost.

An act to amend an act made in the 48th year of his present Majesty, to improve the land revenue of the crown, so far as relates to the Great Forest of Brecknock, in the county of Brecknock; and for vesting in his Majesty certain parts of the said forest, and for enclosing the said forest.

An act to authorize the appoint-

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ment of commissioners for erecting a harbour for ships to the eastward of Dunleary, within the port and harbour of Dublin.

An act to remove certain difficulties in the disposition of copy-hold estates by will.

An act to enable his Majesty, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, to regulate the trade and commerce carried on between his Majesty's subjects and the inhabitants of the United States of America.

An act for better regulating the practice of apothecaries throughout England and Wales.

An act for exonerating the estates and effects of the late Sir James Colebrooke, the late Sir George Colebrooke, Arnold Nesbitt, Sir Samuel Fludyer, Adam Drummond, and Moses Franks, and of their sureties, from all claims and demands whatsoever in respect of any contracts entered into with his Majesty's government.

An act for enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of six millions for the service of Great Britain.

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PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

FOR THE YEAR 1815.

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PUBLIC INCOME OF GREAT BRITAIN,

For the Year ending 5th January, 1815.

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES, *and* EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES, *constituting the* PUBLIC INCOME *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt: Total sum to be accounted for.			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue			Net Produce, applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer,		
ORDINARY REVENUES:									
Permanent and Annual Taxes.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Customs	11,156,004	8	10¾	2,466,935	19	5½	8,689,068	9	5
Excise	22,620,069	4	8	3,168,966	9	6½	19,451,102	15	1½
Stamps	6,150,971	19	4½	324,608	14	8½	5,826,363	4	7½
Land and Assessed Taxes	8,207,511	0	6½	318,426	9	1½	7,889,084	11	5
Post Office	2,282,638	19	9½	573,432	5	2½	1,799,206	14	6½
Pensions and Salaries { 1s. in the L.	19,798	12	7½	294	9	5½	19,504	3	2
Pensions and Salaries { 6d. in the L.	12,593	7	1½	660	17	5	11,992	9	8½
Hackney Coaches	27,759	8	7½	3,677	15	9	24,081	12	10½
Hawkers and Pedlars	18,521	12	10	2,610	12	10½	15,910	19	11½
Total Permanent and Annual Duties	50,495,868	14	5½	6,859,553	13	7	43,636,315	0	10½
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.									
Alienation Fines	12,134	8	9	1,147	8	0	10,987	0	9
Post Fines	5,686	14	8½	187	5	2	5,499	9	6½
Seizures	7,497	11	5	-	-		7,497	11	5
Compositions and Proffers	606	10	11	-	-		606	10	11
Crown Lands	106,498	10	5½	2,321	5	7½	104,177	4	10½

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HEADS OF REVENUE.	GROSS RECEIPT: Total Sum to be accounted for.			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue.			NET PRODUCE, applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.		
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.									
War Taxes.									
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Customs	3,845,046	4	5¼	499,375	6	4¼	3,345,670	18	1
Excise	6,833,476	13	4	432,379	0	10¾	6,401,097	12	5¼
Property Tax	15,109,802	13	4¼	295,701	8	1¾	14,814,101	5	2½
Arrears of Income Duty, &c.	1,208	1	3¼	2	16	11¼	1,205	4	3¼
Lottery, Net Profit (of which one-third part is for the service of Ireland)	356,866	13	4	22,012	13	11	334,853	19	5
Monies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the service of Ireland	3,534,255	6	10	-		-	3,534,255	6	10
On Account of Balance due by Ireland on joint Expenditure of the United Kingdom	2,770,000	0	0	-		-	2,770,000	0	0
On Account of the Commissioners, appointed by Act 55 Geo. 3. cap. 127, and 57 Geo. 3, cap. 27, for issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada, &c.	60,200	0	0	-		-	60,200	0	0
On Account of the Interest, &c. of a Loan granted to the Prince Regent of Portugal.	57,170	3	0	-		-	57,170	3	0
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	119,226	9	10¾	-		-	119,226	9	10¾
Imprest Monies repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public	121,220	2	6¼	-		-	121,220	2	6¼
Total, independent of Loans	33,436,764	18	8½	3,112,680	18	7½	75,324,084	0	1
Loans paid into the Exchequer, (including the amount of those raised for the Service of Ireland)	36,078,047	18	7	-		-	36,078,047	18	7
GRAND TOTAL	119,514,812	17	3½	3,112,680	18	7½	111,402,131	18	8

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CONSOLIDATED FUND AND PERMANENT TAXES.—INCOME AND CHARGE, 1815.

INCOME.	L.	s.	d.	CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1815. L.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1815. L.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS. Consolidated, after reserving the sum of 105,000l. per annum, to be carried to Duties pro Anno 1809, per Act 49 Geo. 3, L.3,255,115 3 6½				Total Charge for Debt created prior to 5th Jan. 1805 - - -	21,770,222	18	2½	20,858,620	12	0¼
Isle of Man Duties 4,756 14 6				CIVIL LIST.						
Quarantine Duty 12,349 10 0½				For the Support of his Majesty's Household, per Act 17 Geo. 3. -	898,000	0	0	898,000	0	0
Canal & Dock Duty 9,700 16 6½				Ditto - - - 44	60,000	0	0	60,000	0	0
	3,281,922	4	7½	Ditto - - - 52	70,000	0	0	70,000	0	0
EXCISE. Consolidated after reserving the several Sums carried per Acts 45 and 46 Geo. 3, cap. 44, and 31, to Duties pro Annis 1805 and 1806 - - -	14,204,013	0	0	COURTS OF JUSTICE.						
STAMPS. Consolidated after reserving as directed per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 149 L.3,930,939 16 2½				Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries - -	13,050	0	0	13,050	0	0
Licences for selling Lottery Tickets 3,216 11 3				Deficiencies of Judges Salaries in England - - - - -	13,939	9	7½	Uncertain.		
	3,934,156	7	5½	Additional Salaries to the Welch Judges - - - -	3,200	0	0	3,200	0	0
INCIDENTS - - -	6,089,018	9	11	Aaron Graham, Esq. Inspector of temporary Places of Confinement for Felons - - - -	350	0	0	350	0	0
Fines of Leases - - -	352	0	0	John Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the Seven Police Offices - - -	21,088	11	7	Uncertain.		
Surplus Duty on Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco, annually granted -	1,446,198	0	2	Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. Ditto, Thames Ditto - - - -	6,775	12	6			
Ditto Annual Malt, Anno 1812, and 1813 - - -	521,721	0	0	VICE-ADMIRALTY JUDGES:—						
				J. W. Compton, Esq. Vice-Admiral, Judge at Barbadoes - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0

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INCOME.	L.	s.	d.
Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates, Anno 1809 to 1814	49,403	9	0
Arrears of 2s. Aid, Anno 1725, and Land Taxes, 1800 to 1814	1,080,132	16	9¼
Ditto Income Duty, Anno 1799, 1800, and 1801	1,174	18	5
Arrears of Assessed Taxes, 1798	-	-	
Money reserved on Account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, in Tontine, Anno 1789	23,654	5	8¼
Monies paid by divers persons	1,679,278	10	7
Total Income of Duties, applicable to paying the Charge prior to 1805, and the Incidental Charges as they stood on the 5th of January, 1815	32,311,025	2	7¾
DUTIES pro Anno 1805.			
Brought from Consolidated Customs	248,795	0	0
Ditto - Ditto - Stamps	52,313	16	8½
Taken from Consolidated Letter Money	296,027	5	7
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes, Duty on Horses for Riding	140,411	7	4½
Duties taken from Consolidated Excise, Salt, Auctions, Bricks and Tiles, Coffee, Cyder, and Perry, Glass, Vinegar and Wire	584,243	0	0

CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1815. L.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1815. L.	s.	d.
Henry Moreton Dyer, Esq. Ditto, Bahamas	689	5	3½	To cease.		
Alexander Croke, Esq. Ditto, Nova Scotia	3,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. Ditto, Malta	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry John Hinchliffe, Esq. Ditto, Jamaica	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
William Territ, Esq. Ditto, Bermudas	3,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Sheriffs of England and Wales	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
Clerk of the Hanaper	-	-		Uncertain.		
MINT.						
Master of his Majesty's Mint in England	13,800	0	0	Uncertain.		
Ditto, Scotland	1,200	0	0			
Thomas Morrison, Esq. Deficiency of Mint Fees	1,923	10	7½	Uncertain.		
SALARIES, ALLOWANCES, &c.						
The Speaker of the House of Commons to complete his Salary of 6000l. per ann.	2,028	6	0	Uncertain.		
Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of Imprest	5,250	0	0	Dead.		
Edward Roberts, Esq. an annual Sum, formerly paid to the Auditor	650	0	0	650	0	0
George Pepler, Esq. Inspector of Tontine Certificates	650	0	0	Uncertain.		

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Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland	276,825	3	8	Chief Cashier at the Bank, for Fees at sundry Public Offices	1,056	13	6	Uncertain
				Ditto South Sea Company, for do. . do.	275	19	0	
Total	1,598,615	13	4	Dean and Chapter of Westminster, per Act 50 Geo. 3, cap. 119	419	11	2	419 11 2
Duties pro Anno 1806.				Ditto. . . . Ditto. . . . Ditto	38	5	0	38 5 0
				For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax in Scotland	2,956	13	8	2,956 13 8
Duty on Wine, 1803, 1804	427,572	0	0	Messenger of the Great Seal, per Act 53 Geo. 3, cap. 89.	520	0	0	520 0 0
British Spirits, 1806	314,700	0	0					
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties	567,838	19	0					
Ditto out of Consolidated Stamps	6,917	1	4					
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland	133,798	17	8	**Commissioners of Public Accounts.**				
Total	1,450,826	18	0	William Mackworth Praed, Esq. Chairman	1,500	0	0	1,500 0 0
Duties pro Anno 1807.				Sir Charles William Rouse Broughton, Bart.	1,200	0	0	1,200 0 0
				Francis Percival Elliot, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200 0 0
Brought from War Taxes to pay the Charge of Loan	1,200,000	0	0	Richard Dawkins, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200 0 0
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland	222,765	7	4	John Whishaw, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200 0 0
				John Sargent, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200 0 0
Total	1,422,765	7	4	John Anstey, Esq.	1,200	0	0	1,200 0 0
Duties pro Anno 1808.				Salaries and Contingencies in the Office of the said Commissioners	35,080	18	0	Uncertain.
				Commissioners of West India Accounts.				
Surplus of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes	146,540	16	0					
Surplus of Consolidated Stamps	150,000	0	0	John Halket, Esq.	1,500	0	0	1,500 0 0
Interest, Management, &c. on Loan for Ireland	148,647	11	11	James Chapman, Esq.	1,000	0	0	1,000 0 0
				John Wilson, Esq.	1,000	0	0	1,000 0 0
Total	445,188	7	11	Salaries and Contingencies in the Office of the said Commissioners	6,433	13	6	Uncertain

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INCOME.				CHARGE.	Annual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1815.			Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1815.		
Duties pro Anno 1809.	L.	s.	d.	Miscellaneous and Pensions, (See Appendix, C. No. V. Public Expenditure)	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Brought from Consolidated Customs	105,000	0	0		374,199	1	1½	378,636	8	2
Ditto War Taxes, to pay the Charge of Loan	1,040,000	0	0	Total of Incidental Charges upon the Consolidated Fund, as they stood on the 5th January, 1815	1,561,120	10	7½	1,454,090	18	0
Charges of Loan for the Service of Portugal	57,170	8	0							
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	177,204	16	8	Debt incurred in respect of						
Total	1,379,374	19	8	L.22,500,000, raised pro An. 1805 . L.	1,716,992	0	3½	The same.		
				20,000,000, . Ditto . 1806	1,339,288	0	0	The same.		
Duties pro Anno 1810.				12,000,000 part of 14,300,000 . Ditto . 1807	1,435,592	15	2½	The same.		
Brought from Consolidated Stamps	1,458,403	17	5							
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	305,681	1	8	4,000,000 Exchequer Bills, funded pro . . 1808	878,055	2	11½	The same.		
Total	1,764,084	19	1	7,932,100 . Ditto . . . 1809	1,377,933	2	8½	1,378,018	14	10½
				8,311,000 . Ditto . . . 1810	1,276,589	10	2½	The same.		
Duties pro Anno 1811.				7,018,700 . Ditto . . . 1811	1,495,929	14	9	The same.		
Brought from War Taxes	466,000	0	0	5,431,700 . Ditto . . . 1812	2,214,575	9	3½	2,215,632	7	4½
British Spirits, 1811 - L.718,674				12,000,000 . Ditto . . . 1813	4,384,326	6	7½	4,150,416	7	10½
Foreign ditto - - 64,383	783,057	0	0	22,000,000 . Ditto . . . 1814	2,285,924	12	10	3,643,028	6	0
Total	1,249,057	0	0	RECAPITULATION.						
Duties pro Anno 1812.										
Duties taken from Consolidated Excise	618,792	0	0	Total Charge for Debt incurred prior to 1805	21,770,222	18	2½	20,858,620	12	0½
Estimated Amount of the additional Duty on the Postage of Letters by said act cap. 88.	229,806	1	1	Total of Incidental Charges	1,561,120	10	7½	1,454,090	18	0

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Male Servants, Carriages, Horses for Riding, Ditto and Mules, Dogs, Horse Dealers' Licences, Game Certificates	473,223	12	4	Total Charge for Debt incurred in 1805	1,716,992	0	3¼	The same.	
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	308,653	10	3	Ditto - ditto - 1806	1,339,288	0	0	The same.	
Total	1,629,975	3	8	Ditto - ditto - 1807	1,435,522	15	2¼	The same.	
				Ditto - ditto - 1808	878,055	2	11¼	The same.	
Duties pro Anno 1813.				Ditto - ditto - 1809	1,377,933	2	3¼	1,378,013	14 10¼
Duty on French Wines	590	0	0	Ditto - ditto - 1810	1,276,589	10	2¼	The same.	
Permanent Duty on Customs	712,879	18	3¼	Ditto - ditto - 1811	1,495,929	14	9	The same.	
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	506,388	13	5	Ditto - ditto - 1812	2,214,575	9	3¼	2,215,632	7 4¼
Total	1,219,858	11	8	Ditto - ditto - 1813	4,384,326	6	7¼	4,150,416	7 10¼
Duties pro Anno 1814.				Ditto - ditto - 1814	2,285,924	12	10	3,643,028	6 0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	75,831	9	1	Total Charge upon the Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January, 1815	41,736,480	3	3	41,842,109	9 8¼
Brought from Money reserved in the Exchequer, being in part of L.22,000, Annuity to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales	5,500	0	0						
Total	80,831	9	1						
Total Income of Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January, 1815	44,551,603	12	0						

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An Account of the Net Produce of all the PERMANENT TAXES *of* GREAT BRITAIN; *taken for Two Years, ending respectively 5th January,* 1814, *and 5th January,* 1815.

		In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1814.			In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1815.		
		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
CONSOLIDATED CUSTOMS		2,943,392	11	3½	3,608,910	3	6½
Ditto Ditto (Isle of Man),		7,343	4	3½	4,756	14	6
Ditto Ditto (Quarantine),		13,311	5	8	12,349	10	0½
Ditto Ditto (Canal and Dock Duty),		43,653	19	9½	29,700	16	6½
Ditto Ditto (Permanent Duty),		890,156	18	10	712,879	18	9½
Ditto - EXCISE		15,871,782	1	3½	15,835,210	0	0
BRITISH SPIRITS - -	1806	288,839	19	5½	314,700	0	0
Ditto Ditto - -	1811	8,535	18	1	718,674	0	0
FOREIGN Ditto -	——	28,375	0	0	64,383	0	0
CONSOLIDATED STAMPS		5,340,712	10	4	5,598,574	11	8
LOTTERY LICENCES		3,774	3	7	3,216	11	3
LAND TAXES		1,084,860	7	2½	1,080,610	19	9½
INCIDENTS.							
Consolidated Letter Money		1,466,000	0	0	1,450,000	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars		18,040	0	0	15,700	0	0
Seizures		22,638	4	7	7,497	11	5
Proffers		884	15	2	905	14	5
Compositions		2	0	0	0	16	8
Fines and Forfeitures		1,014	15	4	611	3	0
Rent of a Light-House		6	13	4	——		
Ditto Alum Mines		864	0	0	864	0	0
Alienation Duty		4,069	12	0	4,902	5	4
Hackney Coaches and Chairs,	1711	10,527	0	0	10,210	0	0
Ditto - Ditto	1784	14,660	0	0	13,620	0	0
Houses	1778	439	0	9	——		
L.10 per Cent.	1793	-	-		1	2	0
Hair-Powder Certificates	1795	100	0	0	——		
Horse-Dealers' Licences	1796	100	0	0	——		
Windows	1798	88	13	6	——		
Riding Horses	——	42	2	0	——		
Armorial Bearings	——	200	0	0	——		
Male Servants	——	9	10	0	——		
4-wheeled Carriages	——	18	0	0	——		
Dogs	——	11	0	0	——		
Arrears of Taxes	——	1,092	19	4	——		
Ditto Assessed Taxes	——	-	-		30	5	10½
Windows	1802	-	-		40	0	0
Houses	——	234	3	8	——		
Horses for Husbandry	——	——			——		
Ditto Riding	——	100	0	0	——		
Male Servants	——	100	0	0	——		
Dogs	——	400	0	0	——		
2 wheeled Carriages	——	200	0	0	——		
Windows	1804	7,903	3	4½	1,147	1	5
Houses	——	4,088	15	6½	1,777	3	7
Horses for Riding	——	979	12	1	1,078	8	10½

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		In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1814			Ditto, 5th Jan. 1815.		
		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Horses and Mules - -	1804	148	4	1½	1,243	9	2½
Horse-Dealers' Licences -	——	74	16	4	322	17	9
Servants - - -	——	1,178	5	5½	1,812	1	0
Hair-Powder Certificates	——	1,010	2	9	502	10	6
Armorial Bearings -	——	634	14	2½	503	18	6
Carriages - - -	——	4,328	12	11½	2,109	1	4
Dogs - - -	——	98	6	11	909	6	0
L.10 per Cent. - -	1806	1,730	2	0	341	19	11¾
Consolidated Assessed Taxes	1808	6,262,463	5	1	6,400,258	17	7
6d. per lib. on Pensions -	1809	1,210	3	10½	——		
1s. ditto on Salaries -	——	1,412	11	7½	——		
6d. ditto on Pensions -	1810	1,932	5	3	——		
1s. ditto on Salaries -	——	119	9	10	——		
6d. ditto on Pensions -	1811	765	0	0	772	15	8½
1s. ditto on Salaries -	——	1,993	0	0	180	1	6
6d. ditto on Pensions -	1812	5,600	0	0	730	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries -	——	11,800	0	0	600	0	0
6d. ditto on Pensions -	1813	1,200	0	0	6,700	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries -	——	2,000	0	0	14,200	0	0
6d. ditto on Pensions -	1814	-	-		2,300	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries -	——	-	-		1,900	0	0
Surplus Duties annually granted, after discharging three millions Exchequer Bills charged thereon - - -	Sugar and Malt	392,969	17	1½	471,250	0	1½
	Additional ditto	692,359	0	0	831,339	8	10
	Tobacco -	170,109	13	3½	143,608	11	2½
	Annual Malt	490,882	0	0	521,721	0	0
	Land Tax on Offices, &c. -	60,918	1	1½	51,612	7	0
		35,566,134	12	9¾	37,945,864	4	0¾
Duties annually granted to discharge three millions Exchequer Bills charged thereon - -	Sugar and Malt	2,778,062	18	5¾	2,617,902	13	5½
	Additional ditto	211,437	0	0	235,099	11	2
	Tobacco -	337,393	6	8½	244,799	8	9½
		38,893,027	18	0¼	41,043,665	17	5¾

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PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
I. For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c. (App. A. 1. 2.)	-		-	-		-	40,776,530	12	0½
II. Interest on Exchequer Bills (B)	-		-	-		-	2,256,707	8	4
III. Civil List (C)	-		-	1,028,000	0	0			
IV. Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz. — Courts of Justice	-		-	74,437	19	0			
Mint	-		-	16,923	10	7½			
Allowance to Royal Family	-		-	36,804	12	1½			
Salaries and Allowances	-		-	67,559	9	10			
Bounties	-		-	6,158	9	0			
				-		-	1,561,120	10	7¼
V. Civil Government of Scotland (D)	-		-	-		-	114,032	3	4
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts; (E) viz.									
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-		-	244,908	19	3			
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue	-		-	27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants	-		-	138,494	10	2½			
				-		-	410,503	9	5½
VII. The Navy (F)	-		-	11,394,907	10	1			
The Victualling Department	-		-	5,774,585	5	5¼			
The Transport Service	-		-	4,852,074	3	3			
				-		-	21,961,566	18	9¼
VIII. Ordnance (G)	-		-	-		-	4,480,729	9	3
IX. The Army (H) viz.									
Ordinary Services	-		-	16,532,945	10	0			
Extraordinary Services and Subsidies				27,287,234	12	2			
				43,820,180	2	2			
Deduct the Amount of Remittances and Advances to other Countries, included in Appendix I.	-		-	10,024,623	18	7¼			
				-		-	33,795,556	3	6¼

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	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
X. Loans, &c. to other Countries (I), viz.									
Ireland	-	-		8,723,985	18	9½			
Austria	1,475,682	11	2						
Denmark	121,917	16	0						
France	231 931	16	10						
Hanover	739,879	7	7½						
Holland	267,759	7	5½						
Oldenburgh	10,007	17	5						
Portugal	1,500,000	0	0						
Prussia	1,330,171	5	1						
Russia	2,555,473	6	7						
Sicily	316,666	13	4						
Spain	586,338	7	11¼						
Sweden	800.000	0	0						
Miscellaneous	88,845	9	2						
				10,024,623	18	7¼			
XI Miscellaneous Services (K), viz.							18,748,609	16	10¾
At Home	-	-		1,937,018	5	11½			
Abroad	-	-		447,573	13	3¼			
							2,384,591	19	2½
							6,489,948	11	5½
Deduct Sums, which, although included in this Account, form no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain, viz.									
Loan, &c. for Ireland	-	-		8,723,985	18	9½			
Interest, L. 1 per cent and Management on Portuguese Loan, per Act 49 Geo. 3, c. 71.	-	-		57,170	3	0			
Sinking Fund on Loan to the East India Company	-	-		120,807	19	9			
							8,901,964	1	0½
							117,587,984	11	5*

* This includes the sum of L.418,699 18 6, for Interest, &c. paid on Imperial Loans.

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PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN, *as the same stood on the 1st of February*, 1815.

TOTAL DEBT UNREDEEMED.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
At 3 per Cent.						
Bank of England and Annuities, 1751	12,686,600	0	0			
South Sea Old and New Annuities,	25,984,684	13	11½			
Consolidated Annuities	362,928,558	4	5¼			
Reduced Annuities	168,794,022	0	1			
At 4 per Cent.						
Consolidated Annuities	74,077,744	2	2			
At 5 per Cent.						
Consolidated Annuities	106,062,254	13	7			
Annuities, 1797 and 1802	1,438,938	14	0			
Total CAPITALS				751,973,002	8	2¼
Annual Interest	22,391,877	19	11¼			
Annuities for Lives or for Terms of Years	1,303,585	14	5¼			
Charges of Management	288,294	10	0			
Annual or other Sums payable to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, by sundry Acts of Parliament	11,480,049	14	2¼			
Total of Annual Expense				35,413,807	18	7¼

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UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th Day of January*, 1815.

	Amount Outstanding,					
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
EXCHEQUER:						
Exchequer Bills provided for	31,941,700	0	0			
Ditto - unprovided for	26,000,000	0	0			
				57,941,700	0	0
TREASURY:						
Miscellaneous Services	483,410	14	9¼			
Warrants for Army Services	19,622	15	7¼			
Treasury Bills -	1,784,564	0	0			
				2,287,597	10	5
Army -	-		-	1,047,363	2	3
Barracks -	-		-	116,204	9	2
Ordnance -	-		-	793,919	4	6
Navy -	-		-	6,361,076	7	7¾
Civil List Advances -	-		-	32,663	16	4¼
				68,580,524	10	4¼

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PRICE OF STOCKS FOR EACH MONTH IN 1815—*Lowest and Highest.*

1815.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Exch. Bills.	S. Sea Stock.	Irish 5 p. cent.	Omnium.
Jan.	251 260	65⅜ 66	65 65⅝	82¼ 83¼	94 95	16 5/16 16½		15 pr. 20 pr.	3 pr. 6 pr.			2¼ dis. 1 dis.
Feb.	257½ 259	64½ 65⅛	64½ 65⅜	81¼ 82¼	93½ 94⅞	16½ 16½	192½ 193¾	7 pr. 18 pr.	2 pr. 6 pr.	68½ 70⅛	98¼	3½ dis. 1½ dis
March.	257	63¾ 64	58⅝ 63⅛	81½ 81⅛	89⅞ 94	16¼	191¼	1 dis. 8 pr.	3 dis. 5 pr.	65⅛	93⅞	10⅞ dis. 8½ dis.
April.	223 232	55⅛ 56⅛	58 56¾	71⅝ 73¾	86 89⅛	14½ 14½	175½	4 dis. 14 pr.	5 dis. 10 pr.	61¾ 62	85 85¼	
May.	227½ 229½	56⅜ 58⅛	57½ 59⅜	71⅝ 73	86⅜ 8⅛	14⅜ 14⅛	175 176½	11 pr. 13 pr.	5 pr. 11 pr.	63	85	
June.	219 230	53¾ 59	58⅛ 59⅛	69½ 74	87¼	13 7/8 15	177	7 dis. 10 pr.	4 dis. 5 pr.			9¼ pr. 13 pr.
July.	227½ 233	56⅝ 59	56¼ 59	72 74⅛	84⅜ 86½	14½ 14⅞	174¼ 176	9 dis. 4 pr.	7 dis. 3 pr.	60½ 60¼		7½ pr. 12¼ pr.
Aug.	224 228½	56 57¼	55⅝ 57¼	71 73	83½ 85⅛	14⅜ 14⅛	171½ 176	8 dis. 1 dis.	5 dis. 1 pr.	59¾	85¼	par. 8⅛ pr.
Sept.	226	56½	56 57⅛	71½ 72	84⅝ 85⅛	14½	170 171	8 dis. 5 dis.	1 dis. 4 dis.	59		5⅞ pr. 7½ pr.
Oct.	231 242½	57⅞ 60½	57⅛ 61⅛	72⅛ 75¼	85⅛ 90⅛	14⅛ 15⅛	170 178	6 dis. 5 pr.	3 dis. 5 pr.	62⅜		7½ pr. 16⅛ pr.
Nov.	239 240½	60⅛ 60	61⅛ 62⅛	74⅞ 75⅛	90⅛ 92¼	15⅛ 15⅛	180 189½	5 pr. 8 pr.	4 pr. 6 pr.	65⅛ 67⅛	90	15⅛ pr. 16⅛ pr.
Dec.	237 238½	59¼ 60¼	60¼ 61	74⅛ 75	90½ 91	15 15⅛		3 dis. 5 pr.	par. 5 pr.			13½ pr. 15¼ pr.

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LIST OF PATENTS,

From November 1814, *to September* 1815.

Robert Dickinson, for improvements in the art of sadlery.

Ditto, for improvements in the manufacture of barrels and other packages.

Robert Salmon, for improved movements in working cranes, mills, &c.

Edward Glover, for an apparatus for extracting bolts, nails, &c.

Hen. Julius Winter, for a method for giving effect to various operating processes.

John Fr. Wyatt, for a new kind of bricks or blocks applicable to various purposes.

Joseph C. Dyer, for improvements in machinery for manufacturing cards, for carding wool, cotton, silks, &c.

James Smith, for a self-acting sash-fastening.

W. Everhard Baron Von Dornich, for improvements in the manufacture of soap.

John Vallance, jun., for an apparatus for securing brewers' vats or store casks.

Robert Dickinson, for improvements in implements relative to navigation.

Edward Jordan and *William Cooke*, for an apparatus for the detection of thieves.

Frederick Köenig, for improvements in his method of printing by machinery.

John White, for a method of making candles.

Joseph Harris, for improvements in military clothing.

John Cattler, for improvements in fire-places, stoves, &c.

Christopher Dill, for a mastic cement.

James Collier, for an apparatus for raising water, &c.

Frederic Marquis de Chabanes, for a method of extracting more caloric from fuel, and applying to warming rooms.

John Carpenter, for an improved knapsack.

Jean Raudont, for improvements in dioptric telescopes.

James Miller, for improvements in the apparatus for distillation.

John Wood, for improvements in the machinery for spinning cotton-wool, &c.

Joseph and *Peter Taylor*, for improvements in weaving mixed cloths of cotton, worsted, silk, &c.

James Thomson, for improvements in printing cloth, of cotton or linen, or both.

William Griffith, for an improved toast-stand.

R. Jones Tomlinson, for improvements in constructing the roofs of buildings.

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William Moult, for a mode of evaporation and sublimation.

Joseph Burrel, for a safe-guard on getting in and out of carriages.

Jonah Dyer, for an improved machine for shearing woollen cloth.

Samuel Brown, for an improved rudder and apparatus for governing ships.

Ralph Dodd and *George Stevenson*, for improvements in the construction of locomotive engines.

William Michell and *John Lawton*, for a lock and key applicable to various purposes.

Thomas Deakin, for a portable kitchen.

Dudly Adams, for improvements in the construction of tubes and other parts of telescopes.

William Wood, for the manufacture and application of materials to render ships and other vessels water-tight.

Robert Dickinson, for improvements in the fabrication of sundry tools and implements.

John Mills, for improved elastic stays.

Elix. Beveridge, for an improved bedstead.

Thomas Potts, for the production of pure fresh warm air.

Jonathan Ridgeway, for a method of casting and fixing metallic types upon cylinders.

William Bell, for improvements in the apparatus for writing or designs.

Henry Houldsworth, for a method of discharging air and steam from pipes for heating buildings.

Charles Gent and *Square Clark*, for an apparatus for winding silk.

Richard Smith, for improvements in smelting and refining metals.

Thomas Bagot, for a machine for passing boats from a higher to a lower level, and the contrary, without loss of water.

William Vaughan Palmer, for a method of twisting and laying of hemp, flax, ropes, &c.

William Losh, for a plan for furnaces to heat boilers and convert liquids to steam for the purpose of working machinery.

Joshua Shaw, for improvements in the glazier's diamond.

William Bell, for a method of making wire.

Michael Billingsley, for improvements in the steam-engine.

Sam. John Pauley and *Durs Egg*, for certain aërial conveyances to be steered by philosophical, chemical, or mechanical means.

Jacob Wilson, for improvements in bedsteads and furniture.

William Rush, for a method for preventing accidents from horses falling with two-wheeled carriages.

Peter and *John Martineau*, for methods of refining certain vegetable substances.

J. J. Alexander Maccarthy, for a method of paving streets, roads, &c.

Charles Pitt, for a method for the secure conveyance of small parcels, &c.

Samuel Pratt, for a wardrobe travelling trunk.

Archibald Kenrick, for improvements in mills for grinding coffee, malt, &c.

John Pugh, for a new method of making salt-pans.

Jonathan Ridgeway, for a new method of pumping.

John Kilby, for improvement in the art of brewing malt liquors.

John Lingford, for a self-regulating truss.

Ben. Steevens, for an improved method of making soap.

Richard Trevithick, for improvements on the high pressure of steam-engines.

Julien Jorett, *John Postel*, and *Lewis Contesse*, for a method of extracting gold and silver from refiners' cinders.

John Taylor, for a mode of producing gas for the purpose of affording light.

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Charles Whitlow, for working manufactures from certain plants of the genuses Urtica and Asclepias.

Robert Brown, for improvements on the machinery of ploughs.

James Gardner, for improvements on a machine for cutting hay and straw.

William Pope, for improvements on wheel-carriages, and methods of making them go without animals.

Grace Eliz. Service, for new methods of manufacturing straw.

John Taylor, for methods of refining sugar.

Charles Sylvester, for improvements in bobbin lace.

Robert Baynes, for improvements in vertical windmill sails.

Robert Dickinson, for improved means for the propulsion of vessels through the water.

Samuel Balden and *John Burtenshaw*, for a machine for the better heating of ovens..

William Madeley, for an improved drilling machine.

John Lewis, for an improved shearing machine.

David Mushet, for improvements in the manufacturing of iron.

William Edridge, for an improved fire-engine.

Joseph Harvey, for a machine for the better striking and finishing of leather.

Richard Dixon, for improvements in the construction of trunks and portmanteaus.

John Street, for improvements in the making and working of bellows.

John Edwards, for a method of preventing leakage in ships and other vessels.

John Chesholms, for a method of constructing register and other stoves.

Stephen Price, for a machine for shearing woollen cloths.

Thomas Field Savery, for a salt possessing the property of the Sedlitz water.

James Carpenter, for an improved curry-comb.

William Bemman, for improvements in ploughs.

Thomas Ashmore, for a new mode of making leather.

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POETRY.

THE VISION OF BELSHAZZAR.

AN ODE.

I.

THE lamps are bright in Babel's tower,
Belshazzar feasts in pride of power.
On golden throne,
Clothed in his grandeur, haughty and alone,
He sits in state.
Around him wait
A thousand Satraps in their crested pride;
And, nearer seen, his lovely queen
Wears the dread splendours of a monarch's bride.

II.

Of molten gold, the pillars hold
A dome begemm'd with stones of price,
And handiwork of rare device.
The banquet glitters on the board,
Inviting its voluptuous lord;
Young beauty smiles,
Queen of hearts and witching wiles;
And mantling shine the cups of wine,
Wak'ning, as their drops they quaff,
Hearts that dance, and eyes that laugh;
And wild and loud the minstrel throng
The proud carousal cheer with harp and song.

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III.

Sweetest nard the virgins sprinkling,
Gently wake the timbril's tinkling,
And, in mazes right fantastic,
Trip it light on steps elastic.
Wheeling, turning, coming, flying,
Granting now, and now denying.
Tranced, and soul-dissolving,
Lo! the monarch lies—
Ecstasies involving,
Close his raptured eyes.
On the soft bosom of his queen,
Reclining all serene,
He dreams no more of royal toil and care,
And painful glories vanish into air.

IV.

Starts a rapid clangor,
Rousing to brave anger;
Shrill and strong, breaks the song
Of daring deed and warrior throng,
Pealing deep in numbers grave,
The battle and the brave.
"Strength of shields, and edge of swords,
King of kings, and Lord of lords!
Wake thee, wake thee, Glory calls,
Once again, lo! Salem falls."
He starts up from his consort's side,
In the drunkenness of pride,
Heav'n, and Earth, and Hell defying,
Hosts he sees before him flying,
While the rage to assuage,
Sought in vain the minstrel Mage.

V.

"Bards! louder yet my father's triumph sing,
And here the Hebrew's hallow'd vessels bring."
Those vessels shine with Heathen wine,
And Salem mourns her violated shrine;
And o'er her bleeding woes, her victors sing
The song of triumphing.

VI.

"Who comes, in his glory, from Babylon's waters,
Devouring the earth in the wrath of his slaughters?
Who comes, like the sun, in the joy of the morn,
His blood-reeking banners by victory borne?

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In the strength of his shields, the Assyrian comes down,
The earth, with her rivers and mountains, his own.
He comes, like a giant refresh'd with new wine,
Exulting in strength, while his men of war shine.
In the pride of his heart to the fight he advances,
The wilderness flames with the gleam of his lances;
The son of the forest, with howling affright,
Starts from the blaze to the darkness of night.
Like the roaring of waters, like bellowing of storm,
Like dark rolling clouds, to the combat they form;
And hurling their foes to the torrents of hell,
Triumphing sing to the glory of Bel."

VII.

"Look to the king! look to the lord!
Starting from the banquet board."
Pale, and motionless, as monumental stone,
The cold flesh quivers on the bone.
The sparkless eye upon the wall is raised,
There rivetted—it gazes glazed.
What can Assyria's greatness thus appall?
A sever'd hand is moving on that wall—
A sever'd hand, in deep mysterious gloom,
Traces the characters of doom.
O'er all that gorgeous room,
'Tis the deep hush of terror—and the breath
Already owns the chilling touch of death.
Chaldea's Seers, aghast,
Confess their science past.
Those characters remain
Belshazzar's bane!

VIII.

The hoary Hebrew came,
Upon his lips the prophet's flame
Burning in brightness.
His form is feeble, slow his pace,
Wild ringlets shade his aged face,
Reverend in whiteness.
He saw, he read, he spoke;
And all delirious, from his quiet broke.
As the arrow from the bow,
As the fish that flies the foe,
As the gush of Horeb flow'd,
As the lightning from the cloud,
Starts he to life,
Convulsive with prophetic strife.
His eye, where Age her film had drawn,
Flashes the flame of its glances;
His old, worn form, all animated shone,
Kindled and wild he advances;

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His hands upraised, he cries, in raptured rage,
While passion swallows up the trace of age:

IX.

" Belshazzar! Son of the morning,
How art thou fall'n!
From thy bright path above, resplendently burning,
To the waters art thou roll'n!
Thy branches all blooming, thy garden perfuming,
Flames are consuming.
Babylon weeps o'er her portion of sorrow,
The ruin of Sodom, the curse of Gomorrah.

X.

" O king! I see the day of visitation,
Thy perish'd kingdom, and thy scattered nation!
I hear the mournful sound,
The lonely sound that lingers in these walls;
Stone after stone, on column column falls,
And desolation blackens all around.
The spider's web hangs on thy panoply;
The lizard creeps in thy goblet of amber;
The wild fox nests in thy bed-chamber,
Owls in thy canopy.
Where glitter'd thy palaces—vaunted thy walls,
From her sedge-cover'd plashes the bittern calls.

XI.

" The earth is at rest, and breaks forth into singing,
A wild bird untrammell'd to liberty springing.
The cedars of Lebanon lift up their voice,
And, waving their hundred arms, o'er thee rejoice.
O! hills of Gilboa! now raise ye the song,
The harp, and the tabret, and young maiden throng.
See! Jordan flows brightly, with merry waves leaping,
And Carmel the smiling of thankfulness wears.
Fair daughter of sorrow! arise from thy weeping,
Come forth in thy beauty, O! Salem of tears!"

XII.

" Thou—king of terrors! lord of death and doom!
Where shalt thou fly, from the curse of thy gloom?
The bright lights of heaven are quench'd on thy path,
Its angels anoint thee with vials of wrath!
Earth trembles beneath thee, heaven totters on high,
Where, wretched outcast! where wilt thou fly?
Hell yawns to receive thee, it stirs up the dead—
All grisely the spectre kings leap from their bed;
'Art thou weak as we?' they ask in fell mirth,
'Who didst scatter, like dust, the throne of the earth?'

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Go—King of Babel—this night is thy last,
Thy kingdom is weighed, found wanting, and past."
The prophet fell bloodless, exhausted, and pale,
But terror yet echoed his soothsaying tale.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

From the German of Schiller.

(FROM THE SALE-ROOM.)

In ancient times, when Genoa had rebell'd,
And from its walls the Prince expell'd,
Fiesco, at the insurgents' head,
Who, as he will'd, their factious spirit led,
The commons thus address'd,
On their new state assembled to decide:—
"With your good leave, I will relate to you
What happen'd to the beasts, like you oppress'd?"—
"Speak, speak, Fiesco," cry'd the motley crew.

—"Weary with anarchy and civil broils,
And sadly living on each others spoils,
In desperate hope to be protected,
A Bull-Dog for their Sovereign they elected.
His reign was short. To blood and rapine bred,
He on their very bones and marrow fed;
Till one more bold and generous than the rest,
Deposed and slew the sanguinary beast.

"The animals, collected then like you,
To mould their government anew,
Of the three forms presented to their choice,
For which do you suppose they gave their voice?"—
—"O for the popular!" at once they cried.
"You're in the right of it," replied
Fiesco; "a democracy they chose;
And on whate'er their rulers should propose,
Each was to have his vote.

"It chanced that Man
Against their infant state a war began.
Bull, Lion, Eagle, Tiger, Leopard, Bear,
For vigorous defence prepare;

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Goats, Pigeons, Sheep, and all the reptile race,
Resolve to sue for ignominious peace.
Cowards and Fools outvote the wise and brave,
And men their unprotected haunts surprise:
What would you in this crisis have decreed?"
"Why, that the *best*," they cry, "should take the lead."

"Just what they did—an aristocracy
This government is call'd—But see
The consequence—The general good
Gave way to private interest, and all stood,
Not for his fellow-creatures, but himself:
Then first was known the sordid lust of *pelf*.
Foxes, Curs, Cats, purloin'd the common stock,
The Wolf devour'd at will the helpless flock.
Asses, ambassadors were sent,
A Stag to lead their armies went;
All was oppression, plunder, weakness, wrong;
Till, with one voice, the indignant throng,
Able to bear no more, resolved to have
A *King*, at once sagacious, generous, brave.
The *Lion* in a word." The rabble rout,
Rending the air with hideous shout,
Exclaim—"Huzza! the Lion is the thing!
Huzza! Huzza! Fiesco shall be *King!*"

DIRGE

OF A HIGHLAND CHIEF, EXECUTED AFTER THE REBELLION.

A literary friend of ours received these verses, with a letter of the following tenor:—

"*A very ingenious young friend of mine has just sent me the enclosed on reading Waverley.—To you, the world gives that charming work; and if in any future edition you should like to insert the Dirge to the Highland Chief, you would do honour to*

"*Your sincere Admirer.*"

The individual to whom this obliging letter was addressed, having no claim to the honour which is there done him, does not possess the means of publishing the verses in the popular novel alluded to. But, that the public may sustain no loss, and that the ingenious author of Waverley may be aware of the honour intended him, our correspondent has ventured to send the verses to our Register.

Son of the mighty and the free!
Loved leader of the faithful brave!
Was it for high-rank'd chief like thee,
To fill a nameless grave!

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Oh, had'st thou slumber'd with the slain,
Had glory's death-bed been thy lot,
E'en though on red Culloden's plain,
We then had mourn'd thee not!

But darkly closed thy morn of fame,
That morn whose sunbeam rose so fair,
Revenge alone may breathe thy name,
The watch-word of despair!
Yet oh! if gallant spirit's power
Has e'er ennobled death like thine,
Then glory mark'd thy parting hour,
Last of a mighty line!

O'er thy own bowers the sunshine falls,
But cannot cheer their lonely gloom,
Those beams, that gild thy native walls,
Are sleeping on thy tomb.
Spring on thy mountains laughs the while,
Thy green woods wave in vernal air,
But the loved scenes may vainly smile,
Not e'en thy dust is there!

On thy blue hills no bugle sound
Is mingling with the torrent's roar;
Unmark'd the red deer sport around,
Thou lead'st the chase no more.
Thy gates are closed, thy halls are still,
Those halls where swell'd the choral strain,
They hear the wild winds murmuring shrill,
And all is hush'd again.

Thy bard his pealing harp has broke,
His fire, his joy of song is past;
One lay to mourn thy fate he woke,
His saddest and his last:
No other theme to him was dear,
Than lofty deeds of thine;
Hush'd be the strain thou can'st not hear,
Last of a mighty line!

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THE

SEARCH AFTER HAPPINESS;

OR,

THE QUEST OF SULTAUN SOLIMAUN.

From the Sale-Room.

I.

O, FOR a glance of that gay Muse's eye,
That lighten'd on Bandello's laughing tale,
And twinkled with a lustre shewd and sly
When Giam Battista bade her vision hail!*
Yet fear not, ladies, the *naïve* detail
Given by the natives of that land canorous;
Italian license loves to leap the pale,
We Britons have the fear of shame before us,
And, if not wise in mirth, at least must be decorous.

II.

In the far eastern clime, no great while since,
Lived Sultaun Solimaun, a mighty prince,
Whose eyes, as oft as they perform'd their round,
Beheld all others' fix'd upon the ground;
Whose ears received the same unvaried phrase,
"Sultaun! thy vassal hears, and he obeys!"
All have their tastes—this may the fancy strike
Of such grave folks as pomp and grandeur like;
For me, I love the honest heart and warm
Of Monarch who can amble round his farm,
Or, when the toil of state no more annoys,
In chimney corner seek domestic joys—
I love a Prince will bid the bottle pass,
Exchanging with his subjects glance and glass;
In fitting time, can, gayest of the gay,
Keep up the jest and mingle in the lay—
Such Monarchs best our free-born humours suit,
But Despots must be stately, stern, and mute.

* The hint of the following tale is taken from *La Camiscia Magica*, a novel of Gian Battista Casti.

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III.

This Solimaun, Serendib had in sway—
And where's Serendib? may some critic say.—
Good lack, mine honest friend, consult the chart,
Scare not my Pegasus before I start!
If Rennell has it not, you'll find, mayhap,
The isle laid down in Captain Sindbad's map,—
Famed mariner! whose merciless narrations
Drove every friend and kinsman out of patience,
Till, fain to find a guest who thought them shorter,
He deign'd to tell them over to a porter—
The last edition see by Long: and Co.,
Rees, Hurst, and Orme, our fathers in the Row.

IV.

Serendib found,—deem not my tale a fiction—
This Sultaun, whether lacking contradiction—
(A sort of stimulant which hath its uses,
To raise the spirits and reform the juices,
Sovereign specific for all sort of cures
In my wife's practice, and perhaps in yours,)
The Sultaun lacking this same wholesome bitter,
Or cordial smooth for princes' palate fitter—
Or if some Mollah had hag-rid his dreams
With Degial, Ginnistan, and such wild themes
Belonging to the Mollah's subtle craft,
I wot not—but the Sultaun never laugh'd,
Scarce ate or drank, and took a melancholy
That scorn'd all remedy profane or holy;
In his long list of melancholies, mad,
Or mazed, or dumb, hath Burton none so bad.

V.

Physicians soon arrived, sage, ware, and tried,
As e'er scrawl'd jargon in a darken'd room;
With heedful glance the Sultaun's tongue they eyed,
Peep'd in his bath, and God knows where beside,
And then in solemn accents spoke their doom,
"His Majesty is very far from well."
Then each to work with his specific fell:
The Hakim Ibrahim *instanter* brought
His unguent Mahazzim al Zerdukkaut;*
While Roompot, a practitioner more wily,
Relied on his Munaskiff al fillfily.*
More and yet more in deep array appear,
And some the front assail and some the rear;

* For these hard words see D'Herbelot, or the learned editor of the Receipts of Avicenna.

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Their remedies to reinforce and vary,
Came surgeon eke, and eke apothecary;
Till the tired Monarch, though of words grown chary,
Yet dropt, to recompense their fruitless labour,
Some hint about a bowstring or a sabre.
There lack'd, I promise you, no longer speeches,
To rid the palace of those learned leeches.

VI.

Then was the council call'd—by their advice,
(They deem'd the matter ticklish all, and nice,
And sought to shift it off from their own shoulders)
Tatārs and couriers in all speed were sent,
To call a sort of Eastern parliament
Of feudatory chieftains and freeholders—
Such have the Persians at this very day,
My learned Malcolm calls them *couroultai;*
I'm not prepared to show in this slight song
That to Serendib the same forms belong,—
E'en let the learn'd go search, and tell me if I'm wrong.

VII.

The Omrahs,* each with hand on scymitar,
Gave, like Sempronius, still their voice for war—
"The sabre of the Sultaun in its sheath
Too long has slept, nor own'd the work of death;
Let the Tambourgi bid his signal rattle,
Bang the loud gong and raise the shout of battle!
This dreary cloud that dims our sovereign's day,
Shall from his kindled bosom flit away,
When the bold Lootie wheels his courser round,
And the arm'd elephant shall shake the ground.
Each Noble pants to own the glorious summons—
And for the charges—Lo! your faithful Commons!"—
The Riots who attended in their places
(Serendib-language calls a farmer Riot)
Look'd ruefully in one another's faces,
From this oration auguring much disquiet,
Double assessment, forage, and free quarters;
And fearing these as China-men the Tartars,
Or as the whisker'd vermin fear the mousers,
Each fumbled in the pocket of his trowsers.

VIII.

And next came forth the reverend Convocation,
Bald heads, white beards, and many a turban green;
Imaum and Mollah there of every station,
Santon, Fakir, and Calendar were seen.

* Nobility.

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Their votes were various—some advised a Mosque
With fitting revenues should be erected,
With seemly gardens and with gay Kiosque,
To recreate a band of priests selected;
Others opined that through the realm a dole
Be made to holy men, whose prayers might profit
The Sultan's weal in body and in soul;
But their long-headed chief, the Sheik Ul-Sofit,
More closely touch'd the point;—"Thy studious mood,"
Quoth he, "O Prince! hath thicken'd all thy blood,
And dull'd thy brain with labour beyond measure;
Wherefore relax a space and take thy pleasure,
And toy with beauty or tell o'er thy treasure;
From all the cares of state, my liege, enlarge thee,
And leave the burthen to thy faithful clergy."

IX.

These councils sage availed not a whit,
And so the patient (as is not uncommon
Where grave physicians lose their time and wit)
Resolved to take advice of an old woman;
His mother she, a dame who once was beauteous,
And still was call'd so by each subject duteous.
Now, whether Fatima was witch in earnest,
Or only made believe, I cannot say—
But she profess'd to cure disease the sternest,
By dint of magic amulet or lay;
And, when all other skill in vain was shown,
She deem'd it fitting time to use her own.

X.

"*Sympathia magica* hath wonders done,"
(Thus did old Fatima bespeak her son,)
"It works upon the fibres and the pores,
And thus, insensibly, our health restores,
And it must help us here.—Thou must endure
The ill, my son, or travel for the cure.
Search land and sea, and get, where'er you can,
The inmost vesture of a happy man,
I mean his SHIRT, my son, which, if worn warm
And fresh from off his back, shall chase your harm,
Bid every current of your veins rejoice,
And your dull heart leap light as shepherd boy's."—
Such was the counsel from his mother came.
I know not if she had some under-game,
As Doctors have, who bid their patients roam
And live abroad, when sure to die at home;
Or if she thought, that somehow or another,
Queen Regent sounded better than Queen Mother;

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But, says the Chronicle, (who will go look it,)
That such was her advice—the Sultaun took it.

XI.

All are on board—the Sultaun and his train,
In gilded galley prompt to plough the main:
The old Rais* was the first who question'd, "Whither?"
They paused—"Arabia," thought the pensive Prince,
"Was called The Happy many ages since—
For Mokha, Rais."—And they came safely thither.
But not in Araby with all her balm,
Not where Judæa weeps beneath her palm,
Not in rich Egypt, not in Nubian waste,
Could there the step of Happiness be traced.
One Copt alone profess'd to have seen her smile,
When Bruce his goblet fill'd at infant Nile;
She bless'd the dauntless traveller as he quaff'd,
But vanish'd from him with the ended draught.

XII.

"Enough of turbans," said the weary King,
"These dolimans of ours are not the thing;
Try we the Giaours, these men of coat and cap, I
Incline to think some of them must be happy;
At least they have as fair a cause as any can,
They drink good wine and keep no Ramazan.
Then northward, ho!" The vessel cuts the sea,
And fair Italia lies upon her lee.—†
But fair Italia, she who once unfurl'd
Her eagle-banners o'er a conquer'd world,
Long from her throne of domination tumbled,
Lay, by her quondam vassals, sorely humbled;
The Pope himself look'd pensive, pale, and lean,
And was not half the man he once had been.
"While these the priest and those the noble fleeces,
Our poor old boot,"† they said, "is torn to pieces.
Its top‡ the vengeful claws of Austria feel,
And the Great Devil is rending toe and heel.§
If happiness you seek, to tell you truly,
We think she dwells with one Giovanni Bulli;
A tramontane, a heretic, the buck,
Poffaredio! still has all the luck;
By land or ocean never strikes his flag—
And then—a perfect walking money-bag."

* Master of the vessel.
† The well-known resemblance of Italy in the map.
‡ Florence, Venice, &c.
§ The Calabrias, infested by bands of assassins. One of the leaders was called Fra Diavolo, i. e. Brother Devil.

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Off set our Prince to seek John Bull's abode,
But first took France—it lay upon the road.

XIII.

Monsieur Baboon, after much late commotion,
Was agitated like a settling ocean,
Quite out of sorts, and could not tell what ail'd him,
Only the glory of his house had fail'd him;
Besides, some tumours on his noddle biding,
Gave indication of a recent hideing.*
Our Prince, though Sultauns of such things are heedless,
Thought it a thing indelicate and needless
To ask, if at that moment he was happy.
And Monsieur, seeing that he was *comme il faut*, a
Loud voice mustered up, for "*Vive le Roi!*"
Then whisper'd, "Ave you any news of Nappy?"
The Sultaun answered him with a cross question,—
"Pray, can you tell me aught of one John Bull,
That dwells somewhere beyond your herring-pool?"
The query seem'd of difficult digestion,
The party shrugg'd, and grinn'd, and took his snuff,
And found his whole good breeding scarce enough.

XIV.

Twitching his visage into as many puckers
As damsels wont to put into their tuckers,
Ere liberal Fashion damn'd both lace and lawn,
And bade the veil of modesty be drawn,—
Replied the Frenchman, after a brief pause,
"Jean Bool!—I vas not know him—yes, I vas—
I vas remember dat von year or two,
I saw him at von place called Vaterloo—
Ma foi! il s'est tres joliment battu,
Dat is for Englishman,—m' entendez vouz?
But den he had wit him one damn son-gun,
Rogue I no like—dey call him Vellington."—
Monsieur's politeness could not hide his fret,
So Solimaun took leave and cross'd the streight.

XV.

John Bull was in his very worst of moods,
Raving of sterile farms and unsold goods;
His sugar-loaves and bales about he threw,
And on his counter beat the Devil's tattoo.
His wars were ended, and the victory won,
But then, 'twas reckoning-day with honest John,
And authors vouch 'twas still this Worthy's way,
"Never to grumble till he came to pay;

* Or drubbing, so called in the Slang Dictionary.

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And then he always thinks, his temper's such,
The work too little, and the pay too much."*
Yet, grumbler as he is, so kind and hearty,
That when his mortal foe was on the floor,
And past the power to harm his quiet more,
Poor John had well nigh wept for Buonaparte!
Such was the wight whom Solimaun salam'd,—
"And who are you," John answer'd, "and be d—d?"

XVI.

"A stranger, come to see the happiest man,—
So, Seignior, all avouch,—in Frangistan."†—
"Happy? my tenants breaking on my hand,
Unstock'd my pastures, and untill'd my land;
Sugar and rum a drug, and mice and moths
The sole consumers of my good broad-cloths—
Happy?—why, cursed war and racking tax
Have left us scarcely raiment to our backs."
"In that case, Seignior, I may take my leave;
I came to ask a favour—but I grieve"——
"Favour?" said John, and eyed the Sultaun hard,
"It's my belief you came to break the yard—
But, stay, you look like some poor foreign sinner;
Take that, to buy yourself a shirt and dinner."—
With that he chuck'd a guinea at his head;
But, with due dignity, the Sultaun said,—
"Permit me, sir, your bounty to decline;
A *shirt* indeed I seek, but none of thine.
Seignior, I kiss your hands, so fare you well."
And John said,—"Kiss my breech, and go to hell!"

XVII.

Next door to John there dwelt his sister Peg,
Once a wild lass as ever shook a leg
When the blithe bagpipe blew—but soberer now,
She *doucely* span her flax and milk'd her cow.
And whereas erst she was a needy slattern,
Nor now of wealth or cleanliness a pattern,
Yet once a-month her house was partly swept,
And once a-week a plenteous board she kept.
And whereas eke the vixen used her claws,
And teeth, of yore, on slender provocation,
She now was grown amenable to laws,
A quiet soul as any in the nation;
The sole remembrance of her warlike joys
Was in old songs she sang to please her boys.
John Bull, whom, in their years of early strife,
She wont to lead a cat-and-doggish life,

* See the True-born Englishman, by Daniel De Foe.
† Europe.

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Now found the woman, as he said, a neighbour,
Who look'd to the main chance, declined no labour,
Loved a long grace and spoke a northern jargon,
And was d——d close in making of a bargain.

XVIII.

The Sultaun enter'd, and he made his leg,
And with decorum curtsied sister Peg;
(She loved a book, and knew a thing or two,
And guess'd at once with whom she had to do)
She bade him "sit into the fire," and took
Her dram, her cake, her kebbock, from the nook;
Asked him "about the news from eastern parts;
And of her absent bairns, puir Highland hearts!
If peace brought down the price of tea and pepper,
And if the *nitmugs* were grown *ony* cheaper;—
Were there nae *speerings* of our Mungo Park—
Ye'll be the gentleman that wants the sark?
If ye wad buy a web o' auld wife's spinning,
I'll warrant ye it's a weel-wearing linen."

XIX.

Then up got Peg, and round the house 'gan scuttle,
In search of goods her customer to nail,
Until the Sultaun strain'd his princely throttle,
And hollowed,—"Ma'am, that is not what I ail.
Pray, are you happy, ma'am, in this snug glen?"
"Happy?" said Peg, "What for d'ye want to ken?—
Besides, just think upon this by-gane year,
Grain wadna pay the yoking o' the pleugh."
"What say you to the present?"—"Meal's sae dear,
To mak their *brose* my bairns have scarce aneugh."
"The devil take the shirt," said Solimaun,
"I think my quest will end as it began.
Farewell, ma'am; nay, no ceremony, I beg"——
"Ye'll no be for the linen then?" said Peg.

XX.

Now, for the land of verdant Erin
The Sultaun's royal bark is steering,
The emerald isle, where honest Paddy dwells,
The cousin of John Bull, as story tells.
For a long space had John, with words of thunder,
Hard looks, and harder knocks, kept Paddy under,
Till the poor lad, like boy that's flogg'd unduly,
Had gotten somewhat restive and unruly.
Hard was his lot and lodging you'll allow,
A wigwam that would hardly serve a sow;
His landlord, and of middlemen two brace,
Had screw'd his rent up—to the starving place;

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His garment was a top-coat, and an old one,
His meal was a potatoe, and a cold one;
But still for fun or frolic, and all that,
In the round world was not the match of Pat.

XXI.

The Sultaun saw him on a holiday,
Which is with Paddy still a jolly day:
When mass is ended, and his load of sins
Confess'd, and Mother Church hath from her binns
Dealt forth a bonus of imputed merit,
Then is Pat's time for fancy, whim, and spirit;
To jest, to sing, to caper fair and free,
And dance as light as leaf upon the tree!
"By Mahomet," said Sultaun Solimaun,
"That ragged fellow is our very man!
Rush in and seize him—do not do him hurt,
But, will he nill he, let me have his *shirt*!"

XXII.

Shilela their plan was well nigh after baulking,
(Much less provocation will set it a-walking,)
But the odds that foil'd Hercules foil'd Paddy Whack;
They seized, and they floor'd, and they stripp'd him—Alack!
Ub-bubboo! Paddy had not——a shirt to his back!!!
And the King disappointed, with sorrow and shame,
Went back to Serendib as sad as he came.

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The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 13, 1814, *to* December 12, 1815.

Christened	Males 12,281 / Females 11,133	in all, 23,404	Buried	Males 9882 / Females 9678	in all, 19,560	Decreased in Burials 229

Died under 2 years	5200	20 and 30,	1425	60 and 70,	1621	100,	2
Between 2 and 5	1916	30 and 40,	1824	70 and 80,	1221	101,	1
5 and 10	870	40 and 50,	2075	80 and 90,	674	103,	1
10 and 20	677	50 and 60,	1886	90 and 100,	167		

DISEASES.							
ortive, Still-born	804	Fevers of all kinds	1309	Rash	1	Executed†	8
ıcess	105	Fistula	3	Rheumatism	9	Found Dead	25
ed	1757	Flux	65	Scrophula	3	Fractured	2
ue	5	French Pox	22	Scurvy	4	Frighted	5
oplexy and sud-		Gout	67	Small Pox	725	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	76
lenly	421	Gravel, Stone, and Stranguary	16	Sore Throat	5	Killed themselves	47
hma	630	Grief	5	Sores and Ulcers	11	Murdered	1
lridden	8	Headmoldshot, Horshoe head, & Water in the Head	383	Spasm	90	Overlaid	1
	5	Imposthume	4	St Anthony's Fire	9	Poisoned	1
eding	23	Inflammation	958	Stoppage in the Stomach	23	Scalded	10
sten & Rupture	34	Influenza	1	Surfeit	1	Shot	1
ıcer	88	Jaundice	90	St Vitus's Dance	2	Suffocated	9
icken Pox	2	Lethargy	1	Teeth	447		
ildbed	232	Livergrown	46	Thrush	118	Total	363
ds	16	Lumbago	3	Tumor	3		
lick, Gripes, &c.	26	Lunatic	228	Water in the Chest	80		
nsumption	4210	Measles	711	Worms	8		
ıvulsions	3324	Miscarriage	2				
ugh, and Hooping-Cough	729	Mortification	300	CASUALTIES.			
ump	4	Palpitation of the Heart	6	Bit by Mad dogs	2		
›up	87	Palsy	163	Broken Limbs	1		
ıbetes	6	Pleurisy	18	Bruised	2		
›psy	792	Quinsy	5	Burnt	32		
lepsy	1			Drowned	132		
l	7			Excessive Drinking	8		

† There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey, 20; of which number 8 y have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

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BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS,

WITHIN THE YEAR 1815.

BIRTHS.

JAN. 1. At Boath, Nairnshire, the lady of Sir James Dunbar, Bart. a daughter.—Mrs H. Butterworth, a son and heir. 3. At Kirkfieldbank, Mrs C. Lockhart, a son. 4. In Queen Street, Mrs F. Walker, a daughter. 5. The lady of G. Smith, Esq. M.P. a son and heir. 6. At Fountainhall, the lady of Thomas Lauder Dick, Esq. a daughter. 9. At Catherine Bank, Mrs Ireland, a son. 10. At North Merchiston, Mrs C. Cunningham, a daughter.—At Midholm Manse, Mrs Inglis, a son. 16. At Northumberland Street, the lady of Major-General John Hope, a daughter.—Mrs Dr Miller, Brown's Square, a daughter. 17. At Powerscourt-house, Wicklow, the Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Powerscourt, a son and heir. 18. Mrs Dennistoun, younger of Colgrain, a son. 19. At Stirling, the lady of Captain J. G. Green, a son. 20. At London, the Duchess of Newcastle, a son. 21. The lady of the Hon. Charles Law, a daughter. 23. Hon. Mrs Morris, a daughter.—At Stenhouse, Mrs Graham Campbell, of Shirvan, a son.—At Balnamoon, Mrs Carnegy, of Balnamoon, a son. 24. At Thornton, Mrs Cuninghame, of Thornton, a daughter. 26. Mrs Halsey, a son and heir. 27. At Kirkmichael House, Mrs Snodgrass Buchanan, a son. 28. Mrs Campbell, of Possil, a daughter. 29. The wife of the Hon. Robert Leeson, a son.

FEB. 2. Mrs Gordon, of Aikenhead, a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Kennedy, Frederick Street, a daughter.—The lady of Sir L. Maclean, M.D. of Sydbury, a daughter. 3. At London, the Viscountess Granston, a daughter.—At Caverton Mill, Mrs M'Dougall, a daughter. 5. At London, the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Smyth, a son and heir. 6. At Macduff, Mrs Bisset, the wife of Captain Bisset, 9th royal veteran battalion, a son. 7. At Portobello, Lady Elibank, a daughter.—At Fulham, the lady of Major-General Sir Henry Torrens, a daughter.—Mrs William Mackenzie, Northumberland Street, a daughter.—Mrs John Brougham, a daughter. 8. Mrs John Irving, Prince's Street, a son. 9. At Aix, in Provence, the lady of Alexander Fraser Tytler, Esq. of the civil service of the Hon. East India Company, a son. 10. The wife of James Alexander, Esq. M.P. a son. 11. At Kelly, the lady of the Honourable Colonel John Ramsay, a daughter. 12. Mrs M'Dowall, Blandfield, a daughter. 13. At Northumberland Street, Mrs G. W. Patton, a son. 16. Mrs Burnett, of Park, a son. 17. Mrs Balfour, of Pilrig, a son.—Mrs D. Spalding, Hill Street, a daughter. 20. At Edinburgh, the

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ady of Thomas Innes, Esq. a son. 22. The ady of T. A. Curtis, Esq. a daughter. 23. Lady F. Ley, a son. 24. At Edinburgh, Mrs Ferrier, of Belleside, a son.—At Tarit-house, Mrs Home Rigg, of Morton, a aughter.—At Bath, the lady of General Francis Dundas, a daughter. 26. The lady of Sir William Milner, a daughter. 28. At Interkine, Ayrshire, the lady of Robert Cunynghame, Esq. a daughter.—At Ersine House, the Right Honourable Lady Blantyre, a daughter.

MARCH 1. At Edinburgh, Mrs Cornack, of Stow Manse, a son. 2. In George Street, Mrs Maclean, younger of Coll, a laughter.—Mrs Joseph Bell, St Andrew's Square, a son. 4. At Southfod, Mrs Stenouse, younger of Southfod, a daughter.—At Dumfries, the lady of Frederick Colquhoun, Esq. a daughter. 5. At Ensham House, Dorset, the lady of Lieut.-General Monro, a daughter. 6. Mrs Joseph Gordon, a son. 8. In George Street, Mrs Robertson, younger of Inches, a daughter. 9. Mrs Ogilvy, Abercromby Place, a son. 10. Mrs Hunter, of Thurston, a son. 12. At the Manse of Dalry, the wife of the Rev. Alexander Macgowan, a daughter, her seventeenth child.—The lady of John Raitt, Esq. of Carphin, a daughter.—The lady of Captain Ross, of the Hon. Company's ship Carmarthen, a son. 13. Mrs Goldie, Hope Street, a daughter.—The lady of the Dean of St Patrick's, a daughter. 14. At Ednam House, Mrs Douglas, a son. 15. Mrs William Bell, 9, Queen Street, a son.—The lady of Major Baron Linsengen, a daughter. 16. At Newabbey, Mrs Stewart, of Shambelly, a son; being Mr Stewart's twenty-third child. 18. At Edinburgh, the lady of Sir George Clerk, Bart. of Penicuik, a son. 20. At Viewfield, the lady of Major M'Kay, 93d regiment, a daughter. 22. Mrs Gordon, of Milrig, a daughter.—The lady of Sir Simon Clarke, Bart. a daughter. 24. The lady of S. H. Whalley, Esq. a daughter. 27. The lady of the late John Baker, Esq. a daughter and heiress. 28. At Sundrum, the lady of John Hamilton, Esq. younger of Sundrum, a son. 29. The lady of John Forbes Mitchell, Esq. of Thainston, a son.—The lady of the Hon. and Rev. J. Evelyn Boscawen, a daughter.—The lady of Sir Charles Colville, a son.—The lady of Sir George Cayley, Bart. a daughter.

APRIL 2. At Edinburgh, the Right Honourable Lady Kennedy, a daughter.—At Glenarback, Mrs Robertson, of Prendergguest, a son. 3. Mrs Campbell, 29, Herriot Row, a son. 4. At Edinburgh, Mrs Robert Cunningham, late of Bowerhouses, a son.—Mrs M'Dougall, of Kilmun, a son. 6. Mrs Douglas, North Charlotte Street, a daughter. 10. Mrs Morrison, Gayfield Place, a daughter.—The Duchess of St Albans, a son and heir.—At Arbuthnothouse, the Viscountess of Arbuthnot, a daughter. 11. Mrs Gillespie, St Andrew's Street, a daughter. 13. At Edinburgh, Mrs Campbell, of Dalserf, a son.—The wife of James Colquhoun, Esq. a daughter. 20. Right Hon. Lady G. Beresford, a daughter.—At Maxpople, Mrs Scott, younger of Raeburn, a daughter. 21. In Prince's Street, the lady of Alex. Monro, Esq. a son. 22. At London, Lady Emily Drummond, a daughter. 23. At Edinburgh, Mrs Lawson, of Cairnmuir, a daughter. 25. Mrs Crosbie, Northumberland Street, a daughter. 26. At Eccles, the lady of Captain Legge, a daughter. 29. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a son.

MAY 2. The lady of A. H. Holdsworth, Esq. M.P. a son. 4. At Uxbridge House, the Countess of Uxbridge, a son. 5. In George's Square, Mrs Burnet, of Kemnay, a daughter. 6. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs Dundas, of Dundas, a daughter. 7. Mrs James Moncrieff, Northumberland Street, a daughter. 9. Lady Fitzherbert, a son.—At Invery, Mrs Skene, of Rubislaw, a daughter. 11. At Auchanvole Castle, Mrs Wallace, a daughter.—Lady Harriet Leveson Gower, a son.—At London, the Marchioness of Ely, a son. 14. The lady of Ottywell Robinson, Esq. a son. 16. At London, her Grace the Duchess of Rutland, a son and heir.—At Brussels, the Right Hon. Lady Fitzroy Somerset, a daughter. 18. Lady Liddell, a son. 19. Mrs G. Hogarth, Hart Street, a daughter. 20. Viscountess Newark, a daughter. 22. Lady Sarah Robinson, a daughter. 25. At Haymount, Mrs Hogarth, a son.—The lady of Roderick Macleod, Esq. younger of Cadbole, a daughter. 26. At New Blainslie, Mrs Allan, of Muircleugh, a son. 27. At Edinburgh, Mrs Hugh Wilson, a daughter. 29. At Kelso Manse, Mrs Lundie, a son.—Mrs Blackwell, York Place, a daughter.

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JUNE 2. At Cairncurran, Mrs Cunningham, a son. 4. Viscountess Ashbrook, a daughter. 5. Mrs Tod, Maitland Street, a daughter. 8. At Edinburgh, the lady of Sir John Pringle, Bart. of Stitchell, a son.—At Rossie, Mrs Oliphant, of Rossie, a son. 9. Mrs Colin Campbell, (Jura,) a daughter. 11. At Orton House, Lady Anne Wharton Duff, a daughter.—At Charlotte Square, Lady Anne Wardlaw, a son. 13. At Glenæ House, the lady of Captain Hamilton Maxwell, a son. 14. Hon Mrs Charles Paget, a daughter. 15. At Belvidere, Mrs M. N. Campbell, a daughter.—At York Place, Mrs Foulis, of Woodhall, a daughter. 16. At Kercheste rs, Mrs Trotter, a son —At Sudbury, the lady of Major Maclachlan, of the 69th regiment, a son. 17. Mrs James Hamilton, Heriot Row, a son. 18. Mrs Campbell, Abercromby Place, a daughter. 19. At Dublin, the Marchioness of Waterford, a daughter. 20. The Right Honourable Lady Henry Paulet, a daughter.—Mrs George Bell, St Andrew's Square, a son. 21. At Troqueer-holm, Mrs Ross, a son. —At Stonehouse, the lady of Captain Sir G. J. Sinclair, Bart. a son and heir. 23. Mrs Haldane, 6, North St David's Street, a son.—At Inverness, Mrs Mackintosh, of Aberarder, a daughter. 25. Mrs Donaldson, Dundas Street, a daughter.—Mrs Johnston, 88, Prince's Street, a daughter. —At Carlalogie, Mrs Horsbrugh, a son.— At London, the Countess of Craven, a daughter. 28. At Fort George, the lady of Captain D. P. Calder, of the royal engineers, a son. 29. The lady of James Kinloch, Esq. London, a son. 30. The lady of Randle Wilbraham, Esq. a daughter.—The Marchioness of Downshire, a daughter.—At Ballendalloch, the lady of George Macpherson Grant, Esq. a son.— Lately, the Countess of Albemarle, a son.

JULY 3. At Shirehampton, Somersetshire, the lady of David S. Ranaldson Dickson, Esq. younger of Blairhall, a son. 5. Mrs Gordon, of Manar, a son.—The lady of Robert Bell, Esq. a son and heir. 6. At Edinburgh, Mrs W. Buchanan, Nelson Street, a son.—At Borthwickshiels, Mrs Pott, of Todrig, a daughter.—In Hanover Street, the lady of Norman Lockhart, Esq. a son. 8. At Levenside, Mrs Blackburn, of Killearn, a son. 9. At Edinburgh, Mrs Ramsay, Northumberland Street, a daughter. 11. At Newington, the Right Hon. Lady Robert Kerr, a daughter. 14. In Hart Street, the lady of Captain R. H. Barclay, royal navy, a daughter.—At Jedward-house, Mrs Jerdon, a daughter.— Lady Cloncurry, a daughter. 15. Lady Caroline Capel, a son.—At Liverpool, the lady of Lieut.-General Dirom, of Mount Annan, a son. 17. At Barns, Mrs M'Dougall, a son.—At Langlee, Mrs Church, a daughter. 18. At Gorthlick, the lady of Major Jones, a daughter. 20. The Countess of Jersey, a son. 22. The lady of Major-General Sir Hussey Vivian, a daughter. 23. At Prince's Street, Mrs Murray, of Murrayshall, a son. 27. At Ayr, the Hon. Mrs Rollo, a son. 28. In Charlotte Square, the lady of William Gordon, Esq. of Campbelton, a son. 31. At Heriot Row, Mrs Wishart, a son.— Mrs Clark, 27, Buccleuch Place, a son.

AUGUST 1. Mrs Campbell, Walkonmuir, a daughter. 2. At Pinkie House, Lady Hope, of Craighall, a daughter. 4. The lady of Dr Yelloly, a daughter. 9. At Closeburn Hall, the lady of C. G. Stuart Menteath, Esq. a daughter, being her 12th child. 11. The lady of William Long Wellesley, Esq. M.P. a son. 12. The lady of George Jackson, Esq. Chargé des Affaires at Berlin, a daughter.—At Eastend, Lanarkshire, Mrs Tytler, of Woodhouselee, a son. 13. Mrs John Russel, 101, George Street, a daughter—The lady of Frederick Holbrooke, Esq. a daughter. 16. Mrs Dr Brewster, Hope Street, a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Harrowar, Queen Street, a daughter. 19. The lady of Rear-Admiral Scott, a son. 20. Mrs Richard Mackenzie, Hill Street, a daughter. 21. The lady of Rear-Admiral Strachan, a son. 23. In Albany Street, North Leith, Mrs Captain Robertson, a daughter. 24. At Dalkeith, the lady of Lieut-Colonel Inglis, a daughter.—The lady of Sir R. R. Graham, Bart. a daughter. 28. Right Honourable Lady F. Wedderburn Webster, a son and heir. 29. At Edinburgh, the lady of General Sir John Oswald, K.C.B. a daughter. Lately, the Right Hon. Lady Arundel, a son.— At Lisbon, the lady of Sir Charles Dalrymple, a son.

SEPT. 4. At Cullen House, the lady of Colonel Grant, M.P. a son.—The lady of

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ir Loftus Otway, a daughter. 6. Lady)gilvy, a son. 11. Lady Duncannon, a)n.—Lady Amelia Kaye, a daughter.— he lady of Sir Charles Coote, a son and eir. 13. Lady Barbara Ponsonby, a son nd heir. 14. At London, the lady of Sir ames Macgregor, Director-General of the rmy Medical Board. 17. The lady of A. V. Roberts, Esq. a son.—Mrs Napier, lbany Street, a daughter. 18. At Somerille, the lady of Capt. Charles James Johnone, royal navy, a daughter. 19. Mrs Macight, London Street, a son.—At Frankille, Mrs Hunter, younger of Bonnytoun, son.—At Meggernie Castle, Perthshire, he lady of Stuart Menzies, Esq. of Culares, a daughter. 22. The lady of L. A.)avidson, Esq. a daughter. 25. Mrs Lese, of Warthill, a son. 27. At Ayr, Mrs I. D. Boswell, a son. 30. Lady Gardner, daughter.

Oct. 1. Countess Antonio, a son and eir. 2. In George Street, the lady of ames Wedderburn, Esq. advocate, a daughr. 8. Mrs Lyon, Forth Street, a son. 10. t Newtownlimavady, Ireland, the lady of Villiam Campbell, Esq. of two boys and ne fine girl, who are likely to do well.— Ir Campbell and his lady have been marled for seventeen years, and never had ny children before. 11. At Brucklay Cas-le, Mrs Dingwall, of Brucklay, a son and eir. 13. At Edinburgh, the lady of Lieuenant-Colonel Lauriston, a daughter. 14. Irs Cathcart, Gayfield Square, a daughr. 15. At Northbank, Mrs Archibald lamilton, a son.—At Northbar House, he lady of the Honourable Colonel Stuart, daughter. 16. At Cessford, Mrs M'-)ougal, a daughter. 17. The lady of God-ey Kneller, Esq. a son and heir. 19. At)rochil, Mrs Murray, of Craigends, a son. 2. At Cockairney House, the lady of Capin R. H. Mowbray, royal navy, a son. 4. The lady of William Domville, Esq. a aughter. 25. The lady of Sir George)enys, Bart. M.P. a son.—At Greenock, Irs Lang, of Overton, a son. 27. At :dinburgh, the lady of John Livingston :ampbell, Esq. of Achalader, a daughter. 1. The lady of Sir John Malcolm, a aughter.

Nov. 1. At Edinburgh, the lady of Archibald M'Nab, Esq. of Kinnell, a daughr.—The lady of Sir Henry Lushington, son. 2. At Broomhall, the Countess of Elgin, a son. 4. In George Street, Mrs Craigie, of Glendoick, a daughter.—At Balthayock, the lady of Adam Ferguson, a son. 9. The Lady Charlotte Howard, a son and heir to the dukedom of Norfolk. 10. At Cortachy Castle, the lady of the Hon. Donald Ogilvy, a daughter.— Mrs Watson, North Castle Street, a son. 11. At Burnfoot, Springkell, Mrs Simpson, a daughter. 12. At Glengarry House, the lady of Colonel Macdonell, of Glengarry, a daughter.—At Dundas Street, Mrs Colonel Robertson, of Hallcraig, a daughter. 13. Countess Delaware, a son. 15. At Islabank, the lady of Peter Wedderburn, Esq. a son.—Countess of Minto, a daughter. 16. At Prestonfield, the lady of Sir Robert Dick, Bart. a son.—At Netherlay, Mrs Silver, a son.—Viscountess Avonmore, a daughter. 17. At Shandwick Place, Mrs Hagart, of Bantaskine, a son. 19. Mrs Bruce, of Powfoulis, a son. —The lady of Baron Nicolay, a son. 22. Mrs H. D. Erskine, younger of Ammondell, a son. 24. At Kirrouchtree, Lady Heron Maxwell, a son. 27. At Govan House, Mrs St Douglas, a son.—The lady of Dr Barten, a daughter. 28. The lady of the Hon. T. J. Leslie Melville, a daughter.—Lady Castlestewart, a son.—Countess of Elgin, a son. 29. Mrs Drysdale, Castle Street, a son.

Dec. 2. At Edinburgh, Mrs Morehead, wife of the Reverend Robert Morehead, a daughter.—At Stockbridge, the lady of Major Machaffie, of the 21st regiment, a daughter. 3. Mrs John Smith, George's Square, a son. 8. The lady of Captain Money, R.N., a daughter. 9. Lady Byron, a daughter. 10. Hon. Lady Stopford, a daughter. 12. Right Hon. Lady Isabella Anne Brydges, a daughter.—Lady Ducie, a daughter.—At West Kirk Manse, Edinburgh, Mrs Dickson, a daughter.—At Cromarty House, the lady of Hugh Ross, Esq. of Glastullich, a son. 13. At Dalzell House, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel D. Rattray, a son. 15. Mrs Fuller Maitland, a daughter. 16. Mrs Alexander Douglas, Prince's Street, a son. 20. The lady of the Rev. Henry John Wollaston, a daughter. 24. At Trafalgar Street, near Edinburgh, the lady of Major Paterson, royal artillery, a daughter.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Lee, St Andrews, a son 25. At her father's house, Brook Street, London, the

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lady of the Honourable Thomas Erskine, a son. 26. At Uffington House, Stamford, the Countess of Lindsey, a son. 31. The lady of E. J. Lyttleton, Esq. a son and heir.

MARRIAGES.

JAN. 2. At Seaham, the Right Honourable Lord Byron, to the accomplished Miss Milbanke, sole heiress to Sir Ralph Milbanke, Bart. 3. Alfred Hardcastle, Esq. to Anne, the only daughter of the late Edmund Cobb Hurry, Esq. 5. At Tottenham, R. H. Moubray, Esq. of Dalgetty, Fifeshire, and a captain in the royal navy, to Emma, daughter of Wm. Hobson, Esq. of Markfield. 10. At Chillingham, John Langhorn, Esq. of Berwick, banker, to Miss Bailey, only daughter of John Bailey, Esq. of Chillingham. 11. David Cockburn, Esq. of the civil service, Madras, to Miss Lavinia Cuningham, youngest daughter of the late General Cuningham.—Major Gore to Mary Jane, daughter and sole heiress of Owen Ormesby, Esq. 13. Sir William Henry Carr, to the Hon. Mrs Perceval, widow of the late Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.—At Whitehouse, near Musselburgh, Captain Robert Boyle, Royal Highlanders, to Alison, eldest daughter of Charles Bell, Esq. 18. At Wigan, A. M. Richard Edenser Heathcote, Esq. eldest son of Sir J. E. Heathcote, of Longton Hall, in Staffordshire, to the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Keith Lindsay, eldest daughter of the Earl of Balcarras. 19. At Dunbar House, James Balfour, Esq. of Gorton, to Lady Eleanor Maitland, third daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. 23. At Pleasance, James Edgar, Esq. aged 70, to Miss M. M'Keny, aged 60, after a courtship of twelve years. 24. At Ladykirk-House, Thomas Haggerston, Esq. jun. of Ellingham, to Miss Robertson, daughter of William Robertson, Esq. of Ladykirk.—Edward Walpole, Esq. to Miss Gildemeester. 25. At Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Colonel George Hutchison, of the East India Company's service, to Miss Cuninghame, eldest daughter of the late John Cuninghame, Esq. Port Glasgow. 26. Major-General Sir William Anson, to Miss Louisa F. M. Dickenson.—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, to the daughter of C. Brunsden, Esq. of Highgate. The colonel was afterwards unfortunately killed at the battle of Waterloo. 30. At Edinburgh, Charles Montolieu Burges, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lady Montgomerie.

FEB. 1. Mr Moses Lemon, surgeon, to Miss Maria Solomon, daughter of Dr Solomon, Gilead-house. 2. Robert Pierre Gillies, Esq. of Balmakewan, county of Kincardine, to Amelia Mary, daughter of the late John Macdonell, Esq. of Leigh, county of Inverness. 6. R. C. Sconce, Esq. to Sarah, the only daughter of the Rev. Dr Knox. 7. Richard Burdon, Esq. to Eliza, only daughter of the late Sir J. Sinclair, Bart.—Thomas Coutts, Esq. to Miss Mellon. 8. At Edinburgh, the Hon. David Ogilvy, of Balbegno, second son of the Earl of Airly, to Miss Morley, fourth daughter of the late James Morley, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's civil service. 14. At Edinburgh, the Rev. Jas. Donaldson, to Ann Hawthorn Wilson, daughter of the late Campbell Wilson, Esq. of the excise.—At Ardlain, N. Jeffrey, Esq. to Janet, only daughter of the late Captain James Macdonald, of Flodgarry, Skye.—At Templehall, by Aberdour, Mr William Bell, superintendant of his Majesty's shipping on the Lakes of Canada, to Miss Janet Inglis, youngest daughter of William Inglis, Esq. of Templehall. 15. At Edinburgh, Hugh Rose, Esq. of Glastullich, to Miss Munro, eldest daughter of Duncan Munro, Esq. of Culcairn. 22. David Dick, Esq. of Glensheal, late of Jamaica, to Eliza, daughter of Colin Mackenzie, Esq. of Mountgerald.—At London, the Hon. Sir Edward Paget, K.B. M.G. to the Lady Harriet Liege, sister to the Earl of Dartmouth. 27. John G. Bailey, Esq. of Morpeth, son of John Bailey, Esq. of Chillingham, to Miss Taylor, daughter of Mr C. Taylor, Morpeth. 28. Thomas Knox, Esq. M. P. to Miss Stuart, daughter of the lord primate of Ireland.

MARCH 2. At Broughton-Place, Captain Simpson, of the Hon. East India Company's service, to Miss Jessie Eckford. 4. At London, the Hon. John Somers Cocks, eldest son of Lord Somers, to Lady Caroline Harriet Yorke, youngest daughter of the Earl of Hardwicke. 6. The Right Hon. Lord Saltoun, to Catharine, daughter of the late Lord Thurlow, Lord Chancellor. 7. Albany Saville, Esq. M. P. to

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E. E. Bouchier Wrey, youngest daughter of Sir P. Bouchier Wrey, Bart. 8. At Redden, the Hon. Martin Hawke, to Miss Nisbet, daughter of Thos. Nisbet, Esq. of Mersington. 13. At Edinburgh, Philip Hay, Esq. to Miss Elizabeth Wellwood French, only child of the late Brigadier-General French, 102d regiment of foot. 14. At Bonnington Park, John Patison, jun. Esq. writer to the signet, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Jas. Paterson, Esq. jun. merchant in Leith.—Rev. T. Barne, to the Hon. Sarah St John. 18. A. Norder, Esq. to Miss Hobart, niece of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. 23. At Glasgow, the Rev. William Cowan, preacher, to Miss Catharine Rowand, daughter of the late Mr Andrew Rowland, of that city. 27. At Spencer-House, M. Vernon, eldest son of the Archbishop of York, to Lady Elizabeth Bingham, eldest daughter of the Earl of Lucan. 30. John Gottlieb Anthony, Esq. to Betty Maria, second daughter of Francis H. Tyler, Esq.

APRIL 3. At Paisley, Mr Matthew Smillie, writer, Leith, to Elizabeth Corse, second daughter of the late Alexander Nairne, Esq. merchant, Paisley.—At Carloness, William Cunningham, Esq. of Enerkene, to Miss Grace Maxwell, youngest daughter of Sir David Maxwell of Cardoness, Bart.—At Dumfries, Mr William Dalrymple, writer, Edinburgh, to Miss Mary Gordon Campbell, eldest daughter of Mr Campbell, Cuil.—Captain Thomas Bligh, to Helen, third daughter of Thomas Patterson, Esq. 4. At Edinburgh, Colonel Sir William de Lancey, K.C.B. deputy quarter-master-general in North Britain, to Magdalene, second daughter of Sir James Hall, Bart. of Dunglass. 12. At Covinghill, William Somerville, Esq. of Ampherlaw, to Marion, daughter of William Somerville, Esq. of Covinghill.—Reverend Thomas Mills, to Anne, second daughter of Nathaniel Barnardiston, Esq. 13. At Edinburgh, Stephen Cousins, Esq. of the royal navy, to Catherine, eldest daughter of the late John Learmonth, Esq. 14. At Edinburgh, Lieutenant David Robertson, of the royal marines, to Miss J. Cunningham, daughter of Alexander Cunningham, Esq. writer to the signet. 17. At Kilmarnock, the Rev. Dr James M'Kinlay, senior minister of the Old Church, to Miss Elizabeth Dickie. 20. At Bamararry, John Campbell, Esq. jun. of Glenmore, to Grace B. Campbell, daughter of the late Colin Campbell, Esq. —At Edinburgh, the Rev. William Proudfoot, minister of Shotts, to Henrietta, daughter of Robert Forrester, Esq. of the Bank of Scotland.—C. Marett, Esq. to Miss Frances Roufe, youngest daughter of F. Roufe, Esq. 25. At Edinburgh, William Baillie, younger of Polkemmet, Esq. to Mary Lyon Dennistoun, youngest daughter of James Dennistoun, of Colgrain, Esq. 27. At Glasgow, James Carrick, Esq. to Miss Jane Newham, daughter of the late Daniel Newham, Esq. Stirlingshire.—Honourable Mortimer Rodney, to Sarah, eldest daughter of Robert Withy, Esq.—At Howden, Duncan Matheson, Esq. advocate, to Annabella, second daughter of Thomas Farquharson, Esq. of Howden. 28. At Edinburgh, Alex. Murray Guthrie, Esq. younger of Craigie, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late George Makgill, Esq. of Kemback.—Sir Christopher Cole, K.C.B. royal navy, to Lady Mary Talbot, widow of T. Mansell, Esq. and sister to the Earl of Ilchester. 29. Lieutenant-Colonel James Allan, to S. Isabella, only daughter of Andrew Timbrill, Esq.—Lately, at Bruxelles, by special licence, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Geo. H. Berkeley, to Miss Sutton, eldest daughter of Lady Sutton, of Molesley-house, Surrey.

MAY 5. At her father's house, East Kirkland, Miss Helen Smellie, youngest daughter of William Smellie, Esq. to the Rev. James Harvey, Muckart.—At Montrose, Charles Hutchinson Phillips, Esq. of Milk Spring, in the island of Jamaica, and of Somerville, in the county of Dumfries, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late Adam Glegg, Esq. Provost of Montrose. 9. Lieutenant-Colonel G. Wyndham, to Miss Mary Blunt. 14. At London, Sir George Buggin, of Great Cumberland Place, to the Right Hon. Lady Cecilia Gore, a daughter of the late, and sister to the present Earl of Arran. 18. Mr George Hollis, to Mary Anne, daughter of Mr John Butler. 19. Sir Gregory Way, to Mary Anne, daughter of John Weyland, Esq. 20. John Jones, Esq. to Miss Hudson, eldest daughter of the late Rear-Admiral Hudson. 23. Edward Fitzgerald, Esq. to Miss Hamilton, daughter

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of Vice-Admiral Hamilton. 26. Charles Henry Baseley, Esq. to Anne, only daughter of the late Albany Wade, Esq. 29. Vice-Admiral Sir G. Martin, to Miss Lock.

JUNE 1. At London, John Tharp, Esq of Chippenham Park, in the county of Cambridge, to the Right Hon. Lady Hannah Charlotte Hay, third daughter of the late George Marquis of Tweeddale. 2. At London, the Right Hon. Lord Petre, to Frances, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Bedingfield, Bart. of Oxburgh, in Norfolk. 4. Captain Henry Walker, of the Inverness-shire militia, to Williamina, daughter of the late William Chalmers, M. D. professor of medicine, King's College, Old Aberdeen. 6. At Orchill-house, Jas. Gillespie, Esq. architect, Edinburgh, to Margaret, eldest daughter of William Graham, Esq. of Orchill.—At Edinburgh, William Mackintosh, Esq. formerly in the medical service of the East India Company, to Jane, second daughter of James Jollie, Esq. clerk to the signet. 8. S. P. Rigaud, Esq. to the eldest daughter of G. W. Jordan, Esq. 12. At Edinburgh, Jas. Dalrymple, Esq. commander of the Hon. East India Company's ship Marquis of Ely, to Mary Christian, third daughter of Sir James Nasmyth, of Posso, Bart. 15. At Edinburgh, the Rev. James Sievewright, to Jessie, daughter of the late James Melliss, of Newhall, Esq.—Sir G. Lowry Cole, to Lady Frances Harris, daughter of the Earl of Malmsbury. 17. Thomas Blaney, Esq. to Miss Anna Harrison, daughter of the late Thomas Harrison, Esq. 20. At Rosebank, Stirlingshire, John Hardie, of Leith, merchant, to Maria, daughter of James Henderson, Esq. of Rosebank. 21. James Wheble, Esq. to Miss O'Brien, eldest daughter of the late Major O'Brien. 25. At London, Daniel Terry, Esq. of the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden, to Miss Elizabeth Nasmyth, daughter of Mr Nasmyth, York-Place. 26. At Forthside, Stirling, Robert Ogilvie, Esq. to Mary Wallace; and John Burd, Esq. of Seafield, to Jennet Wallace, daughters of the late Andrew Wallace, Esq. of Forthside.

JULY 1. At Edinburgh, William Honyman, Esq. son of Sir William Honyman, to Miss Thomson, of Mansfield.—General Baron Obert to Miss Parkins. 2. At London, the Hon. William Powlett, son of the Earl of Darlington, to Lady Caroline Lowther, daughter of the Earl of Lonsdale. 3. Thomas Maitland, younger of Dundrenan, Esq. advocate, to Miss Isabella Graham M'Dowall, daughter of the late James M'Dowall, Esq. merchant in Glasgow.—At Drumsheugh, Lieutenant-Colonel Ainslie, of the Hon. East India Company's service, to Miss Walker, daughter of William Walker, Esq. of Coats. 4. At London, George Holmes Jackson, Esq. of Glenmore, to Margaret, third daughter of the late John Whyte Melville, Esq. of Bennochy and Strathkinness. 5. At Edinburgh, Robert Campbell, Esq. of Somerdan, to Susan, only daughter of the late David Campbell, Esq. of Comby. 6. At Sydenham, Kent, John Halkett, Esq. of the Albany, to Lady Kathrine Douglas, youngest daughter of the late Earl of Selkirk. 8. At the Priory, Stanmore, the Earl of Aberdeen, to the Viscountess Hamilton. 13. James Ford, Esq. to Lavinia, third daughter of Peregrine Stockdale, Esq. 18. At Airds, Dougald M'Dougal, Esq. of Gallanich, to Margaret, second daughter of the late Murdoch Maclaine, Esq. of Lochbuy. 20. G. N. Best, Esq. to Joanna Elizabeth Jodrell, relict of the late H. Jodrell, Esq.—John King, Esq. to Constantia, third daughter of the late Rev. A. Crole. 21. At Rosedoe-house, Dumbartonshire, Alex. Millar, of Dalnair, Esq. to Catherine, daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Sir James Colquhoun, of Luss, Bart. 24. At Edinburgh, the Earl of Compton, to Margaret, eldest daughter of the late Major-General Douglas Maclean Clephan, of Torloisk.—At Edinburgh, John Pringle, Esq. W.S. to Margaret Wallace, daughter of the late Thomas Wallace, Esq. of Stockbridge. 28. William Jervis Ricketts, Esq. to Sophia, only daughter of G. N. Vincent, Esq. 29. Sir H. Smith, to Miss Elmore. 31. J. Henry Deacon, Esq. to Hester, youngest daughter of the late Benjamin Goldsmid, Esq.—John Inglis, Esq. of Auchindinny, to Miss Johnstone Brown, only daughter of the late Captain Johnstone, 31st regiment.

AUGUST 4. At Edinburgh, Thomas Ormiston, Esq. of Glenburnhall, to Jane Mary, eldest daughter of the late Captain Tyrie, royal navy. 6. At Lergy, Malcolm Campbell, Esq. of Barmalloch, to Giles, eldest daughter of the late Colin Camp-

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bell, Esq. of Kilmartin. 7. At Dolls, James Haig, jun. Esq. of Lochrin, to Margaret, eldest daughter of John Philp, Esq. Dolls. 8. Rev. H. L. Mansel, to Maria Margaret, daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir R. Moorson.—Sir Alexander Hood, Bart. of Burleigh Worton, only son of the late gallant Capt. Hood, and nephew of the late distinguished officer, Sir Samuel Hood, to Amelia Anne, youngest daughter of Sir Hugh Bateman, Bart. of Harlington Hall. 10. Mr William Burn, architect, to Eliza, daughter of the late Neil Macvicar, Esq. 14. E. Dubois, Esq. to Harriet, second daughter of R. C. Cresswell, Esq. 17. Rear-Admiral Sir J. P. Beresford, Bart. to Harriet Eliza, youngest daughter of J. Peirse, Esq. M. P. 19. Rev. Leveson Vernon, son of the Archbishop of York, to the Right Hon. Lady Caroline Peachey, only daughter of the Earl of Selsey. 23. Charles, eldest son of Sir William Wake, Bart. to Mary Alice, eldest daughter of the late Sir S. Sitwell, Bart. 25. Nicholas Westby, Esq. to the Hon. Emily Walsegrave, eldest daughter of Lord Radstock. 29. Hon. Butler Danvers, to Miss Freemantle.

SEPT. 2. At Killigray, Alexander M'Leod, Esq. surgeon, North Uist, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late Kenneth Campbell, Esq. of Stroud. 5. At Glasgow, George Henderson, Esq. to Margaret, second daughter of the deceased William Richardson, Esq. merchant there.—At Edinburgh, William Cochrane, Esq. of Layland, to Catherine, eldest daughter of the late William Hamilton, Esq. of Craighaw.—At Calder Manse, John M'Intosh, Esq. Demerary, to Miss Grant. 7. At Hampstead Church, London, Sir James Douglas, K.C.B. and K.T.S. deputy-quarter-master-general in North Britain, to Marianne, youngest daughter of William Bullock, Esq. 11. At Zurich, Sir Wm. F. Gordon Cumming, Bart. of Altyre and Gordonston, to Miss Campbell, eldest daughter of the late Colonel Campbell, younger of Shawfield. 12. At Carbrook Cottage, Stirlingshire, John Glassford Bopkirk, Esq. W. S. to Miss Jessie Hamilton, second daughter of the late John Hamilton, Esq. of Polmont-Bank.—At Edinburgh, John Young, Esq. younger of Bellwood, to Euphemia, daughter of the late Neil Macvicar, Esq.—At Banff, Jas. Duff Mackay, Esq. to Olivia, only daughter of John Russell, Esq. of Balmaad. 15. At Inveresk-House, John Wauchope, of Edmonstone, Esq. to Henrietta Cecilia Baird, second daughter of Sir James Baird, of Saughton-hall, Bart.—G. Dashwood, Esq. M. P. to Mary Anne, daughter of Sir W. Rowley.—17. At Wellbourg, the Archduke Charles, of Austria, to the Princess Henrietta, of Nassau Wellbourg.—At Straloch, William Brebner, Esq. younger of Lairnie, to Mary, daughter of the late John Ramsay, Esq. of Bara. 19. At Blackhill, John Hepburn, Esq. of Colquhazie, to Helen, second daughter of the late Adam Stewart, Esq. of Clunie. 21. Alfred Wigan, Esq. to Eliza, only child of William Lewes, Esq. 25. G. Cornwall, Esq. to Jane, only sister of J. Lennox Napier, Esq. M. P. and niece to Lord Sherborne. 26. William Gaisford, Esq. to Eleanor, daughter of the Rev. Charles Coxwell. 27. At Fleurs, John C. Hopkins, Esq. to Miss Innes.

OCT. 2. At Paisley, Mr Andrew Brown, Linwood, to Janet, daughter of Provost William Jameson, Paisley. 3. R. Ballard, Esq. to Miss Anne Maria Huntingford; and the Rev. J. Wetherall, to Miss Lucy Huntingford, both nieces of the Bishop of Hereford. 4. At Eckington, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick Stovin, K. C. B. to Ann Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Sir Sitwell Sitwell, Bart. of Ranishaw.—Thomas Walker, Esq. writer, Edinburgh, to Miss Elizabeth Mary Morison, daughter of William Maxwell Morison, Esq. advocate. 9. At Cortachy, John Kermack, Esq. writer to the signet, to Miss Jane O. Ramsay, daughter of Mr Ramsay, Cortachy.—Sir Peregrine Maitland, to Lady Sarah Lennox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond. 12. Sir Frederick Gustavus Fowke, to Mary Anne, sole heiress of the late Anthony Henderson, Esq. M. P. 17. At London, Sir John Talbot, Bart. to the Honourable Miss Catherine Arundel, daughter of Lord Arundel. 21. Samuel Baker, Esq. to Miss Elizabeth Hassell. 24. At Summerfield, Alexander Cassels, Esq. to Miss Jessie Grierson, daughter of Gilbert Grierson, Esq. Leith. 26. At Maryfield, R. M. Hawley, M. D. to Miss E. Burn, daughter of the late William Burn, Esq. of Edinburgh.—Rev. George Leigh Cooke, to

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Anne, eldest daughter of William Hay, Esq. 27. Captain R. Gambier, (nephew of Lord Gambier) to Caroline, fourth daughter of Major-General Browne.—At Glasgow, Mr Alexander Gibson, of the British Linen Company's Bank, Edinburgh, to Mary, youngest daughter of Mr William Gould, Glasgow. 28. At Baron's Court, Tyrone, the Right Honourable Lord Manners, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, to the Hon. Jane Butler, sister to the present Lord Caher.—At Horsedale, George Garden, Esq. of Montreal, to Euphemia, second daughter of William Forbes, Esq. of Echt. 30. John Thompson, M. D., to Charlotte, only daughter of the late Joseph Cartledge. M. D

Nov. 4. W. F. Welsh, Esq. to Georgiana, second daughter of the late Sir F. Ford, Bart. and niece to Lord Viscount Anson. 7. P. P. Acland, Esq. to Fanny, second daughter of William Leader, Esq. M. P. 9. At Langley Park, Colin Campbell Mackay, Esq. Major in his Majesty's 78th regiment of Highlanders, to Miss Marjory Gerard Cruikshank, of Stracathro, daughter of the late Patrick Cruikshank, Esq. of Stracathro. 13. Henry S. Northcote, Esq. eldest son of Sir Stafford H. Northcote, to Agnes Mary, only daughter of Thomas Cockburn, Esq. 15. Mr E. Paley, youngest son of the late Archdeacon, to Miss Mary Ann Paley.—At Hackness, George Johnstone, Esq. to Margaret Anne, eldest daughter of Lady Johnstone, of Hackness-house.—Captain S. H. Stuart, eldest son of Sir S. Stuart, Bart. of Hartly Mandit, to Miss Gunn, of Mount Kennedy. 18. At Balcarras, Charles Maitland Christie, of Durie, Esq. to Miss Mary Butler Lindsay, eldest daughter of the Hon. Robert Lindsay, of Balcarras.—L. H. Robinson, Esq. to Theophila, youngest daughter of G. Hubbard, Esq. 20. At Kippencross, William Napier Milliken, of Milliken, to Miss Elizabeth C. Stirling, fifth daughter of John Stirling, Esq. of Kippendavie. 23. At Beechhill, Perthshire, David Henderson, Esq. of the East India Company's medical service, to Miss Ann Hay, third daughter of Charles Hay, Esq. of Beechhill. 25. Rev. John Lonsdale, to Sophia, fifth daughter of John Bolland, Esq. M. P. 30. At Carfrae, Mr David Walker, Timpendean, to Mary, third daughter of Robert Hogarth, Esq. Carfrae.—Robert Frankland, Esq. M. P., to Louisa Anne, third daughter of the late Right Hon. Lord George Murray, Bishop of St David's.

Dec. 1. Captain A. Duff, to Frances, third daughter of the late Rev. Meredith Jones. 6. At Barrock-House, Mr Thomas Paton, of Leith, to Margaret, daughter of John Sinclair, Esq. of Barrock. 7. At Buccleuch-Place, Edinburgh, Thomas Gibson, Esq. of Eastfield, parish of Wigton, to Margaret, second daughter of Mr Gibson, Windydoors.—S. G. Da Costa, Esq. to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the late Lyon De Symons, Esq. 9. Sir L. V. Pack, Bart. to Anna Eleanor, eldest daughter of Sir B. Wrey, Bart. 11. At Edinburgh, John Wilson Carmichael, Esq. to Miss Alison Charles Stuart. 12. Abraham Boyd, Esq. to Jane, Countess of Belvidere 16. At Edinburgh, Alex. Wood Esq. advocate, to Jane, eldest daughter of the late John Anderson, Esq. of Inchyra.—Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, governor of St Helena, to Mrs Johnson, widow of the late Colonel Johnson, and niece of the Lady of the Right Hon. Sir David Dundas. 19. Sir John Hugh Smyth, Bart. to Anne Provis, niece of John Pigott, Esq. 22. At Edinburgh, Captain George Gordon, of the royal navy, to Miss Anne Gordon, Hanover-street. 23. At Auchry, Francis Gordon Campbell, Esq. of Troup and Glenlyon, to Miss Christina Forbes Cumine, eldest daughter of Archibald Cumine, Esq. of Auchry. 25. At Edinburgh, John Rymer, Esq. of Clifton-hall, to Sally, daughter of Mr Andrew Faulds. 27. At Clerkhill, James Miller, Esq. younger of Chapeltown, to Miss Jane, youngest daughter of A. Brown, of Clerkhill, Esq.

DEATHS.

JAN. 2. At Parkhill, Andrew Skene, of Dyce, the oldest freeholder in the county of Aberdeen.—At Aberdeen, Miss Harriet Farquharson, daughter of the late Robert Farquharson, Esq. of Kinaldie. 5. At Farnham, in the 78th year of his age, the Most Noble William John Kerr, Marquis

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and Earl of Lothian, Viscount Bryan, Lord Kerr of Newbottle, Morphat, &c. in the county of Mid Lothian; Earl of Ancram, Baron Jedburgh, Lord Kerr, of Oxnam, Dolphingston, Nisbets, Long Newton, &c. in the county of Roxburgh, Knight of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, a General in the army, and Colonel of the 2d regiment of dragoons.—At Huntingdon, Robert Deans, Esq. of Huntingdon, Admiral of the White.—At Cupar, in the prime of life, Mrs Jameson, wife of Andrew Jameson, Esq. sheriff-substitute of Fife.—Sir Bysshe Shelley, Bart. 6. At Sanquhar, Robert Whigham, Esq. of Hallidayhill, aged 79. 7. At Rosehearty, William Leslie, Esq. aged 71. 8. At Perth, Miss Jean Seton, daughter of the late George Seton, Esq. of Carriston, Fife.—The Rev. Mr John Davidson, minister of the catholic chapel, Greenock. 9. Mr James Magee, of Saintfield, aged 104. 10. At Queen Street, Mrs Rickart Hepburne, relict of Colonel Rickart Hepburne, of Rickarton.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Skene, widow of Captain Skene, of Aberdeen.—At Balgowan, Robert Graham, Esq. of Fintry. 11. At Charlotte Square, Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Francis Lord Seaforth, his Majesty's Lieutenant for the county of Ross.—At Rio de Janeiro, Mr James Wood, son of Mr Andrew Wood, musical instrument maker, Edinburgh. 12. At Alphington Lodge, in Devonshire, Mrs Lumsden, wife of Hugh Lumsden, Esq. of Pitcaple, advocate. 14. At Edinburgh, William Creech, Esq. bookseller, and late Lord Provost of the city.—Rev. Charles Mayson, D. D. 16. At Tobago, his Excellency Governor Sir W. Young, Bart.—At Clapham, Surrey, Henry Thornton, Esq. M. P. for the borough of Southwark.—At Dundas Street, William M'Cormick, Esq. 17. At Inverness, John Mackintosh, Esq. of Aberarder, many years Provost of Inverness, aged 71 years.—At Leith, Jean Idison, in the 95th year of her age. 18. At Dudhope, John Rankine, Esq. in his 69th year. 20. In London, aged 78, Sir William Charles Farrell Skeffington, Bart.—At Broughton Park, John Corbett, Esq. of Tollcross.—At Glasgow, Miss Buchanan, of Carbeth. 21. Killed on board the Harlequin sloop, Lieutenant George Stewart, late commander of his majesty's brig Seaflower, son of Mr Alexander Stewart, St Andrew's Street, Edinburgh.—At Aberdeen, in the prime of life, Mr Thomas Duncan, jun. advocate. 24. At George Street, Miss Rebecca Pringle, daughter of the late Walter Pringle, Esq. of St Christophers, and sister of the late Vice-Admiral Thomas Pringle. 26. At Foulden House, James Wilkie, jun. Esq. 27. Eleanor Sarah, eldest daughter of the Right Rev. Bishop Sandford. 29. Rev. William Craven, master of St John's College. 31. In the vicinity of Dublin, by a fall from his horse while hunting, his Grace George John Frederick, Duke and Earl of Dorset, Earl of Middlesex, &c. in the 22d year of his age, unmarried.—At Megginch Castle, Robert Drummond, Esq. of Megginch.

FEB. 2. Duncan Campbell, Esq. 3. At Edinburgh, Mr John Bain, civil engineer, aged 72. 4. At Edinburgh, Mr John Miller, optician, who, for upwards of forty-eight years, held the first rank in his profession.—J. Birch, Esq. surgeon to the Prince Regent.—At Heriot Row, Alexander Donaldson, Esq.—Near Hexham, Mrs Eleanor Charlton, aged 99. Her brother George died at Birtley, aged 108; her brother James at Hexham, aged 97; and her sister Elizabeth, at Wark, aged 100 years. 9. Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D. of Queen's College, Cambridge. 11. At Coates House, Fifeshire, Colonel Anstruther, late of the 62d regiment. 19. At Edinburgh, William Roxburgh, M. D. F.L.S. 20. At London, in the prime of life, Mr David Thomson, landscape painter. 22. Major-General Adam Gordon, aged 49. 24. At Gredington, aged 29, the Right Hon. Lady Kenyon, leaving two sons and three daughters. 25. Sir Robert Herries, formerly banker in London. 28. At Prince's Street, Alexander Liston Ramage, Esq. writer to the signet.—Lately, Mrs Johnson, aged 104.—At Newcastle, Rear-Admiral Wm. Charleton.—At Paris, suddenly, the Duke de Fleurey, peer of France, and first gentleman to Louis the Eighteenth.—At Cartlet Cottage, suddenly, Major-General John Picton. He retired to rest in good health, and was found dead in his bed by his servant.

MARCH 1. Rev. P. Haddon, Vicar of Leeds. 4. Mrs F. Abington, once a celebrated actress. 5. William Douglas Heron, son of John Heron, Esq. of Ingleston.

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8. At Glasgow, William Hunter, Esq. of Greenhead. 12. At York Place, Mr James Cochrane, printer. 13. At Dalkeith, John Wardlaw, Esq. agent there for the Commercial Banking Company.—At Garscube House, Dumbartonshire, Lady Campbell, wife of Sir Ilay Campbell, of Succoth, Bart. 14. At Harrowgate, Miss Eleanor Primrose Dundas, third daughter of the deceased Major-General Thomas Dundas, of Fingask. 16. At Melrose, Mrs Anne Wilkieson, relict of Andrew Wauchope, Esq. of Caikmoor. 17. Andrew Monro, M.D. who for fifteen years discharged his professional duties at Kirkwall, in Orkney, esteemed and respected.—At Stanstill, Mrs Janet Sinclair, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson, of Marlefield. 22. Sir William Aston, Bart. 26. Lost off Portland, Captain Archibald Campbell, of his Majesty's 47th regiment, passenger in the Alexander East India extra ship, from Bombay. 28. At Lauriston House, Edinburgh, Archibald M'Arthur Stewart, Esq. of Ascog and Milton. 29. At Edinburgh, Mr James Leslie, bookbinder; author of several comic songs, "The Cock of the Rock," &c. 31. At Edinburgh, Mrs Jean Elliot, relict of Major Henry Balfour.—Lately, at Hutchesontown, Glasgow, Mr Simon Fraser, collector of excise, in the hundredth year of his age.—At Cobourg, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, who commanded the allied armies against France in 1793 and 1794.

APRIL 2. William J. Porter, Esq. 3. At Penzance, Cornwall, whither he had gone for the recovery of his health, Mr Francis Braidwood, jun. upholsterer, Edinburgh.—At Cowie distillery, Alex. Montgomerie, for several years one of the magistrates of Inverkeithing. 4. At St Patrick's Square, Mr Alexander Hamilton, manufacturer. 5. At Kenmore Castle, Mrs Gordon, of Kenmore.—James Peller Malcolm, Esq. F.S.A. author of many popular works. 6. At Glencarse, Thomas Hunter, Esq. of Glencarse. 9. Lady Mary Fitzgerald, sister of the late Earl of Bristol, in consequence of her clothes catching fire. 12. Henry Siddons, Esq. patentee of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh.—At Gayfield Place, Miss Jane Currie, daughter of the late Reverend John Currie, minister of New Monkland. 13. Edward Morris, Esq. one of the Masters in Chancery.—James Ware, Esq. the oldest and most eminent oculist in London, and one of the most liberal among professional men.—At the Manse of Glenbervie, the Rev. Alexander Thom, in the 78th year of his age, and 55th of his ministry. 17. At London, Viscount Wentworth, in his 70th year, after a gradual decline.—Bryan Crowther, Esq. an eminent surgeon, and author of some valuable works in his profession. 19. Arthur Palmer, Esq. serjeant at law. 20. Dr Domeier, physician to the Duke of Sussex. 21. At Edinburgh, Miss Jane Robertson, youngest daughter of the late Alexander Robertson, Esq. of Prenderguest. 23. Clement Kynnersley, Esq. 24. William Harrison, Esq. son of the celebrated discoverer of the longitude at sea, for which he obtained a parliamentary remuneration. 27. Mr William Bates Smith, a gentleman well known in the literary world.—Lost, on board the Alexander East Indiaman, off the coast of Portland, Major Archibald M. Ramsay, eldest son of the deceased Mr Robert Ramsay, late writer in Alloa. 29. At Edinburgh, Mrs Lang, relict of Mr John Lang, sheriff clerk of Selkirkshire. 30. At Stitchel Manse, Miss Gilchrist Scott, third daughter of the Rev. Andrew Scott, minister of Stitchel.—Lady Clerke, wife of the Rev. Sir William H. Clerke, Bart.—Lately, at Drayton, Norfolk, Sarah Codenham, aged 105. This poor woman had cost the parish 500l.

MAY 2. At Edinburgh, aged 21, Emma, wife of Mr John Stark, printer. 4. Mrs Carteret, widow of the late Admiral Carteret, and sister of the present recorder of London. 5. At Brampton, Cumberland, Mr Richard Smirke, eldest son of Robert Smirke, Esq. R.A. aged 37. 6. At Cornhill, Alexander Young, Esq. of Cornhill, aged 75.—Edward Marjoribanks, of Lees, Esq. aged 77. 7. At Parkhall, Miss Euphemia Learmonth, daughter of the late John Learmonth, Esq. merchant, Leith.—Rev. Andrew Fuller, a dissenting minister of the baptist persuasion. 8. Rev. Joseph Whiteley, master of the free grammar school at Leeds.—At Edinburgh, Mr Charles Anderson, writer in Edinburgh. 9. At Edinburgh, Isabella, second daughter of Mr Chalmers, solicitor at law.—At London, of a paralytic stroke, Dr John Fleming. 10. At Berwick, Thomas Hall, Esq. 12. Rev. William Wilks,

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archdeacon of Wells, son of the Rev. E. Willis, Bishop of Bath and Wells. 13. Miss Vernon, eldest daughter of the Archbishop of York. 15. The Lord Bishop of St Asaph, Dr Cleaver.—At Balemund House, Perthshire, Martin Dowlin, Esq. —At Pirn, Peebles-shire, Miss Violet Horsburgh, fifth daughter of Alexander Horsburgh, of Horsburgh, Esq. 17. At Edinburgh, Miss Murray, of Kincairny. 18. At Edinburgh, Brigadier-General W. Dickson, of Kilbucho, lieut.-governor of Cork, late of the 42d regiment. 19. Mr Wm. Lunn, bookseller.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Robert Campbell, wife of Mr James Reid of the exchequer.—At Edinburgh, Mr A. Peat, late of the excise, in his 92d year. 20. At Castlecraig, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael Skirling, Bart. 21. At Glasgow, in the 37th year of his age, William Spence, Esq. of Greenock.—At Tweedhill, Mrs Logan, younger of Edrom.—At Gilmerton, in the prime of life, Robert Stevenson, surgeon. 22. At Edinburgh, Sir David Rae, of Eskgrove, Bart.—At London, Mrs Steele, wife of the Right Hon. T. Steele, and daughter of the late Gen. Sir David Lindsay, Bart. 26. Mrs Helen Sinclair, relict of Alexander Orme, Esq. late one of the Principal Clerks of Session. 28. At Frederick street, in her 89th year, Mrs Colonel Macdonald, relict of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald. 30. At Edinburgh, Richard Bannatine, Esq.—Sir John Boyd, Bart.—At Auchtifardell, Miss Jane Kennedy, of Romanno, aged 92.

JUNE 3. Hon. Mrs Aston, relict of Col. H. Aston, daughter of the late Charles Lord Viscount Irwin. 4. At Manse of Cumnock, Brevet Major James Miller, of the 74th regiment, and late Lieutenant-Colonel of the 23d Portuguese regiment. 5. Robert Burn, Esq. architect.—At Newton Don, Sir Alexander Don, Bart. 6. At Park of Troqueer, John Patie, Esq. of Crosslands. 7. At London, the Right Hon. James Sandilands, Lord Torphichen. 8. At Dundee, after a short illness, Mr R. T. Miller, bookseller.—At Elderslie House, Charlotte Fitzwilliam Spiers, third daughter of Archibald Spiers, Esq. M.P. 10. At Mill of Forest, near Stonehaven, William Young, Esq. sheriff-clerk of Kincardineshire. 11. Rev. James Phillot, D.D., rector and archdeacon of Bath. 12. At Irvine, James Blair, Esq. of Lochwards. 13. At Berlin, William Fettes, Esq. only son of Sir William Fettes, Bart. 16. Robert Hankey, Esq. governor of the London Assurance Company. 18. Many gallant officers and men, on the glorious field of Waterloo. 19. At North St David Street, John Watson, Esq. writer, Edinburgh.—At Edinburgh, Mr T. Denham, assistant clerk of Session. 21. At Edinburgh, William Forbes, Esq. of Callander. 22. Master King, of great celebrity in the musical world. 23. John Eardley Wilmot, Esq. son of the Right Hon. Sir J. Eardley W. knt.—At Edinburgh, James, second son of the Reverend Andrew Thomson, minister of St George's church. 24. At Gategill, the Rev. Adam Tait. 25. Rev. Jeremiah Smith, formerly rector of Berwick, and vicar of Wartling, Sussex, both which he resigned when called to his residence. 30. A. Gifford Brabazon, Esq. son of the late Hon. Wm. Brabazon, M.P. for the county of Wicklow. —Robert Fulton, an eminent engineer. —Lately, at Round Green, Mr J. Steele, aged 102.—At Vienna, the Prince of Aremberg. He lost his life in consequence of a fall from his horse.

JULY 1. The wife of J. Calcraft, Esq. M.P. 3. The wife of J. Dawkins, Esq. M.P.—At Pendreich, James Weddell, Esq. aged 70. 5. At Edinburgh, Mr Henry Coventry, fourth son of the late John Coventry, Esq. of Douglers. 6. At Anstruther, Fifeshire, John Clarkson, Esq. at a very advanced age.—At Arbroath, Mrs Carnegie, of Balnamoon.—By his own hand, in a fit of insanity, occasioned by an ossification of the brain, Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M.P. 7 Aged 70, General Count De Reede De Ginckel, uncle to the present Earl of Athlone, many years ambassador extraordinary from the States-General to the court of Berlin.—At Stonehaven, Mr John Lawson, postmaster there. 8. At Castle Bernard, near Cork, the Countess of Bandon. Her ladyship was the only daughter of Richard Earl of Shannon. 9. Clement Tudway, Esq. M.P. father of the House of Commons.—At Drummore House, Jane, the only surviving daughter of the late George Mylne, Esq. of Langridge. 10. At Hilton, Eliza Susanna Deas, eldest daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Deas, of Hilton.—At West Sandwick, Shetland, Paul Robert,

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son, Esq. of Gosanburgh. 11. At Inverness, Mrs Mackintosh, of Aberarder.—At Duddingstone Manse, Emily Dalrymple, third daughter of the late Martin Dalrymple, Esq. of Ferdel.—The Rev. John Torkington, D.D. master of Clare Hall, Cambridge. 12. F. Geogor, Esq. many years M.P. for Cornwall. 13. At Edinburgh, Geronimo Stabilini, a native of Rome, for twenty-three years past well known as the leader of the Edinburgh concerts.—At Mount Esk, Lasswade, A. Borthwick, Esq. late banker in Edinburgh. 16. In Canongate, William Wilson, commonly called Mortar Willie, at the advanced age of 106 years. 20. At Rippingale, aged 16, Ann Hardy. This young woman had attained the extraordinary height of seven feet two inches. 21. Right Hon. Lady Harriet Acland, widow of the the late Colonel Acland, and mother of the late Countess of Cardigan. 22. At London, Lady Callander, widow of Sir John Callander, Bart. of Westertown, Stirlingshire.—At Lisbon, the celebrated engraver Bartalozzi. 25. At Sunderland, Ann Appleby, aged 103. She was able to go about selling earthenware till within a week of her death. 28. Vice-Admiral W. A. Otway. 29. E. Coleman, Esq. many years sergeant-at-arms to the House of Commons.

AUG. 1. At Venlaw House, Peebles, Mr Robert Gordon, writer to the signet. 6. David Alstone, Esq. of Auchterhard, late of the Hon. East India Company's military service in Bengal.—At Polmont-Bank, Mr White, aged 90. 7. General Charles Leigh, groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince Regent. He distinguished himself at the storming of Valenciennes in 1793. 8. At Edinburgh, Mrs Elizabeth Lothian, widow of Dr William Lothian, senior minister of Canongate. 11. At Inzion, David Mitchell, Esq. writer to the signet. 12. At London, Aubrey Beauclerk, Duke of St Alban's, Earl of Burford, Baron Vere, and Baron Heddington.—The Countess Dowager D'Alten, sister to Lord Trimbleston, and widow of Count D'Alten, who was killed before Dunkirk when that fortress was besieged by the Duke of York.—At Lasswade, Sarah Dunbar, wife of Mr Robert Dunbar, St John's Hill. 13. At Canal Bank, Paisley, Janet M'Farlane, relict of Robert M'Farlane, Barres, aged 102 years and four months.—At Haddington, after a short illness, on his way from London to Edinburgh, Thomas Morgan, Esq. late of the Bengal medical establishment.—At the Manse of Craig, Mr James Brewster, senior.—At Lennelhill, David Hogarth, Esq. of Hilton. 16. At Hope-street, Miss Sands.—Mary, the wife of John Mumay, Esq. commissary general to his Majesty's forces, and Georgiana, his eldest daughter. 17. At Camlarg Lodge, Miss Ann Woodburn, daughter of David Woodburn, Esq.—Rev. Rogers Porter Packwood, M. A.—19. At Greepock, Mr Nathaniel Graham, a native of Buttle, in Galloway, aged 98.—At London, John Scott, Esq. late chemist in Edinburgh. 22. The Lady of Sir Herbert Croft, Bart.—At Edinburgh, Miss G. Storie, daughter of the late Jas. Storie, Esq. Paisley. 24. At Glasgow, Mrs Margaret Naismith, relict of the late Jas. Roxburgh, Esq. of Bothwellshields.—At Edinburgh, Mr J. Gray, of Blainslie. 27. At Glasgow, Robert Dennistoun, Esq. 28. At Hope Park, Walter Lothian, Esq. 29. At Bradley Hill, Derbyshire, Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Stanhope, Knight of the Garter, aged sixty years. 30. At Picton Castle, the Right Hon. Lady Milford.—At Dunfermline, Miss Margaret Wardlaw, daughter of the late Sir David Wardlaw, Bart.—At Kinloch, Susan, second daughter of the late Thomas Kinnear, Esq. of Kinloch.—At Glasgow, Lieut.-Colonel Gwyn, inspecting field officer of the western district, aged 41.—At Brussels, of wounds received in the battle of Waterloo, Major A. J. M'Laine, of the 73d regiment.

SEPT. 2. At Edinburgh, Miss Jane Raitt, daughter of the late Thomas Raitt, Esq. of Longformacus.—At Annan, Thomas Johnstone, Esq. of Gutterbraes, in the 84th year of his age.—At Marske Hall, Yorkshire, William, third son of the Hon. Lawrence Dundas. 3. The Lady of Sir John Aubrey, Bart. M. P. 4. Viscountess Fitzharris, aged 32. 5. At London, of a brain fever, and after a few days illness, Mr John Morton, many years printer of "The Sunday Review" newspaper.—At Nether Pladie, in the land of Craigston, and parish of Turriff, Mr John Allardyce, in the 63d year of his age. 10. Lady Metcalf, widow of the late Sir T. Metcalf. 11. At Old Aberdeen, in the 89th year of his age, Roderick Macleod, D. D. Principal of King's College. 12. In George's-square, Edinburgh, Miss Mait-

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land, eldest daughter of Adam Maitland, Esq. of Dundrennan. 13. The Right Honourable Lady Theresa Herbert, youngest daughter of the Earl of Carnarvon. 14. At Invergarry, Duncan Allaistair, son of Colonel Macdonell, of Glengarry. 16. At Bridge-end, Musselburgh, Henry Gillies, Esq. in the 70th year of his age.—Rev. E. Pepham, D. D. formerly Fellow of Oriel College. 17. In his 82d year, the Rev. B. Barnard, prebendary of Peterborough cathedral. 18. At Dumfries, Miss Georgina Campbell, daughter of the late Matthew Campbell, Esq. Wigton. 19. At Main's House, Glasgow, Miss Euphemia Pirie, eldest daughter of the late Jas. Pirie, depute clerk of the High Court of Admiralty. 21. At Dumfries, John Hossack, Esq. of Glengabar, and of Buff Bay River, in the island of Jamaica. 22. At Edinburgh, very much regretted, Serjeant-Major Patrick Gould, of the late 1st regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Infantry, a situation he had held for twenty-one years. 24. At Stirling, Mrs Ann Stewart, relict of James Stewart, Esq. of Gar.—David Morrison, Esq. of Trebachmains. 25. Aged 75, Sir Mordaunt Martin, Bart.—At George-street, after a few days illness, Mrs Wardlaw, relict of Capt. William Wardlaw, royal navy.—The Rev. Thomas Moore, rector of Little Easton, Essex, author of many literary works. 26. John Willet Willet, Esq. formerly member of parliament for New Romney. 27. At Sanquhar, the Rev. Andrew Thomson, pastor of the associate antiburgher congregation there for 39 years.—At Sheerness, Mr Alexander Milne, of Edinburgh, aged 25, assistant-surgeon of the Iphigenia, and late of the Bellerophon.—At Genoa, in her 21st year, Lady Jean Montague, eldest daughter of his Grace the Duke of Manchester.—Lady Clavering, widow of Lieutenant-General Sir John Clavering, K. B.—At Gorgie Park, at an advanced age, Mrs Macdonald, of Hope-street, widow of Major Allan Macdonald, 59th regiment of foot. 28. Gilbert Gerard, D.D. Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, and chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty.—At Montreal, James Dunlop, Esq. much regretted. 29. Aged 75, Frederick Charles Reinhold, Esq. formerly a celebrated bass singer. 30. Mr Henry Macvicar, midshipman on board his Majesty's sloop of war the Levant, youngest son of the late Neil Macvicar, Esq. sometime Lord Provost of Edinburgh.—At Oban, after a long and painful illness, Alexander Stevenson, Esq. W. S.—Lady Clavering, widow of Sir John Clavering.

Oct. 1. At George Street, Capt. Alexander Todd, late of Alderstone. 2. Rev. Colin Milne, L.L.D. a well known author, and popular preacher. 5. At Tellcross, Captain Robert Rollo, in the 91st year of his age.—Mr Francis Yates, of Wolverhampton, aged 94; and on the following Tuesday, the 10th, Mrs Eleanor Yates, his wife, aged 89. 9. George Baron Caldan, one of the 28 representative peers of Ireland, in his 62d year. 10. At Maragall, Lisburn, Mrs Elizabeth Abbott, aged 102 years. 11. At Callander, Charles Campbell, Esq. of Lochdochart. 12. At Cholmondeley House, Piccadilly, London, after a long and severe illness, the Countess of Rocksavage.—Aged 90, Viscountess Malpas. 17. At Edinburgh, Mrs Deborah Cox, relict of Nicholas Cox, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspee, &c. North Britain.—At Forres, Mrs Anna Logan, relict of the late Provost Forsyth. 18. At Gloucester, Rear-Admiral Trigge. 20. At Coldstream, Robert Davidson, Esq. of Hoselaw, aged 65. 21. At Morningside House, Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Cockburn, wife of Mr Andrew Buchanan, jun. merchant in Glasgow.—At Roxburgh Place, Miss Jean Grant, of Pilmair.—At Boston, the well-known Lincolnshire *physician*, Dr Moody, to the great regret of all his *living* patients. 23. At Ardfert Abbey, county of Kerry, John Earl of Glandore, Viscount Crosbie, and Baron Brandon, Custos Rotulorum, and a governor of that county; a privy counsellor of of the kingdom of Ireland, F.R.S. and S.A. and M.R.I.A. and one of the twenty-eight representative peers in the imperial parliament.—At Dublin, Robert Earl of Wicklow, Viscount Wicklow, and Baron Clonmore. 24. J. W. Knapp, Esq. L.L.D. —Calverly Bewicke, Esq. M.P. for Winchelsea. 25. At Edinburgh, Mrs Cook, wife of Walter Cook, Esq. writer to the signet; and, on the same day, Christina, her infant daughter. 26. At Culcabock House, Inverness, in the 84th year of his age, Arthur Robertson, Esq. of Inches.—At Kempsey Lodge, Worcestershire, Ca-

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tharine Adam, relict of John Neale, Esq. late of Willowyards, Ayrshire. 29. Lost off Ostend in a packet, the Hon. Mrs Carleton, mother of Lord Dorchester.—Lately, in Mill-Street, Liverpool, Mrs Ennis Margaret Neyton, aged 106. She possessed all her faculties to the last moment.—At Taylorstown, county of Wexford, at the great age of 122 years, Edward Connor.—At Clifton Hall, Sir Gervas Clifton, Bart. aged 71.—At his house, at Bennet's Hill, near Birmingham, at the age of 92, William Hutton, Esq. the venerable historian of Birmingham, and the author of various other works.

Nov. 1. John Coakley Lettsom, M.D.—The Right Hon. John Crosbie, Earl of Glandore. 4. At Liddalbank, Mrs Fairbairn, sister of the late Alexander Scott, Esq. of Sinton. 5. At Dublin, Mr Rock, late of the Theatre-Royal of that city; and formerly manager of the Edinburgh and Glasgow theatres. 6. At Dysart, Mrs Janet Spence, relict of Mr George Wallace, in the 100dth year of her age.—At Denton House, near Grantham, in the 82d year of his age, Sir William Earle Welby, Bart. His eldest son, now Sir William Earle Welby, Bart. M. P. for Grantham, succeeds him in his title and family estates. 9. At Smithston House, parish of Kilwinning, Alexander M'Gown, Esq. of Smithston. 10. At Edinburgh, Robert Scott Moncrieff, Esq. of Newhalls.—At Vauxhall, London, General Colin Mackenzie, Colonel of the 3d royal veteran battalion, aged 80. 11. At the advanced age of 70 years, Mr Maurice Margarot, chairman of the London Corresponding Society.—In his 81st year, John Bayly,—Joanna, the wife of the Rev. John Jones, and only daughter of the Rev. Dr Rees. M.D. 12. The Rev. Horace Hammond, rector of Great Massingham. 15. In his 91st year, Charles Matthews, Esq.—The Rev. Matthias D'Oyley.—Colonel Edwards, of the East India service, and aide-de-camp to the late nabob of Oude. He was wrecked near Ostend. 16. At Kelso, Mr Charles Waldie, banker, aged 65.—At Kelso, at the advanced age of 92, Mr Archibald Johnston, merchant.—At Edinburgh, Isabella Clementina, fifth daughter of Lieutenant-Col. Patrick Tytler. 17. In the Poor's-house at Dumfries, of which she had been an inmate for the last nine years, Jane Thompson, at the very advanced age of 102. 17. At Lanark, much and justly regretted, John Simpson, Esq. late provost of that burgh.—At Clatterford, Isle of Wight, Major-Gen Robert Young, aged 45. 21. George Duckworth, Esq. in consequence of a fall from a horse. 22. Mrs Elizabeth Soane, wife of the celebrated architect.—Rev. Henry Hodgson, LL.D., a gentleman well known in the literary world by several publications of merit. 24. In his 86th year, Sir George Chad, Bart. 25. J. P. Salomon, Esq. the celebrated performer on the violin.—The Rev. Hugh Colmondeley, dean of Chester, &c.

Dec. 3. At Dundee, Lady Douglas, widow of Sir Alexander Douglas, Bart. of Glenbervie.—Mrs Katharine Smith, spouse of John Dundas, Esq. clerk to the signet.—At Harrowgate, Miss Elizabeth Baillie, youngest daughter of the late Hon. George Baillie, of Jerviswoode. 7. At Edinburgh, Miss Janet Kerr, eldest daughter of the late William Kerr, Esq. surveyor of the General Post Office.—Mr Francis Montgomery, solicitor at law. 8. The Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat, at his seat of Beaufort Castle, in the Aird, near Inverness, in the 80th year of his age. 9. At Burnbank, Archibald Lamb, Esq. of Burnbank.—At Dalswinton House, Patrick Miller, Esq. of Dalswinton, in the 86th year of his age.—In Cadogan Place, Sloane Street, London, A. M. Gore, widow of Major-General Arthur Gore.—John Charington, Esq. and on the 14th, his wife Catherine. 10. In his 87th year, Mr Henry Emlyn, an architect of eminence.—At Edinburgh, Robert Boyd, Esq. younger of Drum, writer to the signet. 11. At his house, Portobello, William Percival Pickford, Esq. of Royton Hall, Lancashire, aged 58.—At Melville Place, Stirling, William Deas, Esq. in the 89th year of his age.—At her house, Castle Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Forrest, widow of Walter Forrest, Esq. and sister of the late Vice-Admiral Sir George Home, Bart.—At Culross, the Rev. Robert Rolland, first minister of that parish, in the 88th year of his age, and 62d of his ministry. 12. The Right Hon. Sir William Wynne, Knt.—At the Manse of Currie, the Rev. James Dick, deeply regretted by his parishioners and friends.—Dr Jackson, the learned and venerable Bishop of Oxford; he was made

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Bishop of Oxford in 1812.—At Mausuary House, the Rev. John Kessin, minister of the Relief Congregation, Kilbarchan, in the 34th year of his age, and 7th of his ministry. 13. The Hon. General Bennet, only brother of the Earl of Tankerville.—At her house in Elder Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Hay, relict of Colonel Lewis Hay, Royal Engineers. 14. At her house in George's Square, Edinburgh, Lady Don, in her 92d year.—At Glasgow, Mrs Janet Lindsay, wife of Professor Jardine, of that University.—At Edinburgh, John Davidson, Esq. of Ravelrig. 15. At Arbroath, Miss Jean Carnegy, of Balnamoon. 16. In his 70th year, the most noble Charles duke of Norfolk. 19. Mr Robert Hudson, Mus. Bac., in his 84th year. 21. In his 76th year, the Rev. William Vincent, D.D., dean of Westminster, and vicar of Islip, Oxon. 27. Eleanor, wife of Henry Hodgson, Esq. one of his Majesty's commissioners for the affairs of taxes.

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PRINCIPAL APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS,

IN 1815.

Foreign-office, Dec. 25, 1814. Edward Davids, Esq., his Majesty's chamberlain and chancellor of South Wales, vice H. Lloyd, Esq.

Jan. 7, 1815. Hon. W. Temple, secretary of legation at Stockholm.

Foreign-office, Jan. 13. Mr W. Davenport, consul at Londonderry for the Sovereign of the Netherlands.

Jan. 28. Hon. Robert Annesley, consul at Antwerp.

Feb. 7. Alexander Turnbull, Esq., consul at Marseilles, and all other ports and places in the department of the Mouths of the Rhone.

George Sholto Douglas, Esq. secretary of legation at Florence.

Hon. Col. H. King, one of the grooms of his Majesty's bed-chamber.

Whitehall, April 1. Earl of Clancarty, (one of his Majesty's plenipotentiaries at Vienna,) knight grand cross of the bath.

Howard Elphinstone, Esq. (lieutenant-colonel of the corps of royal engineers,) a baronet of the united kingdom.

April 7. The under-mentioned knights commanders of the bath to be knights grand crosses: Lieutenant-General Hon. Sir John Abercromby, vice Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart (Count of Maida) deceased; Major-Gen. Hon. Sir Charles Colville, vice Major-General Hon. Sir E. M. Pakenham, deceased.

The following officers to be knights commanders: Lieutenant-Gen. Moore Disney, vice Lieutenant-General Hon. Sir John Abercromby; Major-Gen. William Inglis, vice Major-General Sir Samuel Gibbs, deceased; Major-General James Lyon, vice Major-General Hon. Sir Charles Colville.

The following officers in the service of the East India Company to be knights commanders, viz.: Lieutenant-General John Macdonald; Major-Generals Robert Blair, George Wood, Hector Maclean, Thomas Dallas, John Chalmers, John Horsford, Henry White, Gabriel Martindale, George Sackville Browne, George Holmes, and David Ochterlony; Colonels Sir J. Malcolm, Augustus Floyer, and Robert Barclay.

April 8. Major-Gen. Sir G. T. Walker, lieutenant-governor of the Island of Grenada, vice Sir J. Stuart, deceased.

April 20. Vice-Admiral Sir Elisb Harvey, Major-General Charles Wale, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, Major-General Sir Colquhoun Grant, and Col. Sir Charles J. Greville, invested with the ensigns of knights commanders of the bath.

Foreign-office, May 2. A. Cockburn, Esq. his Majesty's envoy extraordinary to the free and imperial Hanseatic towns.

May 9. The Marquis of Bute, lord lieutenant of the county of Glamorgan.

Lieutenant-General Sir J. Leith, G. C. B. governor of Barbadoes.

Right Hon. W. Adam, lord chief commissioner; and A. Maconochie, and D. Monypenny, Esqrs., the other lords commissioners of the Scotch Jury Court.

A. Rosenhagen, Esq. a comptroller of the army accounts.

May 25. Rear-Admiral Sir C. Rowley, knight commander of the bath.

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May 27. Mr Serjeant Runnington, commissioner for the relief of insolvent debtors.

June 6. Hon. Charles Bagot, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

June 12. Lord Gambier, knight grand cross of the bath, and Vice-Admiral D. Gould, knight commander.

June 13. The dignity of a baronet conferred on G. King, Esq. of Charlestown, co. Roscommon.

Henry Salt, Esq. consul-general in Egypt.

June 17. Lord Aylmer, knight commander of the bath.

July 6. Sir F. M'Naughten, a judge of the supreme court of judicature in Bengal.

Sir E. Stanley, a judge of the supreme court at Madras.

Whitehall, July 15. Right Hon. G. Leveson Gower, a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of Viscount Granville, of Stone Park.

The Earl of Clancarty, a peer of the united kingdom, by the title of Baron Trench, of Garbally.

J. G. Harris, Esq. deputy judge advocate to the army under the Duke of Wellington.

Whitehall, July 18. The dignity of a baron of the united kingdom granted unto the following noblemen, viz.

Right Hon. John Earl of Strathmore, by the name, style, and title of Baron Bowes of Streatham Castle, co. Durham, and of Lunedale, co. York.

Right Hon. Lieutenant-General George Earl of Dalhousie, K.G.C.B., by the name, &c. of Baron Dalhousie, Castle, co. Edinburgh.

Right Hon. George Earl of Aboyne, by the name, &c. of Baron Meldrum, of Morven, co. Aberdeen.

Right Hon. George Earl of Glasgow, by the name, &c. of Baron Ross, of Hawkhead, co. Renfrew.

Right Hon. John Willoughby, Earl of Enniskillen, by the name, &c. of Baron Grindstead, of Grindstead, Wilts.

Right Hon. Edmund Henry, Earl of Limerick, by the name, &c. of Baron Foxford, of Stackpole-court, co. Clare.

Right Hon Peniston, Viscount Melbourne, by the name, &c. of Baron Melbourne, of Melbourne, co. Derby.

Francis Almaric Spencer, Esq. (commonly called Lord Francis Almaric Spencer,) by the name, &c. of Baron Churchill, of Sandridge, co. Hertford.

And to George Harris, colonel of the 72d regiment of foot, and general of his Majesty's forces, by the name, &c. of Baron Harris, of Seringapatam and Mysore in the East Indies, and of Belmont, Kent.

Whitehall, June 6. Sir Ralph Milbanke, bart. of Yorkshire and Durham, and the Hon. Dame Judith his wife, eldest daughter of the late Edward Noel, Viscount Wentworth, to take and use the surname and bear the arms of Noel only, in compliance with the will of Thomas Lord Wentworth, her brother, deceased.

Foreign-office, June 20. George William Chad, Esq. secretary of legation to the United States of America.

Sir Henry Lushington, Bart. consul-general at Naples.

Whitehall, June 23. The dignity of a marquis of the united kingdom conferred on Henry William Earl of Uxbridge, K.G. C.B., by the title of Marquis of Anglesea.

July 18. Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. agent and consul-general for the free Hanseatic towns of Lubec, Bremen, and Hamburgh.

Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

July 25. G. H. Rose, Esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin; and Hon. F. Lamb to the like office at the court of Munich.

Whitehall, July 27. A writ ordered to be issued under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for summoning Sir Cecil Bishopp of Parham Park, Sussex, Bart. up to the House of Peers, by the name, style, and title of Baron Zouche of Haryngworth, he being lineally descended from the eldest of the two daughters of Edward, the late Lord Zouche of Haryngworth, who died without issue male in 1625, and one of the rightful heirs of the said barony created by writ of summons in the reign of Edward II.

July 29. G. Durie, Esq. consul in Norway.

Lord Chamberlain's office, July 22. John Allen, Esq. clerk of the cheque of his Majesty's guard of yeomen of the guard.

East India House, Aug. 30. Major-gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B., governor of St Helena.

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Admiral Sir G. Cockburn, appointed governor of St Helena, on the death or resignation of Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Rear-Admiral John Harvey, commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands.

War-office, Sept. 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy J. H. Somerset, K.C.B., 1st grenadier regiment foot guards, to be an extra aide-de-camp to the Prince Regent, with the rank of colonel in the army.

Sept. 5. G. S. Douglas, Esq. secretary of legation to the court of Berlin; and L. Harvey, Esq. to the same office at the court of Munich.

Foreign-office, Sept. 8. Edw. M. Ward, Esq. secretary of legation at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Hamilton C. Hamilton, Esq. secretary of legation at the court of Wurtemberg.

P. Cherry, Esq. third judge of the court of appeal and circuit for the northern division at Madras.

Whitehall, Sept. 9. Prince Schwartzenberg, Prince Blucher, Count Barclay de Tolly, Prince Wrede, and the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, honorary knights grand crosses of the bath.

Sept. 16. Major-General Sir James Kempt, knight grand cross; and Major-Generals George Cook, Peregrine Maitland, and Frederick Adam, knights commanders of the order of the bath. One hundred and twenty colonels, lieut.-colonels, and majors, have been appointed companions of the said order, on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, for their services on the 16th and 18th of June. 336 officers of the army and navy have been appointed companions, conformably to the ordinance relative to the third class of the order published in the gazette of the 2d January last. And 26 officers in the service of the East India Company have been appointed companions, in pursuance of the ordinance published on the 10th of that month.

Carlton-house, Sept. 29. Rear-Admiral Sir William Johnstone Hope, invested as knight commander of the bath.

Whitehall, Sept. 30. The Prince Regent has been pleased to grant dignities of the peerage of the united kingdom, to George James Earl of Cholmondeley, by the title of Earl of Rocksavage, co. Chester, and Marquis Cholmondeley, with remainder to his heirs male; to James Walter Viscount Grimstone, of Ireland, and Baron Verulam of Gorhambury, Herts, by the titles of Viscount Grimston, and Earl Verulam; to Charles Viscount Whitworth, by the titles of Baron Adbaston, co. Stafford, and Earl Whitworth; to John Lord Brownlow, and his heirs male, by the title of Viscount Alford, of Alford, co. Lincoln, and Earl Brownlow; to John Cragg, Lord Elliot, by the title of Earl of St Germains, Cornwall; to John Lord Boringdon, by the titles of Viscount Boringdon of North Malton, Devon, and Earl of Morley in the said county; to Orlando Baron Bradford, by the titles of Viscount Newport, co. Salop, and Earl of Salop in the said county; to William Baron Beauchamp, of Powyke, by the titles of Viscount Elmley, co. Worcester, and Earl of Beauchamp; to Sir Alan Hyde Lord Gardner, vice-admiral of the white, by the title of Viscount Gardner.

The Prince Regent has also been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom to Ewen Cameron, of Fassifern and Callart, co. Argyll, and of Arthurstone, co. Angus, Esq. with remainder to his heirs male.

Foreign-office, Oct. 6. Richard Rochfort, and James Sterling, Esqrs. his Majesty's consuls, the former at Ostend, and the latter at Genoa.

Whitehall, Oct. 10. Don Miguel Alava, lieut.-gen. in the armies of his Catholic Majesty, to be an honorary knight-commander of the bath, in consideration of his long and zealous services while attached to the British army in the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington.

Oct. 18. George Jackson, Esq. secretary of embassy to the court of Russia.

Whitehall, Oct. 20. His Excellency Baron de Muffling, major-general in the King of Prussia's service, honorary knight-commander of the order of the bath.

Carlton-house. The Honourable William Thomas Graves, page of honour to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, *vice* Mr Henry Murray.

Oct. 28. Louis Duncan Cassa-major, Esq. secretary of embassy to the court of St Petersburg.

Oct. 31. The dignity of a baron of the united kingdom conferred on the Right Hon. Lieutenant-General Rowland Baron

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Hill, K.G.C.B. and his heirs male, by the style, &c. of Baron Hill Almarez; and of Hawkstone and Hardwicke, co. Salop, and in default of such issue to the heirs male of his late brother John Hill, of Hawkstone, Esq. deceased.

Nov. 4. J. C. Colquhoun, Esq. sheriff-depute of Dumbartonshire.—Sir H. MacKenzie, lieut. and sheriff principal of Rossshire.

Foreign-office, Nov. 22. Edward James Dawkins, Esq. secretary of legation at the court of Florence.—Francis Peter Merry, Esq. secretary of legation at the court of Dresden.

Whitehall, Nov. 21. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom granted to Sir David Ochterlony, K.C.B. and major-general in the army in the East Indies, and to his heirs male.

Downing-street, Dec. 6. C. M'Carthy, Esq. governor and commander-in-chief of Sierra Leone and its dependencies.

Foreign-office, Dec. 10. Colin A. Mackenzie, Esq. and George Lewis Newnham, Esq. his Majesty's commissioners of liquidation; George Hammond, Esq. and D. R. Morier, Esq. (his Majesty's consul-general in France) his Majesty's commissioners of arbitration; and the said David Morier, Esq. and James Drummond, Esq. commissary-general of his Majesty's forces, his Majesty's commissioners of deposit; under the several articles of the convention concluded at Paris, November 20, 1815, between his Majesty and his most Christian Majesty, for the examination and liquidation of the claims of his Majesty's subjects against the government of France.

Dec. 13. Major-General Sir G. Murray, quarter-master-general to the Duke of Wellington's army.

SHERIFFS,

Appointed by the Prince Regent in council, for the Year 1815.

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INDEX.

A.

Abercromby, Mr, his motion on Buonaparte's escape from Elba, and debate thereon, I. 168
Abington, Earl, moves the address in the Upper House, I. 3
Accounts, public, for the year, II. ccxxxiii
Acts, public, for the year, II. ccxviii
African female, account of one, a sailor in the British navy, II. lxii
Agricultural report for January, II. x—For March, xxvi—For August, lxi—For October, lxix—For December, lxxxi
Allied Sovereigns enter into a treaty with Britain against Buonaparte, I. 163. Debates in Parliament on this treaty, 174. Amount of troops to be furnished by each, 183. Their formidable preparations for war, and positions of their armies, 220. Enter France at the head of their troops, 279. Refuse to treat with the provisional government, 282
America, North, affairs of, I. 353. Attack of New Orleans, 355. Ratification of the treaty of peace, 356. Followed by a commercial treaty, 359. Ludicrous names of the rivers of, II. xlix
America, South, affairs of, I. 362
Angouleme, Duchess of, driven from Bourdeaux, I. 150. Arrives in England, II. xxxix. Returns to Paris, xlix
————, Duke of, capitulates in the south to Buonaparte's troops, I. 161
Appointments and promotions, list of principal ones, II. cclxxxiii
Aremberg, Prince of, account of his death, II. xix
Army estimates for the year, I. 17
——, motion for abolishing corporal punishments rejected in the House of Commons. Remarks on the subject, I. 251
Arniston transport, narrative of the loss of, II. xli
Arundel Castle, preparations for a grand fete there, II. xxxix
Austria refuses permission to Murat to march through her Italian dominions, I. 187

B.

Baker, Mr, a respectable magistrate in Ireland, murdered, I. 341
Bank of England, affairs of, I. 23. Renewal of the restrictions on cash payments, 25. Observations on the profits derived from its transactions with government, ib. State of its accounts, II. iii
Barbary States, memorial of Sir Sydney Smith, on the expediency of putting an end to their piracies, II. ccxiv
Bath, order of the, divided into three classes, I. 75
Bengal Indiaman, account of the loss of, II. xxix
Berri, Duke de, his insolent and imprudent behaviour to a French officer, I. 93. Anecdote of him, II. xxxvii
Berthier, Marshal, throws himself from a window, and is killed, I. 207

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Best, Mr Serjeant, moves for a bill to amend the insolvent debtor's act, I. 28; but withdraws it, 29
Bigamy, curious case of, II. xxviii
Blacas, Count, unpopular in France, I. 91. Dismissed from Louis's ministry, 303
Blucher, Marshal, in imminent danger at the battle of Ligny, I. 228. Effects his retreat unmolested, ib. His army arrives on the field, and decides the battle of Waterloo, 246. He pursues the flying French army, 247. Meeting of him and Wellington after the battle of Waterloo, 246. Anecdote of him, II. xxxvii
Bourbon, Duke of, endeavours, without success, to raise a force in La Vendee, I. 159
Brune, Marshal, murdered at Avignon, I. 341
Brunswick, Duke of, falls gloriously in the battle of Quatre Bras, I. 230
Brussels, account of a masked ball there, II. xvi
Buccleuch, Duke of, presents the Ettrick Shepherd with a pastoral farm, II. xxxi
Buonaparte, account of his behaviour at Elba, I. 137. He corresponds with France and Italy, 138. Embarks at Elba, and lands with a few attendants at Frejus, 143. Advances without opposition, 144. His first meeting with the royal troops, 146. They join him as he marches on Paris, 149. He issues decrees from Lyons, 150. Arrives in Paris, and resumes the government, 157. Makes proposals of peace to the allies, which are rejected, 162. Disputes between him and his ministers, 202. Pays court to the Federates, 205. Disaffection of the people to his government, 209. His speech to the Legislative Chambers, 217. Prepares to meet the allied armies, 222. His speech to his soldiers, *225. Attacks the Prussians, and drives them from Charleroi, 226. Defeats them again at Ligny, 227. Attacks the British army at Waterloo, and, after a desperate battle, is routed with great slaughter, 236, 246. His conduct in the field, 242, 243—and flight from it, 246. His carriage and baggage taken at Genappe, 247. He returns alone to Paris, 256. Abdicates in favour of his son, 262. His farewell proclamation to his soldiers, 267. He is removed to Rochefort, 270. Goes voluntarily on board the British ship Bellerophon, and is brought to Torbay—His letter to the Prince Regent, 334, 335. Arguments respecting the mode of treating him, 335. He protests against being kept a prisoner, 338. Is sent to the island of St Helena in the Northumberland, 340
Bulletins of his Majesty's health, II. v, xiii, xix, xxvii, xxxvii, li, lvii, lx, lxxvii

C.

Calcutta, loss of a fleet of boats there, II. xxxix
Cameron, Colonel, killed at Quatre Bras, I. 231
Candy, conquest of the kingdom of, I. 351. Farther particulars, II. 1
Canning, Lieut.-Colonel, killed at Waterloo, I. 242
Carnot, M. history of, I. 125. His memorial against the Bourbons, 126. Memorial on the capitulation of Paris, 295
Castlereagh, Lord, his speech on Buonaparte's escape from Elba, I. 164. Discussion of his motion on this subject, 167. Demands of France the restoration of the foreign monuments of art in the Louvre, 324
Champ de Mai, ceremony of, I. 213
Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland brings forward the Irish budget for the year, I. 21
Charleroi, the Prussians driven from it by Buonaparte, I. 226
Chesters, Roxburghshire, singular occurrence there, II. xxi
Chinese, disagreements between them and the British, I. 349
Cochrane, Lord, escapes from prison, and appears in the House of Commons—Is arrested, tried, and sentenced to further imprisonment, I. 77, 78. Farther particulars, II. xxiii
Congress of Vienna declares Buonaparte without the pale of the law of nations, I. 162. Removed to Frankfort, 220
Convention between Britain and the Netherlands, II. cl. Between the same and Prussia, clxxii. Between the same

Digitized by Google

and Russia, clxxxv. Between the British and Dutch governments, cxc
Corn, bill for restricting the importation of, I. 34. Discussions on it, 35. View of the arguments for and against the bill, 36. Observations on the policy of the measure, 57. Is the cause of serious riots in London, 79. Anecdote of a soldier and cobler, connected with it, 86
Correspondence between M. de Caulaincourt and Lord Castlereagh, II. clxvi
Corunna, insurrection of Porlier there, I. 366
Currency, question of its alleged depreciation examined, I. 60
Curson, Captain, killed at Waterloo, I. 242

D.

Dartmoor, seven American prisoners killed there, in an attempt to escape, II. xxix
Davoust, Marshal, his address to the army of the Loire, I. 308. He is removed from the command, 309
Death of Lady Hamilton at Calais, II. xiv. Of the Duke of Dorset, xvi. Of the Prince of Aremberg, xix. Of Lady Mary Fitzgerald, xxx
Declaration of the allied powers relative to the slave-trade, II. clvi. Of the same on Buonaparte's return from Elba, clxi. Of Louis from his court at Ghent, clxxiii. Of Buonaparte to the French on commencing war, clxxxiii
Delancey, Sir William, killed at Waterloo, I. 242
Delawar, Lord, his speech on seconding the address to the Prince Regent, I. 3
D'Esterre, Mr, of Dublin, killed in a duel by Mr O'Connel, II. xi
Dispatches from Rear-Admiral Hotham, dated H. M. ship Superb, before New London, 23d January, with enclosures from Captain Hayes and Hope, II. lxxxvi
——— from Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, dated H.M. ship Armide, off Isle-au-Chat, 16th December, 1814, inclosing one from Captain Lockyer, II. lxxxvii—Another, dated January 18, lxxxix
——— from E. Cooke, Esq. under secretary of state, dated Rome, 20th May, inclosing military reports from Colonel Church, II. xcii. Another, dated Rome, May 22, xcvi
Dispatches from Lord Burghersh, dated Rome, May 16, and Teano, May 21, inclosing the military convention with Naples, II. xcvi. Another, dated Naples, 23d May, c
——— from the Duke of Wellington, dated Waterloo, June 19, II. ci. Others dated Cateau, 22d, and Joncourt 25th, cv. Orville, 28th, cvi. Gonasse, July 2, cvii. Same place, July 4, inclosing the military convention with Davoust, cviii. Louvre, June 30, transmitting one from Sir C. Colville, cx. Paris, July 8, cxii
——— from Captain Maitland, dated H. M. ship Bellerophon, July 14, II. cxii
——— from Admiral Lord Keith, dated Ville de Paris, in Hamoaze, July 21, with inclosures from Captains Aylmer and Palmer, II. cxiii
——— from Colonel the Baron de Montalembert, dated in the Gironde, July 31, II. cxiii
——— from Lieut.-General Brownrigg, dated Candy, February 25, II. cxvi
——— from Sir Hudson Lowe, dated Cujes, July 24, II. cxxiv
——— from Sir James Leith, dated Guadaloupe, August 12, II. cxxiv
——— from the Vice-Presidency at Fort-William, dated February 20, with enclosures from Mr Secretary Adam, and Sir David Ochterlony, II. cxxxiii
——— from Admiral Lord Exmouth, with an enclosure from Captain Fahie, dated H. M. ship, Malta, Gaeta Bay, August 9, II. cxxxvii
——— from Earl Moira, dated Futtyghur, June 1, II. cxxxix
——— from the Earl of Clancarty, dated Vienna, May 6, II. clxviii
Dorset, Duke of, account of his death, II. xvi
Dublin, interesting incident at Aston's quay there, II, xxxvi
Duel between Mr O'Connel and Mr D'Esterre, II. xi—Between Colonels Quentin and Palmer, xiv
Dundee, loss of a pinnace, with passengers, at the ferry there, II. xxxviii
Dwarf, description of a very small one, II. xxxvii

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E.

Eclipse, Leith smack, lost near Yarmouth, II. lxxv
Edinburgh, freedom of, conferred on J. C. Curwen, Esq. II. xv—Bill for a canal between it and Glasgow, xix—New road over the Calton-hill, xxix—Celebration of the Prince Regent's birth-day, lviii. Musical Festival, lxxi. Visit of the Austrian Archdukes John and Lewis, lxxix
Excelmans, General, his letter to Murat intercepted, I. 135. Trial and acquittal of, 136
Execution of Elizabeth Fenning, for poisoning a family, II. xlvii
Explosion on board a vessel at Berwick, II. v. Of fire-damp in a coal mine, xliii. In a sugar refinery in London, lxxv

F.

Fayette, M. de La, proposes resolutions in the French legislature on the state of the nation, I. 258. Hints to Buonaparte the necessity of his abdication, 261
Fire, in St Paul's church-yard, London, II. vii. In St George's street, London, xxxiii. At Waterford, lvii. In the mint, London, lxviii. In High Holburn, lxvii
Fitzgerald, Lady Mary, account of her death, II. xxx
Fouche, M. his conduct on the restoration of Louis XVIII. I. 129. His duplicity to Buonaparte, 269. Secretly embraces the interests of the Bourbons, 282. Resigns the ministry of police, and publishes reasons of his conduct, 318
France, internal state of, I. 87. Defects of the administration, 90. Condition and character of the royalists, 92. Divisions of the royal family, ib.—Fears of the national proprietors, 96. Account of the jacobin party, 97. The Buonapartists, 98. Discontents of the army, 99. The constitutionalists, or neutrals, the most numerous party, 102. Report on the state of the country, 107. Debate on the liberty of the press, 112. Censorship proposed by M. Faure, and passed with some modifications, 116. Expedients of the disaffected to elude the law, 117. Scandalous affair in the church of Durnac, 118. Debate on a plan for indemnifying emigrants, ib. Intrigues of the republicans, headed by Carnot and Fouche, 130. Warlike preparations, 132. Intrigues at the Congress of Vienna, 133. Insubordination of the army, 136. Interest excited by emissaries in favour of Buonaparte, 137. Organization of a conspiracy for his restoration. 139. Culpable indifference of the ministry to the proceedings of the conspirators, 140, 144. Landing of Buonaparte at Frejus, 143. Suspicions of treachery in the war department, 145. Confusion and bustle at Paris, 147. Defection of the troops from the royal cause, 149, 156. Reins of government seized by Buonaparte, 157. The cities and provinces receive his authority, 159. Plot to carry off the empress detected at Vienna, 201. Exertions of the partizans of Louis, 203. Preparations for war, 207. Additional act to the constitution, 210. Ceremony of the Champ de Mai, 212. Meeting of the Legislative Chambers, and Buonaparte's speech to them, 216. Battle of Ligny, 227. Of Quatre Bras, 229. Route of the army at Waterloo, 246. Discussions in the chambers on Buonaparte's return, 258. Furious debates on acknowledging Napoleon II. 263, 266. He is indirectly acknowledged, 267. Movements of the French corps after their defeat at Waterloo, 277. Effect their retreat to Paris, 279. Provisional government solicits an armistice, ib. Austrian and Bavarian armies cross the Rhine, and advance into the country, 283. The grand Russian army also cross it, 284. Situation of the provisional government, and debates in the chambers, 285. Preparations to defend Paris, 289. It surrenders by capitulation, 293. Dissolution of the chambers, and entrance of Louis into Paris, 302. Proscription of peers and others, 304. Distraction in the provinces, 306. The army of the Loire disbanded, 309. Disturbances in the south, 310. Assembly of the chambers, 318. New ministry, 320. Sufferings inflicted on the country by the Prussian soldiers, 322. Dispersion of the national Museum, 323.

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Treaty of peace, 327. Opening of the Chamber of Deputies, 329. Remarks on the policy of Louis, after his restoration, 330. Discovery and re-interment of the remains of Louis XVI., and his queen, II. ix

G.

Garnerin, Madame, ascends in a balloon from Tivoli, II. lxiv
German States, new form of alliance, I. 372—Act of Confederation, II. clxxxi
Gillespie, General, killed in the assault of Kalunga, I. 344
Glasgow, riot there on account of the corn-bill, II. xix
Gordon, Sir Alexander, falls gloriously in the battle of Waterloo, I. 242
Grant, Mr C. eloquent speech of, on Buonaparte's escape from Elba, I. 170
Grattan, Mr, defends the war against Buonaparte, I. 180
Grenville, Lord, his eloquent speech at the opening of Parliament, I. 6—He defends the war for the deposition of Buonaparte, 179
Grey, Lord, his speech against the war with Buonaparte, I. 176
Grissoles, General, his sufferings from the cruelty of Buonaparte, I. 135
Grouchy, General, attacks and drives the Prussian force from Wavres, but retreats on learning the fate of the grand army, I. 245
Guadaloupe, reduced to submission by Sir James Leith, I. 362

H.

Hamilton, Lady, account of her death, II. xiv
Hogg, Mr, the Ettrick Shepherd, is presented with a pastoral farm by the Duke of Buccleuch, II. xxxi
Horse-racing, singular match at Brighton, II. lxiv
Hougoumont, desperate attack upon the castle of, I. 237

I.

Indies, East, affairs of, I. 341—War in Nepaul, 342—Death of General Gillespie, 344—Operations of Sir David Ochterlony, 345—Defeat of Ameer Sing, and conclusion of the war, 348—Conquest of the kingdom of Candy, 351
Indies, West, affairs of, I. 361
Ionian Islands placed under the protection of Britain, I. 340. Treaty between Britain and Russia on this subject, II. cxciii
Ireland, disturbances in, and revival of the insurrection act, I. 341. Farther particulars, II. vi. Emigration from, xl. Attack on the Cork mail-coach, lxiv
Jury trial in civil cases established in Scotland, I. 31. Observations on the subject, ib. 32

K.

Kalunga, unsuccessful attempt to storm it, I. 344
Kandy—See *Candy*.
Kelso, singular accident there, II. vi
Kent, outrage by smugglers on the coast of, II. l

L.

Labedoyere, Colonel, carries over the troops under his command to Buonaparte, I. 146. Brought to trial, condemned and shot, 314. Farther particulars, II. lv
Leon, the broken French troops form a junction there after the battle of Waterloo, I. 277
Larochejaquelin, death of, and submission of La Vendee, I. 220
Lavalette, M. seizes the post-office at Paris, and facilitates the entrance of Buonaparte, I. 156. He is tried and condemned, II. lxvii—But escapes from prison, lxxx
Lauderdale, Earl of, his speech in favour of abolishing the pillory, I. 29
Legitimacy, remarks on the principle of, as applied to monarchial right, I. 272
Leicester, dreadful catastrophe there, II. xlvi
Leon, Princess of, account of her death, II. viii
Ligny, sanguinary battle of, I. 227
London, serious riots there on account of the corn-bill, in which the houses of many members of parliament were de-

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stroyed, and several persons killed, I. 78, 82. Farther particulars, II. xx. Statue of his Majesty erected in Guildhall, xxxviii. Christenings and burials in, during the year, cclxvii
Longevity of a goose, II. v
Louis XVIII, his piety ridiculed by the Parisians, I. 94. He visits the garrison of Paris on Buonaparte's landing, but is received with coldness, 154. Leaves Paris, and establishes his court at Ghent, 155—from whence he issues conciliatory proclamations to the French people, 203. Enters Cambrai, 278. Arrives at Paris, dismisses his old favourite Blacas, and forms a new ministry, 302. Publishes a decree of proscription against some of the principal offenders, 304. His speech on opening the Chamber of Deputies, 329. His grateful reception of the Duke of Wellington at the Thuilleries, II. xlvi
Lyons, decrees issued by Buonaparte there, I. 150

M.

Macdonald, Marshal, his speech on the liberty of the press, I. 115. His plan for indemnifying the emigrants, and paying the pensions of veteran soldiers, 121—He disbands the army of the Loire, 309
Macara, Colonel, killed at Quatre Bras, I. 229
Macintosh, Sir Jas. his eloquent speech on the subject of Buonaparte's escape, I. 169
Manchester, distressing accident there, II. xxxiii
Marjoribanks, Sir John, moves thanks to the Duke of York, as commander in chief, I. 252
Melun, army encamped there against Buonaparte, receive him with shouts of *Vive l' Empereur*, I. 156. Farther particulars, II. xxiv
Melville, Lord, defends the Admiralty against charges of inefficiency, I. 4
Milan, riot in the theatre there, 187
Monsieur endeavours in vain to persuade the troops to fight for Louis, I. 149
Moscow, speedily rising from its ruins, II. lxxx
Murat, King of Naples, France refuses to acknowledge him, I. 134. His dubious policy on Buonaparte's return from Elba, 188. He occupies Rome, and attacks an Austrian army, 189. Is signally defeated at Tolentino, 191—and flies alone to Naples, 192—and afterwards to France, 193. Escapes to Corsica, 195. Offered a retreat in Austria, but refuses it, 196. Lands near Pizzo, is seized, tried by a Neapolitan court-martial, and shot, 198. Reflections on his death, 199. Farther particulars, II. lxix
Murder, of Mr Baker, a magistrate, in Ireland, I. 341. Of a person unknown, II. iii. Of James Murdoch, a shopkeeper at Langrig, ix. Of Mrs Mary Hall, Buckinghamshire, xiii. Of Harriet Gasket, at Lisbon, xxvii. Unnatural one at Portsmouth, lii. Of Antonio Pique, an African, lix. Of William Harty, at Clonmel, lxv. Of a woman in France, burnt alive on suspicion of sorcery, lxxiv
Murray, Sir John, tried for misconduct at the siege of Tarragona, I. 76. Farther particulars, II. xvii

N.

Namur, the broken French army pursued through it, I. 277
Naples, Queen of, surrenders to a British squadron there, I. 194. Note from the plenipotentiaries of the King, to Lord Castlereagh, II. clviii
National monument to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, I. 252
Nepaul war, I. 342. Advice of Ameer Sing to the Rajah, 346. Successful termination of the war, 348
Netherlands, new constitution of, I. 368. Remonstrance of the Clergy against some parts of it, 370. Speech of the King to the States General, II. clxxxviii
Newberry Bank, robbery of, II. lxxx
New Orleans, successfully defended by the Americans, I. 355
Ney, Marshall, appointed to oppose Buonaparte, I. 152—but deserts and joins him, 153. Attacks the British and Belgians at Quatre Bras, 229. He is arrested, tried, and shot, 320, 322. Farther particulars, II. lxxviii, lxxix
Nismes, massacre of the Protestants there, I. 310
Northumberland, account of Buonaparte's reception on board of her, II. lii

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O.

Orange, Prince of, attacked at Quatre Bras by Marshal Ney, I. 229. He is married to a Russian Princess, 370. Masked ball given by him at Brussels, II. xvi
Osborne, Captain, his account of the loss of the Clifton, and melancholy fate of her crew, II. xxxiv
Ostend, loss of the Sir William Curtis packet there, II. lxviii
Oxford, Lord, arrested in France, I. 194

P.

Pakenham, Sir Edward, killed at New Orleans, I. 356
Paris, riot there, at the funeral of an actress, who is refused christian burial, I. 95. Confusion on the news of Buonaparte's landing from Elba, 147. Camp formed at Melun to protect it, ib. Buonaparte enters it, and resumes the government, 157. Versatility of the men of letters there, 202. Arrival of Buonaparte's brothers, 213. Capitulates to the allies, 298. Disturbances there, and entrance of the allied armies, 298, 299. Murder of an Irish gentleman on the Boulevards, II. lxii
Parliament assembled, Nov. 8, 1814, I. 3. Regent's speech, ib. Grant of 200,000*l.* to the Duke of Wellington, 249. Prorogued, II. cxlvii
Patents, list of those granted from Nov. 1814 to Sept. 1815, II. ccxlvii
Pennycuick, melancholy occurrence in that parish, II. xxxi
Picton, Sir Thomas, falls gloriously at Waterloo, I. 239. Monument voted to his memory, 253
Pillory, bill for abolishing that punishment passed in the Lower House, but rejected by the Peers, I. 29, 30. Remarks on the subject, ib.
Pitt Club, meeting of, at Edinburgh, II. xiii
Plymouth, fatal accident near there, II. xviii
Poetry, The vision of Belshazzar, II. ccli. The voice of the People, cciv. Dirge on a Highland Chief, executed after the Rebellion, cclvi. The search after Happiness, cclviii
Ponsonby, Sir William, falls gloriously in the battle of Waterloo, I. 240. Monument voted to his memory, 253
Porlier, General, unsuccessful insurrection, and execution of, I. 306, 307
Porpoises, numbers of them killed in the Forth, II. lxiii
President frigate strikes to the Endymion and others, I. 356. Farther particulars, II. xviii
Prince Regent, his speeches to Parliament, I. 3.; II. cxlv, cxlvii. Confers new honours on the army and navy, I. 75. His message to Parliament on the subject of Buonaparte's return to France, 164. Celebration of his birth-day at Carlton-house, II. lvii—and in Edinburgh, lviii
Proclamation of General Brownrigg, on the conquest of Candy, II. cxxiii. Of Sir James Leith, on the reduction of Guadaloupe, cxxxi. Of the Prince Regent, on the disturbances at Shields, cxlix. Of Buonaparte to the French, on his return from Elba, clix. Of Louis to the French armies, on his return to Paris, clxii. Of Murat to the Italians, on commencing hostilities, clxv. Of the King of Prussia, on Buonaparte's invasion of France, clxx. Of the Emperor of Austria, clxxi. Of the Prince of Orange to the Belgians, clxxi. Of the King of Prussia to the inhabitants of Saxony, clxxviii. Of the Duke of Wellington, on entering France, clxxxii. Of Louis, on re-entering France, clxxxiv. Of the King of the Netherlands, on the union of Belgium, clxxxvi
Protest of the Spanish Ambassador against the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna, II. clxxx
Prussia, receives important cessions of territory, I. 372. Decree respecting the representation of the people, II. clxxix
Publications, list of, for 1815, II. *i
Pugilism, account of a match in Scotland, II. xxii

Q.

Quatre Bras, sanguinary battle of, I. 229. Loss on each side, 230

R.

Rage, fatal effects of, II. li

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Ramel, General, murdered at Toulouse, i. 308
Riots in London, on account of the Corn-bill, I. 79, 82. Riot in the theatre of Milan, 187. At Ballincollig, Ireland, II. iv. At Glasgow, xix
Robbery, of Mr Brabazon, near Drogheda, II. v. Of the Cork post-office, xii. Of the Chester mail-coach, xli. Of the Newberry bank, lxxx. At Bankside, lxxxi
Robinson, Mr, the mover of a bill for restricting the importation of corn, I. 34. His house destroyed by a mob, 80
Rodney, Lord, monument erected to, in St Paul's cathedral, II. lviii
Romilly, Sir Samuel, the mover of a bill for making freehold estates liable for simple contract debts, I. xxvii
Rye harbour, loss of a boat and crew there, II. xxxii

S.

Saxony, note from the king to the allied powers, II. clx. Treaty with Prussia, clxxvii
Selkirk, Lord, dispersion of his American colony, II. lxvi
Shaw, a Lifeguardsman, distinguished in the field of Waterloo, I. 240
Shields, ludicrous political duel there, II. lii. Disturbances among the seamen, I. 340. Proclamation of the Prince Regent on the latter subject, II. cxlix
Sidmouth, Lord, his circular on the subject of the riots in London, II. 20
Slave-trade, abolished in France by Buonaparte, I. 201. Declaration of the allied powers relative to it, II. clvi
Sorcery, a woman burnt alive, on suspicion of, in France, II. lxxiv
Smith, Sir Sidney, memorial of, on the piracies of the Barbary States, II. ccxiv
Soult, Marshal, suspected of adherence to Buonaparte, resigns the office of minister of war, I. 148. He is included in a list of proscriptions, 304
Southcote, Joanna, account of, I. 72—Fanaticism of her disciples, 73—Her death and interment, 74—Her will, II. xxxii
Southgate, accident near that village, II. xlix
South-Sea Company, bill for putting an end to its exclusive privileges, I. 26
Southwark Bridge, first stone of it laid, II. xxxv
Spain, lamentable state of, I. 363. Persecution of the Liberales, ib. Insurrection of Porlier, 365. His arrest and execution, 365. Alarm of Ferdinand, ib.
Statue of his majesty erected in Guildhall, London, II. xxxviii
Subscription, munificent national one on behalf of the wounded, and relatives of those who fell at Waterloo, I. 254
Suicide of Sarah Sylvester, a cook, II. viii. Of Captain Serres de St Claire, xxxiii. Of Ann Power, xxxvi. Of Mr Whitbread, xliii. Of Francis Colvill, at Portsmouth, lvi
Superstition, African, singular example of, II. v
Switzerland, note delivered to the Diet by the ministers of the allies, with the answer of the Diet, II. clxxv

T.

Talleyrand, his admirable exposé on the state of France, I. 107. His intrigues at the Congress of Vienna, 133. Endeavours to excite the allies against Bernadotte and Murat, ib. Appointed secretary of state to Louis, 303. Resigns that office, and publishes reasons of his conduct, 318
Thornton, Colonel, killed at New Orleans, I. 355
Tierney, Mr, his speech on the revenue and expenditure, I. 11.
Treaty between Britain and America, II. cli. Between Britain and Austria, Russia, and Prussia, clxiii. Between Saxony and Prussia, clxxvii. Between Britain and Russia, respecting the Ionian islands, cxciii. Between France and the allied powers, followed by papers connected therewith, cxcv, cciv
Trial of William Sawyer, for the murder of his sweetheart, II. xxvii Of Mr J. Blackburn, who is executed for forgery, xxx. Of Elizabeth Fenning, for poisoning a family, xxxi. Of T. Young, a chimney-sweeper, for cruelty to his apprentice, ib. Of Captain Jones, for criminal conversation with Mrs Warner, xxxiv. Of five beggars in London, for a riot, xl

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U.

Uxbridge, melancholy accident there, II. lx

V.

Vansittart, Mr, his exposition of the state of the revenue, I. 10. His reply to Mr Tierney on the subject, 13. Statement of the military and foreign expenditure, 15—And budget for the year, 18. Panegyrizes the Duke of Wellington, on moving a grant of money to him, for his conduct at Waterloo, 249

Venice, arrival of the Horses of Corinth there, II. lxxx

W.

Warsaw, duchy of, united to Russia, I. 371

Waterloo, great battle of, I. 236. Attack on Hougoumont, 237. Unsuccessful attack on the British right, 238. Cavalry engagement, 240. Reiterated attacks of the French, 241. Personal conduct of the Duke of Wellington, 242. Doubtful state of the battle, 243. Desperate attack of the Imperial Guards defeated, 244. The British attack in line, ib. Arrival of the Prussians in force, ib. Total route of the French, and flight of Buonaparte, 245. Meeting of Wellington and Blucher after the battle, 246. Loss of the armies engaged, 248. National monument to commemorate the victory, 252. Honours conferred on the British soldiers who shared in it, 253. Munificent subscription in Britain for the wounded, and relatives of those who fell in the battle, 254

Wellington, Duke of, amount of his army in Flanders, I. 221. Advances with it from Brussels, 226. Comes up with the French at Quatre Bras, and forces them to retreat, 229. He afterwards retreats to Waterloo, 232. Disposition of his army there, 234. Attacked by Buonaparte, 236—whom, after a dreadful day's fighting, he discomfits, and puts to the route, 246. His meeting with Blucher after the victory, ib. Parliament vote 200,000*l.* to him, and thanks to him and his army, 249, 250. He refuses a passport to Buonaparte to go to America, 268. Refuses an armistice requested by the provisional government of France, 279. His defence of the dispersion of the Museum of the Louvre, 326. He is received with distinction at Vienna, II. xiii. List of his victories, xlix

Whitbread, Mr, opposes the address to the Regent, I. 8. Inveighs against the despotic measures of Ferdinand of Spain, 9. His motion against war with France, and debate thereon, 172. Panegyrizes the Duke of Wellington, 242. His melancholy suicide, II. liii

Wirtemberg, dispute between the king and States-general of, I. 371

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